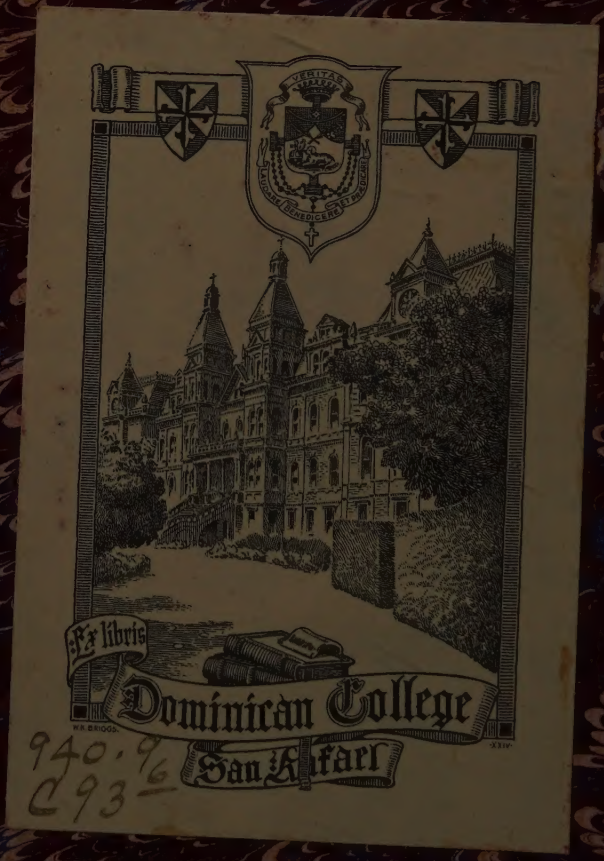

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GERMAN SUBSTITUTES FOR HORSES

One of Hagenbeck's Circus Elephants Drawing a Heavy Load in the Neighborhood of Berlin

Motor Plow Used by the Germans to Cultivate Every Available Foot of Soil Back of the Firing Line

(Photo © Brown & Dawson)

NEW ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN

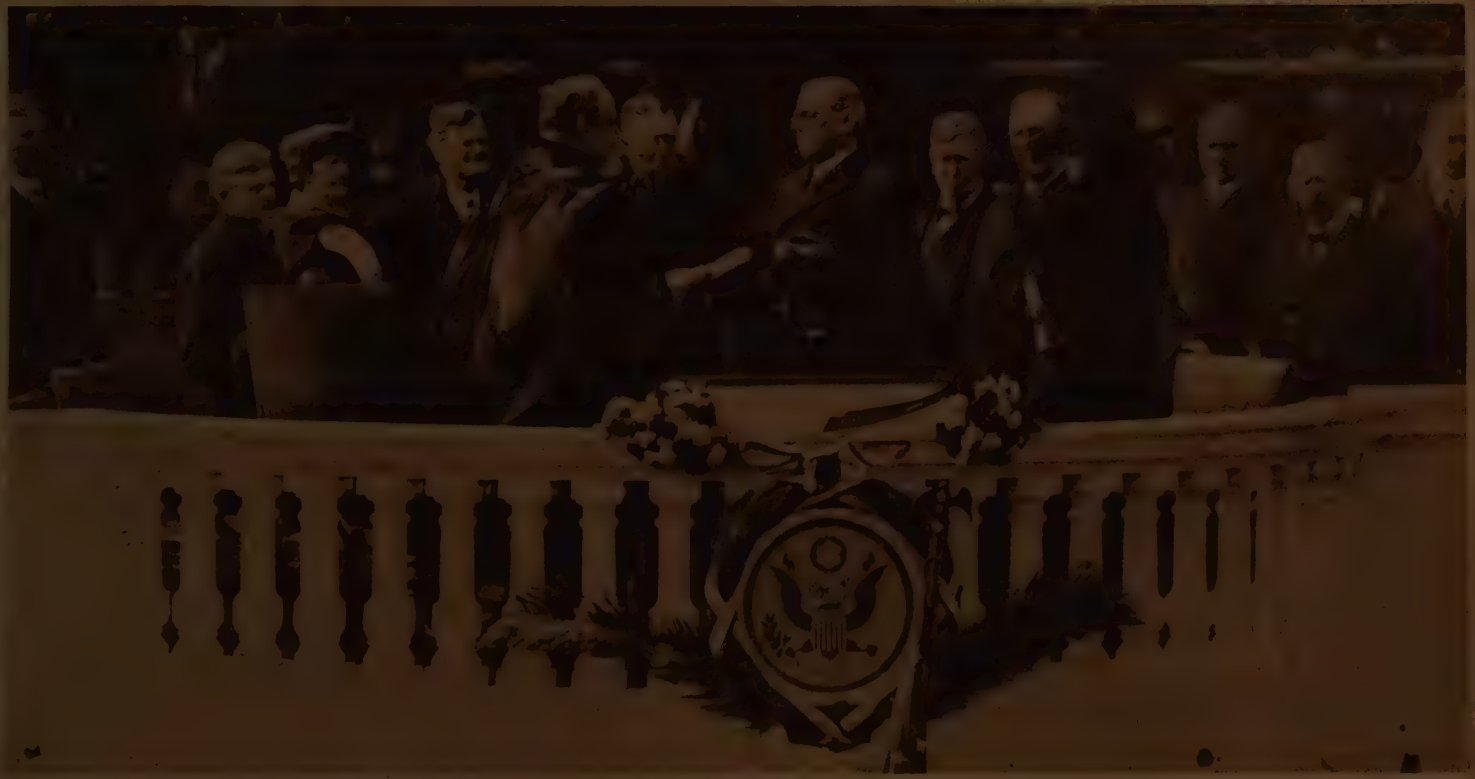
This Improved Gun, Now Used on the Belgian Front Against German Aircraft, Can Be Swung in Any Direction

THROUGH A DESOLATE VILLAGE ON THE SOMME FRONT

A Supply Train On Its Way to the Trenches, Seen as It Passes Along the Main Street of a Bombarded Village

(British Official Photograph)

SECOND INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON



Chief Justice White Is in the Act of Administering the Oath of Office to the President Before a Vast Audience

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI.—No. 1 April, 1917 25 Cents a Copy $3.00 a Year

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION: ABDICATION OF THE CZAR		1
THE KAISER TODAY		14
HUNGER STALKS THROUGH EUROPE		21
THE WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES:		
Germans and Turks in Retreat: American View	By Lieut. J. B. W. Gardiner	27
Politico-Military Events of the Month: German View	By H. H. von Mellenthin	30
PROGRESS OF THE WAR	Chronology to March 18	34
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED	Brief Editorial Summaries	36
THE BRITISH ADVANCE ON BAGDAD AND JERUSALEM		43
GERMAN SUBMARINE BLOCKADE:		
Text of the President's "Armed Neutrality" Address		47
The Armed Ship Debate in Congress		49
President Wilson's Appeal to the Country		51
Sinking of the Laconia and Algonquin		53
Ships Armed by Presidential Proclamation		55
Effects of Intensified Submarine Activity		57
United States Prepares for Defense		58
German Chancellor's Address on Break with United States		61
Ambassador Gerard's Difficulties in Leaving Berlin		62
German-Mexican-Japanese Alliance		65
MICROBES AS WAR WEAPONS	By Robert de Lazeu	72
A HISTORIAN'S ANSWER	By Joseph Reinach	76
AMERICA THROUGH ENGLISH EYES	By William Archer	78

Contents continued on next page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. II.	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	81
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR. IV.	By Lieut. Charles C. Gill	87
A German Story of the Sinking of the Lutzow		94
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF NAVIES TODAY. II.	By T. G. Frothingham	95
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S SUBMARINE NOTE		104
"THE BLACKS ATTACK!"	By Rheinhold Eichacker	110
COLOSSAL WAR EXPENSES OF BELLIGERENTS		112
Great Britain Restricts Imports		114
A GERMAN PEACE LEAGUE THAT FAILED	By John T. Wheelwright	116
AT THE WESTERN FIGHTING FRONTS	By Frank H. Simonds	119
THE "LIBERATORS" OF POLAND: Horrors of the Teutonic Invasion		127
ORDEALS OF THE WOUNDED	By Surgical Experts	129
A DARKENED CHURCH IN THE WAR ZONE	By an Irish Officer	131
THE GREAT WORK OF THE BELGIAN RELIEF COMMISSION		132
Secret Journalism in Belgium		136
SERBIA AND THE WAR'S BEGINNING	By Woislav M. Petrovitch	138
THE SUFFERINGS OF NEUTRAL GREECE	By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides	148
King Constantine's Statement of the Wrongs of Greece		153
THE STORY OF SALONIKI	By James B. Macdonald	155
British Operations at Saloniki	Report by General Milne	165
BLAME FOR THE DARDANELLES FAILURE	Report of Special Commission	167
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS	35 Cartoons, All Nations	171
FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR		191

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
German Substitutes for Horses	*Frontis*	Major Gen. Pershing	47
New Anti-Aircraft Gun	"	Herbert C. Hoover	78
Desolate Village on the Somme	"	General F. S. Maude	79
Inauguration of the President	"	Rheims, the Deserted City	94
Sinking of the Laconia	14	An Italian Mine Layer	95
Senators Who Led Filibuster	15	Defensive Mine, New York Harbor	126
Dr. Paul Ritter	30	Quarters of a German Officer	127
Count Tarnowski von Tarnow	31	Aviation Camp at Saloniki	142
Henry P. Fletcher	46	View of Jerusalem	143

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION

Abdication of Czar and Rise of a Republic in the Stronghold of Autocracy

RUSSIA experienced during the four days of March 8-11, 1917, the most dramatic and effective political upheaval in recorded history. The Romanoff dynasty, which had ruled the nation for more than 300 years, was completely overthrown, as in the twinkling of an eye. The most absolute autocracy in the civilized world crumbled and fell almost without a struggle, and was replaced by a modern democratic Government without serious loss of life. The new régime set up by the people is pledged to extremely advanced ideas of liberalism and democracy, including universal suffrage.

The news of the revolution came upon the world outside of Russia with startling suddenness on Friday, March 16. There were intimations two days earlier that some political crisis was at hand, but they were so meagre and fragmentary that they gave no clue to the stupendous nature of the change in progress. It was on March 16 that the Provisional Government issued its Appeal to the People, and this act may be accepted as the beginning of the established career of the new régime.

For weeks all the news from Russia had indicated a state of unrest, dissatisfaction and imminent crisis. There were evidences of gross mismanagement in the distribution of supplies, the transport system was faulty, the munitions supply irregular, the hospital service subject to constant criticism. Finally food in the cities became so short that prices rapidly mounted to prohibitive figures, and the poorer classes were on the verge of starvation. Previous to these conditions there was a general feeling, which gained strength every day, that a certain clique or camarilla of the nobility and ruling classes was traitorous and pro-German, intriguing to have Russia desert the Allies and effect a separate peace. In November, 1916, Professor Paul N. Milukoff, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, and one of the leaders of the revolution, delivered a speech in the Duma in which he denounced the Prime Minister, Stürmer, as a pro-German and a traitor to Russia, and intimating that the Premier had betrayed his country for German gold. This speech, though its publication was forbidden in Russia, leaked out and produced a profound sensation. The Trepoff-Protopopoff Ministry, which succeeded, was at first supposed to be liberal, but it soon became even more reactionary than its predecessor, and hints were freely circulated that it was corrupted by Germany and intended to betray the country. In fact, charges were openly made in the Duma early in March that the failure of the army administration was intended to impede the progress of the war, and that the shortage of food in the great cities was a deliberate plot of the Government to inflame the masses so that they would demand a separate peace.

This was the critical situation of affairs on March 8, when a group of workingmen in Petrograd decided on a general strike and began manifestations of discontent against the shortage of food.

For weeks there had been protests and threats of a general strike, but it was the opinion of the liberal leaders in the Duma that, despite the wretched state of affairs, an open revolution was impossible, as the country realized that a revolution would seriously interrupt the work of the war and would be playing into the hands of those who had this very end in view.

Open letters were printed in the Petrograd newspapers from popular Duma leaders, and proclamations were posted in the streets, urgently begging the population not to create demonstrations or cause disorders which might lead to interruption of the manufacture of muni-

tions or paralyze the industrial activity of the city.

People at Last Convinced

Manifestations already arranged for March 6, including a general strike and the marching to the Duma of a deputation of workingmen, were in this way averted. But the moment was only postponed. The people, who were convinced that they were being exploited by a hostile clique, received what they regarded as the last proof of the inefficiency and corruption of their own Government when they were apprised that the already insufficient supply of food had become still more meagre and that for some days it would be necessary to go without bread altogether.

Patient and long suffering by nature, this was too much for the population of Petrograd, who knew that the interior of Russia was stored with immense quantities of grain and all kinds of provisions, and, without other motive at first than to voice a demand for bread, the people paraded the streets, and this demonstration was the spark that started the conflagration.

The unrest at first expressed itself in an unusually mild manner, without excitement and with no indication of revolutionary intent, but merely as an insistent demand for a vigorous solution of the food problem.

The Duma meanwhile was actively debating the question, and the majority received with ill-concealed irritation the statements and explanations of the Minister of Agriculture.

On the 10th General Chavaloff, commander of the Petrograd district, issued a proclamation forbidding all assemblies in the streets and warning citizens that the troops had been authorized to use their arms or any means to preserve order in the capital. On the 11th the Czar put the match to the powder train by issuing two ukases suspending the sittings of the Russian Duma and Council of the Empire. This was the final stroke, and the revolution soon came full grown into being.

Michael V. Rodzianko, President of the Duma, a man of strong force and firm conviction, realized that a serious blunder had been committed, and telegraphed the Czar that the hour had struck. The Duma unanimously decided that it would not dissolve. The Imperial Council, realizing the gravity of the situation, added its appeal that the Emperor should hearken to the demands of the people. The Emperor, who was absent from Petrograd, hastily started back to the capital, but it was too late.

How the Flood Broke

The story of the upheaval as related by accredited correspondents is as follows:

The most phenomenal feature of the revolution was the swift and orderly transition whereby the control of the city passed from the régime of the old Government into the hands of its opponents.

The visible signs of revolution began on Thursday, March 8. Strikes were declared in several big munitions factories as a protest against the shortage of bread. Men and women gathered and marched through the streets, most of them in an orderly fashion. A few bread shops were broken into in that section of the city beyond the Neva, and several minor clashes between strikers and police occurred.

Squads of mounted troops appeared, but during Thursday and Friday the utmost friendliness seemed to exist between the troops and the people.

This early period of the uprising bore the character of a mock revolution, staged for an immense audience. Cossacks, charging down the street, did so in a half-hearted fashion, plainly without malice or intent to harm the crowds, which they playfully dispersed. The troops exchanged good-natured raillery with the working men and women, and as they rode were cheered by the populace.

Long lines of soldiers stationed in dramatic attitudes across the Nevsky Prospect, with their guns pointed at an imaginary foe, appeared to be taking part in a realistic tableau. Machine guns, firing rounds of blank cartridges, seemed only to add another realistic touch to a tremendous theatric production which was using the whole city as a stage.

On Saturday, however, apparently without provocation, the troops were ordered to fire on people marching in Nevsky Prospect. The troops refused to fire, and the police, replacing them, fired rifles and machine guns.

Then came a clash between troops and police, which continued in desultory fashion throughout Saturday night and Sunday. The Nevsky Prospect was cleared of traffic by the police and notices were posted by the commander of the Petrograd military district warning the people that any attempt to congregate would be met by force.

Troops Join the Revolt

Until Sunday evening, however, there was no intimation that the affair would grow to the proportions of a revolution. The first serious outbreak came at 1 o'clock, when the men of the Volynski Regiment shot their officers and revolted when they received an order to fire upon striking workingmen in one of the factory districts.

Another regiment detailed against the mutineers also joined the revolt. The news spread rapidly to the other barracks and four more regiments went over. Some of the revolting troops marched to the St. Peter and St. Paul Fortress on the left bank of the Neva, and after a brief skirmish with the garrison took possession of it.

Dissension spread among the troops, who did not understand why they should be compelled to take violent measures against fellow-citizens whose chief offense was that they were hungry and were asking the Government to supply bread. Several regiments deserted. A pitched battle began between the troops who stood with the Government and those who, refusing to obey orders, had mutinied, and even slain their officers.

A long night fight took place between the mutinous regiments and the police at the end of St. Catherine Canal, immediately in front of the historic church built over the spot where Alexander II. was killed by a bomb. The police finally fled to the rooftops all over the city and were seen no more in the streets during the entire term of the fighting.

Turning Point in Revolution

Monday morning, March 12, the Government troops appeared to control all the principal squares of the city. Then came a period when it was impossible to distinguish one side from the other. There was no definite line between the factions. The turning point appeared to come about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. For two hours the opposing regiments passively confronted each other along the wide Liteiny Prospect in almost complete silence.

From time to time emissaries from the revolutionary side rode to the opposing ranks and exhorted them to join the side of the people. For a while the result seemed to hang in the balance. The troops appeared irresolute, awaiting the commands of their officers, who themselves were in doubt as to what they should do.

Desultory firing continued along the side streets between groups of Government troops and revolutionists. But the regiments upon whose decision the outcome rested still confronted each other, with machine guns and rifles in readiness.

Suddenly a few volleys were exchanged; there was another period of silent suspense, and the Government regiments finally marched over to join the revolutionists. A few hours after the first clash this section of Petrograd, in which were located the Duma building, artillery headquarters, and the chief military barracks, passed into the hands of the revolutionary forces, and the warfare swept like a tornado to other parts of the city, where the scene was duplicated.

At first it seemed a miracle that the revolutionists, without prearranged plan, without leadership or organization, could in such a short time, with comparative ease, achieve a complete victory over the Government. But the explanation lay in the reluctance of the troops to take sides against the people and their prompt desertion to the ranks of those who opposed the Government.

The scenes in the streets were by this time remarkable. The wide streets, where the troops were stationed, were completely deserted by civilians, except

for a few daring individuals, who, creeping along walls and ducking into courtyards, sped from one side to the other. But the side streets were choked with people.

Groups of students, easily distinguished by their blue caps and dark uniforms, fell into step with rough units of rebel soldiers, and were joined by other heterogeneous elements, united for the time being by a cause greater than partisan differences.

Unkempt workingmen, with ragged sheepskin coats covering the conventional peasants' costume of dark blouse and top boots, strode side by side with well-groomed city clerks and shopkeepers.

An Impromptu Army

This strange army of people, mustered on the street corners, shouldered their newly acquired rifles and marched out to join the ranks of the deserting regiments.

The economic and industrial life of the city came to a complete standstill. Street car service was supended from the beginning of the disorders and stores were closed. The two leading hotels which housed officers were wrecked. Others restricted their service to regular patrons. In response to an appeal by the revolutionist committees, citizens distributed food to the soldiers.

The scene at the Duma before the revolution was in full flame was extraordinary. The members stood about the broad corridors talking calmly, the serious priest members in long black gowns, with flowing hair, and members from the provinces in top boots and blouses mingling with well-groomed and frock-coated representatives.

At the front gates the troops began to assemble. They were without arms. They were the revolting regiments. One body in marching order entered the side gate and halted before the entrance. A Duma member spoke from the steps, explaining the attitude of that body and assuring the regiments that the Duma was with them.

Auto trucks packed with men, soldiers, and civilians, with and without arms, rolled up to the circular drive and stopped before the door, while some occupant delivered a lurid oration, and then went on, cheered by the crowds.

Then came a small army of citizen soldiers, factory workers, clerks, students armed with rifles taken from the captured arsenals, their pale faces and black Winter clothing forming a strange picture against the snow piled high in the Duma garden.

For an hour they stood in more or less military formation before the building, and at dusk marched away toward the centre of the city, followed by the revolting soldiers. The crowd was extremely orderly. A group of a dozen soldiers pushed into the corridor of the building and demanded to be allowed to address the members. A mild-mannered young civilian of the student type took them in hand with little difficulty and led them into the open. A delegation asked for food. Immediately waiters from the Duma restaurant were sent out with trays of tea and food until the place was cleaned out.

Last Stand of the Old Regime

At nightfall on March 12 only one small district of the city, containing the War Office, the Admiralty Building, St. Isaac's Cathedral, and the Military Hotel, still resisted the onslaught of the revolutionary forces, and the battle for the possession of Petrograd came to a dramatic conclusion. In the Admiralty Building the Council of Ministers secretly gathered for a conference, and the last regiments loyal to the old Government were drawn up as a guard.

While the Council sat in the last meeting which they were destined to hold, the building was surrounded and the besiegers poured rifle and machine gun fire upon the defenders.

For a few hours the fiercest battle of the day continued; the streets were swept by a steady fusillade and the crowds scattered for the nearest shelter, some of the people being compelled to spend the night in courtyards or corridors of office buildings or wherever they first found refuge.

Toward morning there was a sudden

lull, broken by exultant shouts, which deepened into a roar, and were succeeded by the Russian revolutionary "Marseillaise." The regiments defending the Admiralty had surrendered and gone over to the side of the revolutionists.

The Ministers in the Admiralty Building were then arrested and the Russian national colors were replaced by the red flag of the revolutionists.

Rodzianko's Telegrams

During the day revolutionary publications appeared in the streets, with the simple caption "News." These contained a résumé of developments, and they were eagerly read by all classes. Rodzianko's telegrams to the Emperor and others to the commanders of the troops at the front were reproduced. The first message to the Emperor read:

The situation is grave. Anarchy reigns in the capital. The Government is paralyzed. The transport of provisions and fuel is completely disorganized. General dissatisfaction is growing. Irregular rifle firing is occurring in the streets. It is necessary to charge immediately some person trusted by the people to form a new Government. It is impossible to linger, since delay means death. Praying God that the responsibility in this hour will not fall upon a crowned head.

Later President Rodzianko sent the following to the Emperor:

The position is becoming more serious. It is imperative that immediate measures be taken, because tomorrow will be too late. The last hour has come when the fate of the fatherland and the dynasty are being decided.

Similar telegrams were sent to all the commanders at the front with an appeal for their support before the Emperor of the Duma's action. General Alexis Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the armies of the southwestern front, and General Nicholas Ruzsky, Commander of the northern armies, replied promptly. General Brusiloff sent this message:

"Have fulfilled duty before fatherland and Emperor."

General Ruzsky's reply read:

"Commission accomplished."

The revolt seemed to overspread all Russia simultaneously. Kronstadt, the great fortress and seaport at the head of the Gulf of Finland, joined the revolutionary movement without firing a gun. Moscow joined in with enthusiasm, as did Odessa. Within twenty-four hours news came from all parts of Russia that city after city, fortress after fortress, provinces, towns, and villages were aflame with enthusiasm, and that the revolutionists were in control, with the soldiers and workingmen in fullest accord.

One of the most impressive scenes of the revolution at Petrograd was the arrival of the Preobrajensky Guards with their Colonel and officers at the Tauris Palace. The men, all of giant stature, were drawn up in ranks four deep the whole length of the enormous Catherine Hall. The President of the Duma came out to greet them. On the appearance of M. Rodzianko the Colonel's voice rang out, "Preobrajensky, attention!" and the whole regiment stood at salute. M. Rodzianko saluted them as follows:

"Soldiers of the true faith, let me as an old soldier greet you according to our custom. I wish you good health."

"We wish good health to your Excellency," came the thunderous response.

The President continued:

"I want to thank you for coming here to help the members of the Imperial Duma to establish order and to safeguard the honor and glory of our country. Your comrades are fighting in the trenches for the might and majesty of Russia, and I am proud that my son has been serving since the beginning of the war in your ranks. But in order that you should be able to advance the cause and interests which have been undertaken by the Duma you must remain a disciplined force. You know as well as I do that soldiers are helpless without their officers. I ask you to remain faithful to your officers and to have confidence in them, just as we have confidence in them. Return quietly to your barracks and come here at the first call when you may be required."

"We are ready," answered the Preobrajensky Guards. "Show us the way."

"The old authority is incapable of leading Russia the right way," was the answer. "Our first task is to establish a new authority in which we could all believe and trust, and which would be

able to save and magnify our mother Russia."

The soldiers marched out, shouting, "Hurrah!"

M. Rodzianko greeted in the same manner the officers and men of the Grenadier Guards and the officers and troopers of the Ninth Cavalry Regiment.

After the President's speech to the troopers their Colonel, addressing them, said:

"Men, I intend to carry out all orders given to me by the President of the Imperial Duma. I remain with you on condition that you obey my orders. Hurrah for the President of the Imperial Duma!"

The troopers cheered loudly.

The Provisional Government

The members of the new National Cabinet are as follows:

Premier, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior—Prince Georges E. Lvoff.

Foreign Minister—Professor Paul N. Milukoff.

Minister of Public Instruction—Professor Manuiloff of Moscow University.

Minister of War and Navy, ad Interim—A. J. Guchkoff, formerly President of the Duma.

Minister of Agriculture—M. Ichingareff, Deputy from Petrograd.

Minister of Finance—M. Tereschtenko, Deputy from Kiev.

Minister of Justice—Deputy Kerenski of Saratoff.

Minister of Communications—N. V. Nekrasoff, Vice President of the Duma.

Controller of State—M. Godneff, Deputy from Kazan.

Minister of Trade and Commerce—A. I. Konovaloff.

Procurator General of the Holy Synod—M. Lvoff.

The new Premier is the most popular man in Russia, head and chief of the combined Urban and Rural Zemstvo Committees, organizer and feeder in chief of the Russian armies in the field, the man whom all students of Russian affairs have expected to see made head of any new Government established. He is a Russian, a Slav in fact as well as in name, and has the entire confidence of the Russian people.

The new Foreign Minister, Professor Milukoff, has been for years the courageous leader of the Russian liberals. He was banished from Russia for political views expressed while a member of the Faculty of the University of Moscow. He came to Chicago and became Professor of Russian History at the University of Chicago, a post which he relinquished later to return to Russia.

In 1898 Milukoff, then a Professor at Moscow, was snatched from his classroom one day, subjected to a summary Russian trial, and exiled to Siberia. He was guilty of liberal tendencies. He was in exile for two years, the result of which was his "History of Russian Culture," a justification of revolution on historic grounds.

On his return to Russia he was rearrested and led across the frontier into Bulgaria. A warrant of expatriation, issued from Petrograd, excluded him from the Czar's domain for two years. Milukoff's answer was an immediate return to Petrograd, where he was again arrested and held in jail for five months without trial. When he was released he again came to Chicago.

At the University of Chicago Professor Milukoff was looked upon as one of the most brilliant members of the Faculty. He is an eminent scholar in several lines, though he confined himself here to lecturing on Russian social conditions. In addition to his lectures here he has lectured at various times before the Lowell Institute in Boston. In all he spent four years in Chicago.

Milukoff's influence upon European opinion outside of Russia has been great. On his third visit to America, in 1908, he told interviewers that his speeches in the Duma frequently were interrupted by some one shouting, "American," or "American citizen." In proof of his imperturbability, he added: "So now I almost invariably begin my speeches by quoting something 'American.'"

Late in January a plot to assassinate Professor Milukoff was exposed. The assassination was planned by the organization known as the Black Hundred, the reactionary body which has for years been an instrument of political crimes in Russia. The man chosen, however, confessed the part he was to play before the crime was committed.

Labor Leader as Minister

The Minister of Justice, Deputy Kerenski, is the leader of the workingmen and a conspicuous Russian journalist. His selection and acceptance of a post in the new Government welded together the labor leaders and Moderate Democrats and prevented what at first threatened to prove a serious split in the revolutionary ranks. The first act of the new Government, M. Kerenski stated, was the immediate publication of a decree of full amnesty. Continuing, the Minister said:

"Our comrades of the Second and Fourth Dumas, who were banished illegally to the tundras of Siberia, will be released forthwith. In my jurisdiction are all the Premiers and Ministers of the old régime. They will answer before the law for all crimes against the people."

"Show them no mercy," many voices in the crowd exclaimed.

"Comrades," M. Kerenski replied, "regenerated Russia will not have recourse to the shameful methods utilized by the old régime. Without trial none will be condemned. All prisoners will be tried in open court.

"Comrades, soldiers, citizens, all measures taken by the new Government will be published. Soldiers, I ask you to cooperate. Free Russia is now born, and none will succeed in wresting liberty from the hands of the people. Do not listen to the promptings of the agents of the old régime. Listen to your officers. Long live free Russia!"

The speech was greeted by a storm of cheering.

The labor leader, Chkueidse, addressing the officers and soldiers, paid a glowing tribute to the soldiers and workingmen who had participated in accomplishing the revolution. He recounted the recent provocative efforts by the secret police in publishing proclamations regarding the murders of officers by soldiers. He exhorted the soldiers to regard their officers as citizens who had helped raise the revolutionary flag and as brothers in the great cause of Russian liberty.

Subsequently officers, soldiers, and workingmen carried M. Chkueidse on their shoulders through a cheering throng of soldiers and civilians.

Kerenski won a victory in a speech that will be historic. Appearing in a stormy labor assembly, mounting a table, with flashing eyes and passionate utterance, he announced that he had accepted the post of Minister of Justice. The announcement turned the tide, and amid cheering Kerenski continued:

"Comrades, in entering the Provisional Government I remain a republican. In my work I must lean for help on the will of the people. I must have in the people my powerful support. May I trust you as I trust myself? [Tremendous cheers and cries of "We believe you, comrade!"] I cannot live without the people, and if ever you begin to doubt me, kill me! I declare to the Provisional Government that I am a representative of democracy, and that the Government must especially take into account the views I shall uphold as a representative of the people, by whose efforts the old Government was overthrown. Comrades, time does not wait. I call you to organization and discipline. I ask you to support us, your representatives, who are prepared to die for the people and have given the people their whole life."

Appeal to the People

The first act of the new Government was the issuance of the following appeal, dated March 18, 1917:

Citizens: The Executive Committee of the Duma, with the aid and support of the garrison of the capital and its inhabitants, has succeeded in triumphing over the obnoxious forces of the old régime in such a manner that we are able to proceed to a more stable organization of the executive power, with men whose past political activity assures them the country's confidence.

[The names of the members of the new Government are then given and the appeal continues:]

The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

First—An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.

Second—Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions, and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials within the limits admitted by military requirements.

Third—Abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

Fourth—To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional Assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental régime.

Fifth—The substitution of the police by a national militia, with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the Government.

Sixth—Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

Seventh—The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

Eighth—While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

The Provisional Government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned.

Abdication of the Czar

Czar Nicholas's abdication was announced on March 16. The document was signed at the town of Pskoff, where the train on which he was traveling toward Petrograd was halted early in the week. From Pskoff, according to accounts now available, the Emperor communicated with members of the Executive Committee of the Duma, who informed him that they were sending emissaries to meet him there. Accordingly, a member of the Duma committee and one of the Ministers of the new Cabinet proceeded to Pskoff and had an interview with the Emperor in the presence of General Nicholas V. Russky, a member of the Council of the Empire and of the Supreme Military Council; Baron W. Fredericks, Minister of the Court; Count Narishkin, and others.

After relating to the Emperor the latest developments in the revolution, the emissaries advised him not to send any troops from the front to Petrograd, since all the troops were going over to the revolutionists as fast as they arrived.

"What is desired that I should do?" the Emperor inquired.

"Abdicate the throne," was the reply.

After devoting some time to deliberation Emperor Nicholas said:

"It would be very hard to be separated from my son. Therefore I will abdicate in favor of my brother, in behalf of myself and my son."

The document, which had been prepared in advance, was handed to the Emperor, and he signed it at once.

The text of the abdication is as follows:

We, Nicholas II., by the Grace of God Emperor of all the Russias, Czar of Poland, and Grand Duke of Finland, &c., make known to all our faithful subjects:

In the day of the great struggle against a foreign foe, who has been striving for three years to enslave our country, God has wished to send to Russia a new and painful trial. Interior troubles threaten to have a fatal repercussion on the final outcome of the war. The destinies of Russia and the honor of our heroic army, the happiness of the people, and all the future of our dear fatherland require that the war be prosecuted at all cost to a victorious end. The cruel enemy is making his last effort, and the moment is near when our valiant army, in concert with those of our glorious allies, will definitely chastise the foe.

In these decisive days in the life of Russia we believe our people should have the closest union and organization of all their forces for the realization of speedy victory. For this reason, in accord with the Duma of the empire, we have considered it desirable to abdicate the throne of Russia and lay aside our supreme power.

Not wishing to be separated from our loved son, we leave our heritage to our brother the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, blessing his advent to the throne of Russia. We hand over the Government to our brother in full union with the representatives of the nation who are seated in the legislative chambers, taking this step with an inviolable oath in the name of our well-beloved country.

We call on all faithful sons of the fatherland to fulfill their sacred patriotic duty in this painful moment of national trial and to aid our brother and the representatives of the nation in bringing Russia into the path of prosperity and glory.

May God aid Russia.

Fortunes of the Romanoffs

On March 19 it was reported from Petrograd that the former Czar, to be known as Nicholas Romanoff, had left with his staff for his personal estate at Livadia, on the south coast of the Crimea. It was at first believed that his twelve-year-old son and heir, Grand Duke Alexis, who renounced the throne when the father abdicated, had been killed, but later news was to the effect that the Czarina was with her children and that all save

Grand Duchess Marie were very ill with measles. In the case of the little Prince the attack was complicated by the breaking out of the old wound in his foot, dating from the alleged attempt on his life about four years ago. The Grand Duke was attended by his mother and the old sailor, Berevenke, who has been his constant companion. Grand Duchess Tatiana was in a serious condition, and oxygen had been administered.

News of the disaffection of the troops reached the Empress on Feb. 27. The palace guard was mobilized for defense, the riflemen remaining within the palace with machine guns, while outside were armored motors. When the Tsarskoe-Selo garrison revolted a collision with the palace guards appeared inevitable. The Empress went to the commander of the guard and said:

"My desire is that you do not fire."

This was taken as an order to surrender, which he did. Soon revolutionary troops entered the palace, and officers went to the apartment of the imperial family. To these the Empress said:

"Let there be no violence. I am now only a Sister of Charity at the bedside of my afflicted children."

Grand Duke Michael Declines

The Czar in abdicating transferred the supreme power to his younger brother, Grand Duke Michael, but the latter declined to accept the responsibility unless he should be declared the choice of the people by vote. The refusal was signed at his private residence, whither he went with a large part of the Duma committee, headed by Prince Lvoff, Professor Milukoff, and President Rodzianko.

The Grand Duke addressed the committee and declared that the responsibility devolving upon him found him undecided because of the existing differences of opinion. He added that since the happiness of Russia was the only consideration, he believed this would be assured by his abdication, and therefore surrendered his authority. The text of his declaration, dated March 16, is as follows:

This heavy responsibility has come to me at the voluntary request of my brother, who has transferred the imperial throne to me during a period of warfare which is accompanied with unprecedented popular disturbances.

Moved by the thought, which is in the minds of the entire people, that the good of the country is paramount, I have adopted the firm resolution to accept the supreme power only if this be the will of our great people, who, by a plebiscite organized by their representatives in a constituent assembly, shall establish a form of government and new fundamental laws for the Russian State.

Consequently, invoking the benediction of our Lord, I urge all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, established upon the initiative of the Duma and invested with full plenary powers, until such time, which will follow with as little delay as possible, as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, shall, by its decision as to the new form of government, express the will of the people.

Siberian Exiles Freed

The first act of the Provisional Government was one of amnesty for all political offenders, including Terrorists. The series of agreements opens up astonishing possibilities. A main feature of the program is that the form of government, whether republican or otherwise, is to be decided by a constituent assembly, to be elected after the war.

The famous prison of St. Peter and St. Paul at Petrograd, which has immured countless political prisoners, was thrown open, as was the Kremlin at Moscow, and exiles in all parts of the world were invited to return. The fleet and the naval commanders accepted the revolution with enthusiastic unanimity. Grand Duke Cyril, commanding the sailors of the guard, came in person with his officers and announced that this historic corps would place itself under the orders of Rodzianko. News from the army of 6,000,000 on the various Russian fronts was entirely favorable.

One of the most important gains in the revolution was its acceptance by the Holy Synod. The final meeting of the Synod since the revolution was held at Petrograd March 18 under the Presidency of the Metropolitan of Kiev. The new Procurator General of the Holy Synod, M. Lvoff, in opening the sitting, said he rejoiced at the advent of freedom of the Orthodox Church. He ordered the removal of the imperial chair from the conference room, symbolizing

termination of interference by the Emperor in the affairs of the Church. The Metropolitan and other members of the Synod said a new era for the Orthodox Church had come.

Public subscriptions for released political prisoners and for the families of men killed in the street fighting were opened. The Russo-Asiatic Bank has subscribed $250,000 for the released political prisoners.

Everywhere in Petrograd, Moscow, and other large cities the imperial insignia of the House of Romanoff were removed from all public buildings.

Foreign Minister's Notice

Professor Milukoff received the diplomatic representatives of the Allies on Sunday, March 18, and at the same time gave official notice of the revolution to the world in the following address, which was transmitted by cable to all Russian diplomats abroad:

"The news transmitted by the Petrograd Telegraphic Agency (the semi-official Russian news bureau) already has acquainted you with the events of the last few days and the fall of the old political régime in Russia, which collapsed lamentably in the face of popular indignation provoked by its carelessness, its abuses, and its criminal lack of foresight. The unanimity of resentment which the order of things now at an end had aroused among all healthy elements of the nation has considerably facilitated the crisis. All these elements having rallied with enthusiasm to the noble flag of revolution, and the army having lent them its speedy and effective support, the national movement obtained decisive victory within eight days.

"This rapidity of realization happily made it possible to reduce the number of victims to a figure unprecedentedly small in the annals of upheavals of such extent and importance.

"By an act dated from Pskoff March 15, Emperor Nicholas renounced the throne for himself and the hereditary Grand Duke Alexis Nikolaievitch in favor of Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. In reply to a notification which was made to him of this act, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, by an act dated Petrograd, March 16, in his turn renounced assumption of supreme power until the time when a constituent assembly, created on the basis of universal suffrage, should have established a form of government and new fundamental laws of Russia. By this same act Alexandrovitch invited the citizens of Russia, pending a definite manifestation of the national will, to submit to the authority of the Provisional Government constituted on the initiative of the State, which holds full power. The composition of the Provisional Government and its political program have been published and transmitted to foreign countries.

Responsibility Fully Realized

"This Government, which assumes power at the moment of the greatest external and internal crisis which Russia has known in the course of her history, is fully conscious of the immense responsibility it incurs. It will apply itself first to repairing the overwhelming errors bequeathed to it by the past, to insuring order and tranquillity in the country, and, finally, to preparing the conditions necessary in order that the sovereign will of the nation may be freely pronounced as to its future lot.

"In the domain of foreign policy the Cabinet, in which I am charged with the portfolio of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will remain mindful of the international engagements entered into by the fallen régime, and will honor Russia's word. We shall carefully cultivate relations which unite us to other friendly and allied nations, and we are confident that these relations will become even more intimate, more solid, under the new régime established in Russia, which is resolved to be guided by the democratic principles of respect due to the small and great nations, to the liberty of their development, and to good understanding among nations.

"But the Government cannot forget for a single instant the grave external circumstances in which it assumes power. Russia did not will the war which has

been drenching the world with blood for nearly three years. But, victim of premeditated aggression prepared long ago, she will continue, as in the past, to struggle against the spirit of conquest of a predatory race which has aimed at establishing an intolerable hegemony over its neighbors and subjecting Europe of the twentieth century to the shame of domination by Prussian militarism. Faithful to the pact which unites her indissolubly to her glorious allies, Russia is resolved, like them, to assure the world at all costs an era of peace among the nations, on the basis of stable national organization guaranteeing respect for right and justice. She will fight by their side against the common enemy until the end, without cessation and without faltering.

"The Government of which I form a part will devote all its energy to preparation of victory and will apply itself to the task of repairing as quickly as possible the errors of the past, which hitherto have paralyzed the aspirations and the self-sacrifice of the Russian people. I am firmly convinced that the marvelous enthusiasm which today animates the whole nation will multiply its strength in time and hasten the hour of the final triumph of a regenerated Russia and her valiant allies.

"I beg you to communicate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs [of the country to which the diplomat addressed is accredited] the contents of the present telegram."

Tons of Food Discovered

In vindication of the justice of the cause of the revolutionists after the emeute, thousands of tons of grain and other food were found hidden in remote places in Petrograd, apparently proving that the shortage was part of a treasonable design of the then existing Government.

On March 18 assurances had been received from all the armies in the field that the new Government was enthusiastically accepted. M. Kerenski had rescinded the order of banishment against Grand Duke Dmitri and Prince Youssoupoff, the slayers of Gregory Rasputin, the monk who exercised great influence over the imperial family, and the two men were returning to Petrograd. Members of the former Cabinet had been placed under arrest and would be cited for trial later. It is believed, however, that there will be no prosecution of the nobility, and that amnesty and moderation will be the watchwords of the new Government.

As to the Czar and his family, it is believed they will not be further molested; there seems to be no vindictiveness felt against him, as he was regarded as but a weak instrument in the hands of unscrupulous plotters. The explanation of the Camarilla's desire to have Russia meet disaster in the war, so as to force a separate peace, was the fear among the nobility that success with republican France and democratic England over autocratic Russia and Austria would spell the downfall of autocracy and the triumph of the Russian liberals.

Anti-German Sentiment

The strongest anti-German feeling animates the population. They are systematically hunting down all highly placed personages suspected of German proclivities or bearing German names or titles. The aged Minister of the imperial household, Count Fredericks, whose home was wrecked, was discovered in hiding and was taken as a prisoner to the Duma. Soldiers and a crowd of people long hunted for Countess Kleinmichael on suspicion of her being German. She was discovered hiding in the Chinese Legation, whence the soldiers removed her under arrest.

Baron Stackelberg fired on the soldiers from his window. He was dragged out of his home, taken to the quay side, and there summarily executed.

All the factories resumed operations on March 19, paying full wages for time lost during the revolution. Former members of the police force at Petrograd, numbering many thousands, were sent to the front. The Metropolitans of Petrograd, Moscow, Pitrin, and Mulary were sent into compulsory retirement. Pro-

vincial Governors were replaced by Presidents of Zemstvos or Mayors of cities in management of food supplies.

All censorship, except on military affairs, was abolished, and the department itself was discontinued. A committee headed by Maxim Gorky was appointed to safeguard palaces and artistic property. Home rule will be given to Finland. The former Governor, Zein, who was an oppressor and reactionary, was sent to prison, and it is understood that Baron Roditscheff, who has been a stanch advocate of free Finland, will be appointed Zein's successor.

Manifesto to the Nation

On March 20 the Russian Provisional Government issued the following manifesto to the nation:

"Citizens: The great work has been accomplished. By a powerful stroke the Russian people have overthrown the old régime. A new Russia is born. This coup d'état has set the keystone upon long years of struggle.

"Under pressure of awakened national forces, the act of Oct. 30, 1905, promised Russia constitutional liberties, which were never put into execution. The First Duma, the mouthpiece of the national wishes, was dissolved. The Second Duma met the same fate, and the Government, being powerless to crush the national will, decided by the act of June 16, 1907, to deprive the people of part of the legislative rights promised them.

"During the ensuing ten years the Government successively withdrew from the people all the rights they had won. The country was again thrown into the abyss of absolute ruin and administrative arbitrariness. All attempts to make the voice of reason heard were vain, and the great world struggle into which the country was plunged found it face to face with moral decadence and power not united with the people—power indifferent to the country's destinies and steeped in vices and infamy.

"The heroic efforts of the army, crushed under the cruel weight of internal disorganization, the appeals of the national representatives, who were united in view of the national danger, were powerless to lead the Emperor and his Government into the path of union with the people. Thus when Russia, by the illegal and disastrous acts of her Governors, was faced with the greatest disasters, the people had to take the power into their own hands.

"With unanimous revolutionary spirit, the people, fully realizing the seriousness of the moment and the firm will of the Duma, established a Provisional Government, which considers that it is its sacred duty to realize the national desires and lead the country into the bright path of free civil organization. The Government believes that the lofty spirit of patriotism which the people have shown in the struggle against the old régime will also animate our gallant soldiers on the battlefields.

"On its side the Government will do its utmost to provide the army with everything necessary to bring the war to a victorious conclusion. The Government will faithfully observe all alliances uniting us to other powers and all agreements made in the past.

"While taking measures indispensable for the defense of the country against a foreign enemy, the Government will consider it its first duty to grant to the people every facility to express its will concerning the political administration, and will convoke as soon as possible a constituent assembly on the basis of universal suffrage, at the same time assuring the gallant defenders of the country their share in the Parliamentary elections.

"The constituent assembly will issue fundamental laws, guaranteeing the country the immutable rights of equality and liberty.

"Conscious of the burden of the political oppression weighing on the country and hindering the free creative forces of the people during years of painful hardships, the Provisional Government deems it necessary, before the constituent assembly, to announce to the country its principles, assuring political liberty and equality to all citizens, making free use of the spiritual forces in creative work

for the benefit of the country. The Government will also take care to elaborate the principles assuring all citizens participation in communal elections, which will be carried out on a basis of universal suffrage.

"At the moment of national emancipation the whole country recalls with pious gratitude those who, in the struggle for their political and religious ideas, fell victims of the vengeance of the old power, and the Provisional Government will joyfully bring back from exile and prison all those who thus suffered for the good of their country.

"In realizing these problems the Provisional Government belives it is executing the national will and that the whole people will support it in its efforts to insure the happiness of Russia."

The news from all parts of the country on March 20 indicated that the revolution had been successfully accomplished everywhere without serious bloodshed, and the people, the army, and the navy were acclaiming the new order with enthusiasm. It was decided, in order to avoid all complications, not to give any commanding position to a member of the Romonoff house; hence the proposal was abandoned to name Grand Duke Nicholas as Generalissimo and Grand Duke Michael as Regent. The full sovereign powers rest with the Provisional Government until the National Assembly convenes.

Scientific Discoveries Due to the War

Paul Painlevé, a member of the French Institute and recent Minister of Inventions, has cited the following facts by way of reply to Thomas A. Edison's remark that science is playing a rather small part in the war:

The processes of wireless communication and for the registering of sounds at distances, that is, by the ordinary wireless currents and by ground induction, have been marvelously perfected through the requirements of the war. All the armies are rivaling each other in skillful methods for tapping the enemy's lines of telephonic communication from a considerable distance; not tapping as it is generally understood, but by the use of a marvelous instrument that enables the sentinel in his advanced listening post out beyond the front line of trenches to hear the enemy communications by telephone going over wires that are several hundred yards away.

I would mention also a system that we perfected and put into use for locating the enemy's batteries by sound. The principle was known before the war, but it was regarded as impracticable. It has, since the war, been brought to the highest state of perfection and efficiency and for months has been in use over the entire front. It has proved so effective that our adversaries, who captured a motor car with one of the outfits, have equipped themselves with similar appliances but lacking the delicacy and the precision of our instruments. It was France that had the entire initiative of this brilliant application.

Inventions for following the enemy's sapping and mining operations by sound that were, in all armies, very crude and insufficient before the war, have made the most remarkable progress, and will reflect honor upon French science later on.

Aviation in every respect has been remarkably perfected by the efforts of science and technicians since the war began. Today a pilot goes up in all kinds of weather without fear of being upset by sudden squalls, so well have been perfected the measures for the stability of flying machines. Great progress also has been made in the improvement of motors, particularly in the reduction of their weight in proportion to their effective power, so that they speed up to 150 miles an hour. Finally, in spite of the difficulties, wireless telegraphy has been marvelously adapted to aviation.

The Kaiser Today

This intimate, first-hand study of the Kaiser, duly authenticated, is written by a prominent American correspondent in Berlin. It is the first exclusive pen picture of the Kaiser since the war began.

IN the half lights of dawn there emerged from the shadows down the road a column of poplar trees; motionless and erect, it seemed they were on sentry duty, too. The gray-green of their uniforms almost invisible against the fields, soldiers in twos crossed and recrossed the road, ghostly they in the quickening spectrum of day, helmeted shadows of the Kaiser's Guard. Further down the road a light gleamed. That was the château; there Wilhelm II., "by God's grace, King of Prussia and German Emperor," slept.

KAISER WILHELM II.

In a nearby field horses whinnied and neighed; men moved, talking in harsh early morning voices. Two squadrons of the Dragoon Guards were encamped there—should the Kaiser call. There, too, one glimpsed a thin, lean glimmer of steel; and, as the sky changed from gray to pink, there came out of the vagueness, taking sinister shape, guns of the horse artillery—should the Kaiser call.

Guarding him as he slept, files of the gray-green men paced through the château park. An outer circle who tramped along the spiked iron fence of the grounds, another circle stalking through the trees, another, another, until, after circle upon circle of sentries, one came to a double guard at the narrow, prim entrance to the château. Even there the guards over the Kaiser did not end. Upstairs sentries stole through the high-ceilinged halls. In the rooms just above, just below, and on either side of the Kaiser chamber Secret Service men spent a sleepless night, watching, listening, the eternal vigil over the imperial body. For the German Emperor is never so guarded as he is at the front. Twenty miles from the firing line, this château. Guarded against what?

All through the night there had come down to the soldiers in the park the faint purring and clattering of the guards above, airplanes circling high above the imperial head, two eyes of the army peering through the high places, lest an enemy flyer swoop near. And on the gravel drive below, carefully posted motor trucks, platforms on wheels, mounting long-ranged anti-aircraft guns, others with monstrous glazy eyes that twinkled now in the dawn—the searchlights, that had been ready to sweep the night with light, had the enemy fliers come. And in the château room, under which slept their Emperor, more of the gray-green men watched the yellowing sky and yawned and felt hungry. Since midnight they had held the watch there, their machine guns tilted skyward; all about them the layers of sandbags to swallow the explosion of an enemy bomb. Nets, an arbor of wires over their heads, every precaution to nullify the effect of a bomb that might be cast down upon the château where the Kaiser slept.

The sun came up again, ruthlessly lighting the scarred face of France. Weird seemed the land in the faint light of day. Houses to the east, through which the golden glow gleams, framed on their gray stone walls by the cavernous holes of the shells. There a church with tumbled rafters, its cross shot

SINKING OF THE PASSENGER STEAMER LACONIA

One of the Tragic Events of the War, Depicted at the Moment When the Submarine Commander Questioned the Helpless Victims in an Open Boat

(From a Drawing by J. Burns. © 1917, N. Y. Times Co.*)*

SENATORS WHO HELPED TO DEFEAT ARMED SHIP BILL

WILLIAM J. STONE
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations
(© International Film Service)

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE
Who Led the Filibuster
(American Press Association)

away; here what had been a field of plenty, ugly now with the pockmarks of the shells. For over this land whereon the Kaiser slept his legions had rushed of a day in August two years before, and their imprint lay still upon the earth.

Six o'clock. A commotion at the door. The guard stiffened into statues, transfixed in the imperial salute. A man dressed in gray-green like theirs, a gray military cape, lined with red, hanging from his square shoulders, the short baton of a Field Marshal protruding from his left hand, appeared in the doorway. With a quick gesture his right hand returned their salutes: "Good morning, soldiers!" Another day for the Kaiser has begun.

Under the trees purred the imperial motor; behind it a second, gay with the gold and black of the imperial standard. The Dragoons cantered up from the field near by, slashing the air into twinkling shreds as their sabres swished to the salute. "Good morning, soldiers!" cried the Kaiser, the silver-knobbed baton flashing a salute in return. "Good morning, your Majesty!" roared five hundred horsemen.

The Kaiser stepped into the car. His tall Pomeranian grenadier footman tucked a rug around the imperial legs. The Dragoons divided, half riding out in front of the car, half galloping behind. "To General Bülow's headquarters," ordered the Kaiser, and, to a trumpeting of motor honrs, the imperial cavalcade slipped through the park, and, leaving the château behind, moved toward the front.

So began one day for the Kaiser; so has begun many a day for him during this war. For the German Emperor is more often at the front than he is at the castle in Berlin.

The Kaiser Takes Risks

For, whatever else may be said of the Kaiser, he is a man, and, considering this war a man's job, he is ever on the job. No occasional trips to the front for Wilhelm II. No remaining quite comfortable in a palace and every so often, at intervals of months, going on a royal sort of Cook's tour to visit his army. Rather the Kaiser ever holds his hand on the war pulse. One hears of him in France, then in Russia, then in Serbia.

At one time during the early fighting against Russia he barely retreated with a division across the River Niemen in time to escape capture by a Cossack patrol—an event, this, little known in Germany. Again, riding in an automobile with von Hindenburg in front of the fortress of Kovno, the Kaiser's car was picked up by Russian artillery observers, and there was a race for life against the shells. Again with his staff, and against their wishes, the Kaiser ventured upon a hilltop opposite Soissons in France and brought the crash of shrapnel down about his ears.

Yes, the Kaiser has seen this war. He has seen it at the front. He has seen regiments surge into action for him and die. Under his eyes—he deeming that his presence would stir the men to greater efforts—the Germans charged again and again to break the British lines at Ypres. And the Kaiser saw the flower of his army, the Prussian Guards, blasted away. And later he saw the funeral pyres of their dead lighting one of those Ypres nights made greenish with the rocket flares, one of those nights when mad colors seethe up from No Man's Land and the trenches slowly turn to great long graves. The Kaiser has seen these horrors by night, those unearthly nights by the Ypres Canal that always seem to come out of the pages of a Maeterlinck play.

Yes, war has made its imprint on the Kaiser's mind. One can see it today. The rebellious lock of hair over the temple is more gray. A deep furrow between the brows where there was none before, a shadowing in his gray-blue eyes that used always to be clear. At times on the imperial face the gambler's expression is discernible, the Monte Carlo face intensified illimitably. The Kaiser seems then like a man who has thrown everything on the wheel—people, country, dynasty—and the uncertainty, the stress of waiting and waiting for a result is portrayed there. Correspondingly the Kaiser's reactions of expression are violent today. After the victory at War-

saw in 1915 he looked extravagantly joyous. It was as if one had been trying to tell one's self that everything was coming out all right—although subconsciously one often feared not—and that then something happened, a victory! And for a moment the tension of doubt was broken. These changes of emotion show on the Kaiser today. But generally his face is grave. As he whirls from one point to another on the front, indeed, as he rushes from one of his far-flung battle fronts to another, the Kaiser's expression is always the same, gravity.

The war lord on parade, the Kaiser of the manoeuvre fields of peace times, the Kaiser who would order a cavalry charge of huge proportions, and who, as his horsemen thundered by, would turn to his military guests with a look of supreme pride and confidence—that Kaiser is no more. Instead one sees a harassed expression that shows the mind behind to be thinking: "Will the terms of peace satisfy my people for the sacrifices they have made? Will my people hold loyal and true to the end? I believe we are in God's hands, and he will not desert us."

His Religion Appallingly Sincere

For the religion of the Kaiser has been his cornerstone or his poison in this war. Calling upon the Almighty for aid in everything he undertakes, the Kaiser has come to approach the fanatically religious sovereigns of centuries gone by. In religion and his belief that God is on his side the Kaiser is appallingly sincere. Better were it a pose; he would have made peace long ago.

What of the Kaiser today? Always dignified, the war has grown about him a grave, almost reverential mood, lightened only by the smiles of victory. That the war weighs heavily upon his heart every American who has talked with him affirms. That he feels deeply at the sight of the dead and wounded is also true. Conceptions of the human character always differ. It has been written that Joan of Arc was a saint; that she was a madwoman; Molière scoffed at her. It has been written that Catherine of Russia was a great Empress; that she was a mere sexual pervert; that Edward VII. of England was a peacemaker, that he was a Janus-faced diplomat, who bred war. Conceptions of the Kaiser have been written, presenting him as an arch-hypocrite, the greatest actor in the world, and as a madman. The conception I have is neither of these. He is dangerously sincere. He believes in himself and in the destiny of the German people. He believes strongly in Nietzschean "will to power"—in his speeches to his soldiers during this war he has called it the "will to victory."

Always religious, the war has made him more so, until it approaches almost mysticism. His constant calling upon God is sincere. His belief that God is on his side is sincere. Whenever he goes to the front the imperial banner, orange, black embroidered with a cross, and bearing the legend "God with us," goes with him. He has caused that motto of his to be inscribed on the buckles of his soldiers. He has caused every soldier in the army to receive a little pocket Bible. He is accompanied by a Chaplain wherever he goes—accompanied by a surgeon, too.

The Kaiser's Health Uncertain

For during this war the imperial health has more than once been the cause of great worry to the German Nation. In December of 1914 a throat affection, the curse of the Hohenzollerns, which laid low his father and his grandfather, confined the Kaiser to the Schloss in Berlin. No one knew exactly what was the matter with him; only those at the top knew. An operation was performed, the Kaiser lived. For a year the malady left him alone, and he rushed from battlefront to battlefront, then in December of 1916 it overtook him again. The aged Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria, died. The Kaiser's physicians permitted him to attend a mass for his ally, but refused to let him go to the funeral. Now, the absence of the Kaiser from Franz Josef's funeral was a most conspicuous thing, and it is certain that in no circumstances would he have tolerated it had not the danger to his health been great.

Will the Kaiser survive the war? No one can tell. Wilhelm I. was a tall, pow-

erful man. One day he was taken down to a resort on the Riviera. The curse of the Hohenzollerns had caught him, and there he died quickly. The Kaiser has had a battle with himself from the day he was born. His left arm crippled, his figure drooping and sickly, as a boy Prince he worked against fate until he developed himself into a broad, muscular man. But he was not able to strengthen his throat, he was not able to ward off that disease, be it cancer or what, which took off his Hohenzollern ancestors.

Active at the Front

Physically strong the Kaiser is today. At the front he does not pamper himself. He has gone without meals. He has scorned the course luncheons of château headquarters for plates of stew at field kitchens. He has been in the saddle for hours at a time, always leaving the imperial motor when the zone of military fire, with its alert enemy observers, drew near. At Lille he stood in the rain for hours and watched the Bavarians, who were to drive on Arras, go marching by. Day after day, during the height of the Verdun offensive, he went to bed after midnight, and was up at daybreak, consulting with his Generals throughout the night.

Visiting points on the front by day, ever haranguing the soldiers with speeches, it is not an uncommon thing for the Kaiser to make twelve speeches a day at the front. It has been said of him that he believes his presence is worth more in a battle than two army corps. Let a column of infantry be overtaken by the imperial motor. "Halt!" cries the Kaiser—to the distant drumming of the guns he almost seems to beat time with the little Field Marshal's baton generally to be found clasped in the imperial hand. "Soldiers, you have given the Fatherland many glorious victories, you will continue to win victories until, with God's help, peace comes." Such is the pith of the typical Kaiser speech at the front—acknowledgment, instilling of will, reminder of God. It is his inevitable construction.

That the army loves him there can be no doubt. The Kaiser's attitude is as if Germany were the father; as if all the soldiers were children; as if he were the representative of the father, Germany, looking after them. He does look after his soldiers, too, as much as circumstances will allow—obviously impossible for the Kaiser to know his millions of soldiers personally. A visit to the groaning hospital cot, a word of kindness, a clasp of a day laborer's hand, a decoration bestowed, an unexpected visit to a company at meal time, a dish of stew with them from out of the field kitchen; an unheralded coming to the quarters where his soldiers rest behind the firing line, an imperial call-down for the officer because the men are not comfortable enough—such things the Kaiser is ever doing, and the stories of them are spread like wildfire throughout the army; and the men come to feel that he is an Emperor who is fighting with them, not lounging back in a palace, getting the reports.

Now, obviously it is good business for the Kaiser to create such sentiment among the soldiers; but to give that as a reason for the Kaiser being at the front is unfair and untrue; for the Kaiser is a man, and while he approaches war in the mood of utmost gravity and religiously inspired, still he loves the thrill of it all.

In a room of the General Staff in Berlin where the officers whose duty is railroad transportation keep track day and night of the movements of all passenger and military trains throughout the empire, there come nights when every man is unusually alert. Those are "Kaiser nights." In the great headquarters of Charleville, Brussels, and in Lille, three staffs whose sole work is railroads sit.

The Imperial Special

The Kaiser decides to leave the western battlefront for the east. His headquarters, during July, was a château behind Sedan. From Sedan the word is flashed to Lille that the Kaiser is coming. Lille flashes it on to Brussels. Brussels to the great railroad room in Berlin. From that building of yellowish brick on the Königsplatz, railroad chiefs at every point, from Aachen on the Belgian frontier to Alexandrovo on the Po-

lish frontier, are notified that the Kaiser's train is leaving Lille bound for Warsaw, over Brussels, Berlin. There is a separate staff for the administration of the roads in Poland, to which headquarters in Warsaw comes the same message from Berlin, and it in turn notifies the yard chiefs in Poland, at Lodz and Skierniewice, of the coming of the imperial train. All is ready. The yards know just how many military and passenger trains are scheduled to pass through them in the next twenty-four hours. The "Kaiser's schedule" is put in operation. Tracks are cleared for the imperial special.

Drawn by one of the powerful engines of the Heckle works, it pulls into Sedan, a drawing-room car for the Kaiser and his personal aids, a combination dining and study car, the imperial sleeper, and three sleepers for the rest of the staff. As the big locomotive waits, there sounds above its panting the clatter of airplanes, and overhead, in V formation, flying like crows, a big Fokker at the apex, the Kaiser's aerial guard, to keep off any possible enemy flier until the German frontier is reached, circles and circles on high.

The night after the Kaiser has stepped into his special train at Sedan, he is detraining at Warsaw and driving at midnight down the Jeruselamer Allee into the Nowy Swiat and down to the palace of the old Polish Kings, where he will spend the night. A few days getting the Polish sentiment, possibly sounding out the temper of the people, to see if shoulder to shoulder they will fight with the Germans against Russia, and the Kaiser moves on. From Warsaw he radiates north to watch the hammering at Riga; east, beyond Brest-Litovsk, where Reincke holds the line of Barnovitch against the Russian drive; or the imperial train goes hammering southwest over Ivangorod toward Kovel, where Litchowsky and his Cossacks drill the Austrian wall.

Wherever the situation seems to be critical, there goes the Kaiser—to inspire his troops. Wherever a great victory has been won, there goes the Kaiser—to thank his troops. Whenever a new country has been captured, Serbia, Rumania, there goes the Kaiser to strike awe into the hearts of the captive populace, awe and respect for the Prussian eagle. Wherever an ally is becoming a little uneasy, there goes the Kaiser—to stiffen weak backs and bolster causes that seem lost.

Methods of the War Lord

One of the Kaiser's prerogatives is that he holds the supreme command of the German Army and the German Navy. Incidentally, the German military title for the office is "Kriegs Herrn," a regular military title which caused the Kaiser to be known to the world as the War Lord, for Kriegs Herrn literally translates into that. Holding this supreme command, the Kaiser uses it. Our President is Commander in Chief of the American Army and Navy, but as a rule our Presidents rarely direct the campaign of our army and navy in time of war. Unlike our Presidents, the Kaiser has studied military and naval science his whole life, and he believes he knows something concerning it—a point, by the way, upon which writers on military science differ.

Now the Kaiser's method with his army is direct. He appoints the man whom he believes to be best fitted for the work to the office of Chief of the General Staff. This man is surrounded by hundreds of the most efficient and highly specialized officers in the German Army. This General Staff, quartered in the field at Charleville, France, works out department by department every phase of the big military campaigns. These campaigns, decided upon by the Chiefs of Staff, are then put up to the Kaiser.

After the success of the operations in Serbia in the Autumn of 1915, Falkenhayn formed a plan of campaign that called for a spending of Germany's offensive resources at that time against France. Hindenburg, then in supreme command of the German armies of the East, (Falkenhayn not having jurisdiction over him in any way,) violently opposed this plan against France. Hindenburg and his great strategist, Ludendorff, told the Emperor that no of-

fensive movement should be made against France, but that a decision should be first reached in the East. The Kaiser had the two propositions in front of him. Falkenhayn flatly promised the Kaiser Verdun. He had it all figured out convincingly. Hindenburg came out against Falkenhayn's plan. The Kaiser told Hindenburg he was wrong; but half a year later Falkenhayn's head went into the basket, next to Moltke's. He had joined the lists of the Kaiser's Chiefs of Staff who failed.

Now that is the Kaiser's position in relation to the army. He is the supreme arbiter. His Chief of Staff and his Generals conceive the military moves. He studies their plans, suggests changes here, and likes his Generals when they openly disagree with him—that is, if it turns out that they are right. If their opposition is shown to be wrong, they get on the imperial black list. The Kaiser decides. That sums up his position with the army.

His Control of Submarines

Similar is his relation to the navy. That, too, has its General Staff. They sit in a most modern building in Berlin, a palace compared with the headquarters of the army; and conceive their problems of naval strategy. In that white stone building on the shores of one of Berlin's canals was born the idea of submarine frightfulness. For two years they worked on the campaign which was announced to the world on Jan. 31, 1917. For two years they increased the building facilities of the German shipyards, biding their time, as week by week the number of "sea snakes" grew. Then, when they had a certain number ready—one does not pretend to know how many; credible information says that Germany can now build six submarines a week—when they had raised the number of submarines so it would satisfy their plans, the German Admiralty Staff laid them again before the Kaiser, and he made his momentous decision. Will it make him or break him?

Likewise with his Foreign Office does the Kaiser decide. In that musty old building, Wilhelmstrasse 76, there are departments for every nation in the world. One official, with his subordinates, is in charge of the United States department, another of the English, and so on. It is the duty of these department chiefs to be ready at the Kaiser's call to lay before him any diplomatic information which he desires in relation to that particular country. As executive head of the Foreign Office—Secretary for Foreign Affairs—von Jagow, with a mild, suave, tolerant, cosmopolitan type of mind, was quite all right for the rubber stamp work that a German Foreign Minister under Wilhelm II. has to do. Quite all right, until the brew of submarine frightfulness began boiling, and out went the mild Jagow for the vigorous Zimmermann. He is responsible to the Chancellor for the efficiency of the Foreign Office, and the Chancellor is responsible to the Kaiser.

As the army and navy chiefs bring up their plans for a decision, so does Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg. If the Kaiser likes the Chancellor's plan, he adopts it. If he doesn't, the imperial frown is put upon it. One colossal blunder, and, like Moltke, Falkenhayn, and Tirpitz, off will go Bethmann Hollweg's head into the imperial basket; for the Kaiser's chieftains publicly assume the responsibility for the moves of Imperial Germany. If the moves fail, they and they alone are to blame, for, despite the fact that none of these moves can be made without the Kaiser's indorsement of them, Wilhelm II., being the Kaiser, "can do no wrong."

We find today the German Emperor at the pinnacle of his power, lusty in health, save for the shadow of that disease which has cursed his family, and which at any time may insidiously creep over him.

The Kaiser has the vitality to keep continually active during this war. Grave, bearing his responsibilities heavily, rarely brightening except at the news of a victory, he sternly and grimly goes through the daily routine, knowing exactly what is going on in every department of the German war machine. Intensely religious, calling upon God in his hour of trial more even than he called upon Him in peace, the Kaiser is relig-

ious today almost to the point of fanaticism. One might almost say that his whole life is held together by his belief that God is on the side of Germany in this war. Without that deep and sincere religious conviction—it is almost insanity, what Bergson called a "mental complex"—it seems incredible that the Kaiser could have stood up against the strain, so deeply has he plunged himself into the war, as long as he has.

In considering the Kaiser today too much stress cannot be laid upon this religious side of his character. If he were acting, if his ranting about God were mummery, the task of the world would be easier. For a hypocrite analyzes and compromises quickly. Not a fanatic. And the Kaiser's belief that he is a being put on this earth by God and anointed by God to rule the German Nation, and to lead it to its destiny—which destiny the writers of Germany have often assured us has no small limits—this belief of the Kaiser's that God is the protector of German Kultur, this makes him in this war the strongest ruler in the world.

For he will not compromise. Believing as he does that God is with him, he will go on fighting on and on, putting all the life and treasure of Germany into what he believes to be the arm of the Almighty. He will fight on, and he will be able to, because his people love him, despite the appalling sacrifices he has called upon them to make. Impelled by this religious hysteria, he will continue the war until he meets an end like that of the old German gods, and the whole fabric of his empire is rent asunder. Either that or the world fighting him will be as Christ and try to end humanity's anguish by overcoming the thought of "punishment" with one of charity. But if the world should be merciful the Kaiser would believe that "our old German God"—privately tagging the Almighty as he so often does—had brought him victory. And on the Linden the imperial fanfares would sound, and from the gray stone balcony of the schloss one of those "with God" speeches would stir the Berlin soul. * * * Yet—yet there would be peace.

A Colossus today is the Kaiser. A conqueror, lusty and hale. But tomorrow, what of that?

Before the war a German, Franz von Beyerlin, wrote a novel speculating on the fate of the German Army, asking the question as to what the future held, and taking that question as his novel's title, "Jena or Sedan?" * * * defeat or victory?

One can imagine a novel now, around the Kaiser—"Tilsit or Versailles?" * * * humbled or glorified, what will he be? * * *

Perhaps the graves of Europe's dead know, but cannot tell.

The Women of the War

By ETHELWYN DITHRIDGE

Afar amid war's darkness, they suffer and grow strong,
For courage is their garment, and hope their evensong;
They hide the pain of parting with "till we meet again,"
Or greet with tender welcome their bruised and broken men.
They give their *all* ungrudging, nor think it much to give;
They see their lives in ruin, then face the years, and *live*.

O heart of selfish sorrows and unavailing fears!
One day of their devotion were worth my idle years.
With uncomplaining patience their sacrifice is made—
So, tho' in lesser service, my debt of love were paid.
Take *thou*, beloved country, the little all I give,
Who am not born to greatness, and yet would greatly live.

Hunger Stalks Through Europe

Food Shortage and Stern Measures to Meet It

ALL information during late February and March indicated definitely that all the nations of Europe were suffering severely from food shortage. The crisis began to be acute in February, and until the crops of 1917 begin to mature, a period of about three and a half months, all Europe will continue to confront the most serious lack of food that has yet arisen. No portion of the entire Continent is free from privation, though the shortage seems more acute in Germany and Austria than elsewhere.

Oscar King Davis, who spent several weeks in Germany before the severance of relations, and who accompanied Ambassador Gerard on his journey home, cabled to THE NEW YORK TIMES from Havana on March 11 a comprehensive review of the food situation in Germany.

Mr. Davis wrote that Mr. Gerard regarded the condition of Germany as desperate, especially where the supply of food and general economic conditions, including finance, are concerned, and that he knew the frame of mind of responsible German officials to be quite in keeping with their recognition of the desperate situation of their country.

He wrote that one who has lived even for a brief period in the restaurants and hotels of Germany stands aghast in France, as he does in Switzerland, at the prodigal and extraordinary waste of food. If you have had a meal in a public eating place in Berlin, with the lively and significant clink of forks and spoons on plates and dishes, scraping up the last drop of sauce or gravy, and then come into a public eating place in Berne or Paris, to find not only sauce and gravy abandoned in unthinkable quantities, but bread, meat, potatoes, and every kind of thing good to eat sent away from the table untouched or hardly more than nibbled at, you are simply overwhelmed by the contrast.

"It is under such circumstances," continues Mr. Davis, "that you come to a keener realization of how the organization and control of her food supplies in their production, collection, and distribution is evidence, not that Germany is starving today, but that she is likely by these very means to win through to the bitter end without starvation. Hardship, privation, underfeeding, and for some of her people insufficient nourishment, Germany unquestionably endures today, with three or four severe months yet to sustain before she finds relief from new crops. But if those new crops respond in fair measure to the efforts Germany is making on them, her food problem will be postponed, in great measure, for yet another year.

"The German officials have not been eager to place exact scientific data in the hands of foreign observers and investigators, but there have been a few American scientific men who have made noteworthy studies, especially on food and sanitary conditions. Mr. Gerard has had the advantage of their work and knows their information. The results of their observations and their scientific conclusions will undoubtedly be included in what Mr. Gerard has to tell the President in the next few days. It will be a report tinged with malnutrition, undernourishment, anemia, low blood count, and similar scientific terms meaning that those to whom they are applied have not had food in sufficient quantities or of proper quality. It will be applied especially to certain classes of Germans, such as seamstresses, servants, persons working for small wages, children, the aged and infirm, and that sort."

A trusted observer of food conditions in Germany reported to the State Department at Washington on March 14 that 20,000,000 people directly connected with the German Army or Government, 20,000,000 in the rural population, and about 8,000,000 wealthy people were well fed, but that the rest, about 20,000,000, were in a serious plight.

Charles H. Grasty, an executive of

The New York Times Company, who joined Ambassador Gerard's party in Spain and sailed from Corunna to America with him, after eleven days in intimate intercourse with the party of diplomats, Military Attachés, doctors, merchants, and travelers, who had had unsurpassed opportunities for knowing the real state of affairs in Germany, wrote on March 11:

"After discussing the German situation for eleven days, my conclusion is that the food shortage in the Fatherland is more serious than has been believed outside. The present condition is not one of actual starvation, but there is much suffering in spots, and Germany faces a crisis between now and harvest. Unless the submarine war prospers Germany can hardly escape an upheaval.

"One doctor aboard the ship tells me that, even with his unusual facilities, he was much reduced by the lack of fats, and when he reached Zurich he was so ravenous that he made himself ill, devouring everything greasy. Lack of fats caused an incessant gnawing and nothing would 'stick to his ribs.' His stomach had no food reserve and intestinal digestion was suspended.

"The misery resulting from the food conditions is observable in every face. The Government took all possible precautions, but while 60 per cent. turnips could make bulk, it couldn't make nutriment. A thick soup of cabbage and turnips, a bit of meat, and a trace of grease could be bought at the community kitchens in the cities for 6 cents, (30 pfennigs,) and bread at 1 cent a slice, but thirty minutes after eating, one was hungry again.

"The diet gave no power of resistance to the cold. The Americans who serve as prison inspectors say that even with huge furs they almost froze this Winter.

"Mothers and babies are without milk, and the suffering is great. While the effect of the food conditions on the public morale is temporarily offset by hysterical loyalty, physical causes must prevail over psychological in the end.

Unhealthy Social Conditions

"Throughout the trying times the German women have been showing a splendid nerve. They are taking men's places at manual labor. Many assure me if the women are called they will respond in tremendous numbers, game to perform many trench tasks, if not actually do full military duty.

"The moral and social conditions are entirely unlike old Germany. In high society spying and intrigue prevail. Nobody trusts anybody, and the conversation is all insincerity and deception. While the unwritten law still holds among the nobility, the laws regulating divorce are a dead letter.

"Soldiers at the front and wives at home are freed from marital restraints. Illegitimate births now reach 25 per cent. in Berlin, and even more in Bavaria, and the percentage is increasing.

"Popular taste on the stage calls for a murder in every act, and the big theatrical successes reek with morbid details.

"The tendencies in Germany to rule womankind with a rod of iron have been emphasized by the war. Men use women roughly and punish them physically for trifling faults. Women are treated as recognized inferiors, and they don't resent it.

"Such are some of the effects of baffled militarism upon the Germans. They went into this war expecting a three months' picnic. The resistance, followed by threatened defeat, has produced a perversity that breaks out as described.

"This is not to say that Germany is all bad. I have heard stories of splendid self-sacrifice in all circles. Some of the aristocracy voluntarily adopt short commons, and potato rations are passed to the guests by liveried servants."

Greater Berlin is now issuing weekly 3,600,000 bread cards, and 66,500,000 coupons representing daily rations find their way back to the Bread Commission, where they are checked off. Soldiers returning from the front are met at the railway station and receive bread tickets good for their furlough.

One recent achievement of the German chemists has been the utilizing of tar oil, extracted from burned coal, for making soap. The new process includes the treatment of crude coal oil with potash,

the finished product yielding excellent soft, hard, and powdered soaps.

Life in Hamburg

The German newspaper press reveals in advertisements some facts regarding the situation. The following is given as an example of a war dinner which may be obtained in Hamburg (Hackepeter Restaurant, Reeperbahn 103):

Herring with French beans, 1.40 marks.

Haddock (boiled) with mustard sauce and sauerkraut, 1.50 marks.

Haddock (fried) with green cabbage, 2 marks.

Hare ragout, with cabbage stewed in wine, (free from meat card,) 2.20 marks.

Roast venison with red cabbage, (one-half meat card section,) 2.80 marks.

Rum grog, 60 pfennigs; red wine grog, 40 pfennigs.

Sea mussel meal prepared from living fresh mussels mixed with meat is apparently a popular dish in the sense that it is freely advertised, and there are many advertisements of salted fish and even fresh fish. This, however, is very dear; five tons of plaice, for instance, is offered at 260 marks a ton, and eighteen tons of whiting and haddock at 280 marks à ton. The price of geese is so high that it cannot be reckoned as a food for the nation at large. Thus goose breast costs 11.50 marks per pound, and goose legs 9 marks per pound. Goose fat must be a great luxury, for it is sold at 17 marks a pound. Large crammed fowls can, however, be had for 4.50 marks a pound, and ducks at 4.95 marks per pound. Hens for roasting are advertised at about $1.25 apiece. Foods of a kind that are not as a rule eaten are freely advertised, such as salt seal meat and whale meat.

Soap is very scarce, and toilet soap costs 63 cents a piece, and cannot easily be got. Soap substitutes made of calcium carbonate are common. Fatless grease wash extracts for soap are freely advertised. Many firms find a difficulty in feeding their workers, and advertise for supplies. Very common is the advertisement, "We buy food of all kinds for workers in large quantities." One firm announces that it will buy any quantity of preserves, jams, and meat wares.

The strangest materials are being used to produce covering for the poorer classes of Germany. Nettle wastage and raw nettles are advertised as well as woven paper for making men's clothes. Cheap costumes are made from artificial silk, and moiré material and lining are used for dresses. There are many offers in the clothing trade journals to buy waste paper, from which paper yarn is made. A textile firm advertises for horse hair of all kinds, ox-tail hair, goat hair, pigs' bristles and hair, which are to be used in its factory. The lack of raw material has caused many textile mills to close down. Waste of every kind is eagerly bought, such as metal, rags, bones, rubber, iron, paper, newspapers and books, and empty sacks, packing cases, and bottles. There are numerous advertisements due to the war which point to the use of all available resources.

Organ Pipes for Munitions

Prussian churches are being stripped of their organ pipes. Thus we find the following proclamation from the Police President in Berlin:

The proclamation of the Ober-Kommando in Brandenburg respecting the sequestration, census, and expropriation of organ "prospekt" pipes made of tin, and voluntary delivery of other tin pipes, sound-conductors, &c., belonging to organs and other musical instruments, comes into force on Jan. 10. * * *

The Police President, Berlin.

An advertisement in the Berliner Tageblatt gives instructions as to how these orders are to be carried out. In it the "prospekt" pipes are described as all those visible on the outside of an organ. The price fixed for these tin organ pipes is 6.30 marks per kilo, in addition to a payment of 35 marks by way of compensation for every organ damaged.

There is a great search after gold and jewelry, a committee having been formed for this purpose with the Crown Princess of Prussia as its patroness, and backed by the signatories of Bethmann Hollweg, Wermuth, Oberburgermeister of Berlin, and Dr. Haverstein, President of the directorate of the Reichsbank.

It is stated that the offices of the committee are open every weekday from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. in various parts of Berlin. The price of the objects bought

is fixed by valuators. Deliverers of gold trinkets receive a written certificate, and those who offer gold chains get an iron chain at the cost of 2.50 marks, to celebrate their patriotism, or a medal. All those who offer gold objects worth at least 5 marks receive a similar medal.

In analyzing any list of advertisements it is necessary to remember that most of the necessaries of life cannot be bought without the production of official vouchers. Thus edible fat, eggs, and sugar can only be bought on production of a food book which entitles the buyers to certain quantities as per ration. This applies, of course, to all articles of food on the food ticket. Poultry, however, and game are freely sold without cards, which means that the well-to-do can still get plenty to eat. A new order forbids under heavy fine the bringing of dogs into rooms where food is kept for sale.

Cultivating Town Lots

Many advertisements appear in the agricultural papers urging the farmers to cultivate vegetables in large quantities, for a shortage of vegetables, on which the poor in the absence of meat so much depend, is feared. Building grounds in towns are being parceled out for cultivation. Thus we get the following announcement in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten:

> In order to hold out more easily we are making available for the cultivation of fruit and vegetables the Maxhof estate within the town boundary of Munich, situated between Forstenried, Neuried, &c. Thirty-five minutes distant from Waldfriedhof and Solin. Since work must soon be begun it lies in the interests of the buyer to choose quickly. Owing to the bad weather during the recent holidays we retain the old price of 7½ pfennigs per square foot for Saturday and Sunday, when the ground can be viewed, &c. One-quarter plot (tagwerk) equals 850 square meters, cost 750 marks, &c.
>
> Forstenried Garden City Co., Ltd.

Shortage of labor is a great difficulty in getting the land cultivated, and even men with artificial limbs are being used in farm work. Belgian labor is offered as if it were slave labor, if one may judge from the following advertisement in the Magdeburgishe Zeitung:

"Thirty Belgian civilian workers are to be disposed of during the frosty weather."

The high prices in Germany naturally encourage smuggling from Holland. The Dutch paper, Vaderland, declares that the smuggling trade has grown such a lucrative one in the Coevorden district that many workmen are leaving their employment to take this trade in hand. The Algemeen Handelsblad is informed from Zevenaar that at Didam, Bergh, Wehl, and Zevenaar more than 5,000 kilos of fat and soap have been seized from smugglers. A number of the smugglers have been caught and warrants have been issued against 200, including some Amsterdam people. The Dutch require these articles for themselves, since prices are very high in Holland.

Picture of Berlin Life

The Frankfurter Zeitung publishes an account of the extraordinary change in the appearance and life of Berlin. It is only lately that Berlin has really altered its character—since the shops shut at 7, the houses at 9, the theatres at 10, and the restaurants and cafés at 11:30, while practically all the street cars stop at midnight, and the population, adapting itself to circumstances, really goes to bed early. The Frankfurter Zeitung gives the following picture:

"Without any exaggeration, Berlin has become a different city. For every town the new restrictions mean much, but for Berlin they mean everything. In other places people were active, but in Berlin they were creative. Here was the new Germany, the new Europe. The manifold activities, the vitality have gone, and all that remains is war, victory, and peace. Although the individual artist, merchant, or professor may still have his ideas and pursue them in secret, Berlin as a whole is waiting, breathless, silent, tame, but burning for the moment when she can again pursue her innumerable purposes with the old eagerness and a new impulse. That is the characteristic of intellectual and scientific Berlin—waiting for the new moment, the new time. * * * The streets are now quieter by day and empty in the evening. Life is a provisorium. One sees few

taxicabs, and notices more and more the scarcity of vehicles generally and in many cases of personnel. The women are beginning to dominate the sphere of work, doing everything on their own responsibility. * * * We have our own army of occupation, since whole rows of houses are taken up by the new War Bureaus and the countless subordinate departments which are carrying out the national organization. What was called 'shopping' has stopped. Since everything is rationed, shopping due to fancy, luxury, or boredom—in other words, women's shopping—has ceased."

The article goes on to say that the theatres are full, but that, except in the lowest class of revues, the plays have little to do with the war. People have become quiet and introspective, and hostesses are acquiring the habit of reciting poetry to their guests.

The Berliner Tageblatt on March 7 announced that the suspension of all beer brewing in Northern Germany was imminent. This action was due to the desire to save Indian corn for bread and malt to take the place of coffee.

At a conference in Vienna March 3, attended by Cabinet Ministers, Governors of Provinces, Burgomasters, and several Parliamentary Deputies, Premier Count Clam-Martinic announced that the Minister of Finance was about to put into operation measures to provide foodstuffs for the poorer classes at considerably reduced prices.

Bread Cards in France

Announcement that bread cards would be instituted in France to prevent waste was made March 1, 1917, in an official communication issued by Edouard Herriot, Minister of Provisions. The announcement says:

"To avoid wastage, the Minister of Provisions has decided to regulate the consumption of bread by instituting cards. Instructions will be given to the Prefects of the different departments to put the new regulation into effect."

It developed in a debate in Paris that the wheat acreage of France was reduced about 800,000 by the invasion, out of a total of 16,250,000, while the deficiency for 1917 is estimated at 5,500,000 acres, of which 500,000, at least, is expected to be made up by Spring seeding of Manitoba wheat, which, it is now conceded, will grow successfully in French soil.

To increase the wheat acreage it is necessary to raise the maximum selling price from an equivalent of $1.85 to $2.25 per bushel, and also to intensify the use of modern motor implements and a greater number of prisoners of war, of whom only 35,000 have been employed on farms.

Russia also is suffering serious privation, aggravated by a serious breakdown in its transportation and distributing systems. News dispatches before the recent revolution told of food riots in Moscow and Petrograd, but the censorship was so strict that no details were allowed to filter through. Food riots in Petrograd, indeed, were a direct cause of the downfall of the Czar's Government. Those who know most concerning the internal situation in Russia declare that starvation still faces large numbers of the poor throughout that country.

Scarcity in Great Britain

There is a great scarcity of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is stated that the available stock will be entirely exhausted by May 1, unless there is a material reduction in consumption. The measures taken to increase the British food supply by restricting the importation of nonessentials are given in detail elsewhere. Among the new regulations in London is the establishing of one meatless day at all clubs. The prices of bacon, butter, cheese, and lard are regulated. A reliable observer says under date of March 8:

"All over the United Kingdom men and women are, in advance of mandatory legislation, limiting their food consumption, reducing the use of meat, of sugar, of all the things that are supplied by seaborne freights. Britain is getting ready to stand siege; millions of British subjects recognize that the cost of victory in the great struggle may be scarcity at home such as has not been known in modern times in England.

"In the restaurants and hotels only

two courses are served for luncheon and three for dinner. And nothing is more impressive than the fashion in which people are submitting to that sort of regulation.

"The time has not come when there is an actual and visible shortage of foodstuffs in England. There is no starvation and there is no evidence of that very general underfeeding which all witnesses agree is so unmistakable in Germany. Britain is not yet hungry, but Britons are taking every step to avoid possible famine hereafter by making meagre now."

Deprivations of Neutrals

The war years have doubled prices of many necessities in all lands, and the suffering in the neutral countries of Europe is almost as acute as that in the belligerent nations. Reports from the Scandinavian countries and Holland tell of serious want owing to the submarine blockade. Sweden has not enough grain to last until the next harvest, and Norway has still less than Sweden.

Holland suffered a severe blow in the torpedoing of six Government grain ships by German submarines, followed by a virtual paralysis of all overseas traffic. There has been some modification of the sea lanes open to Holland, but the food shortage continues acute. The Dutch Government found itself compelled, owing to this situation, to prohibit the exportation of bread to Belgium after March 10, 1917.

Switzerland has two meatless days a week, and must limit its egg consumption, according to a measure promulgated by the Bundesrat at Berne on Feb. 23. In order to conserve the milk supply the sale of whipped cream is forbidden in all public places. The same provision forbids the giving of more than 15 grams of sugar with a tea or coffee order and limits the quantity of sugar which may be used for frostings. Butter may be served only at breakfast or at meals at which no meat or egg dishes are supplied and may no longer be used with cheese. The use of eggs in making pastry is prohibited.

The United States has not escaped its share of the war's effects. In New York City late in February there were riots in the congested districts over the high prices of food and considerable excitement prevailed for some days. Many tons of food were purchased at distant points by municipal committees and sold in New York at cost. After a week of excitement the food supply increased, prices dropped and the flurry subsided.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[American View]

Germans and Turks in Retreat

Period from February 15 to March 17, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

DURING the past month only two theatres of war have been at all active—the front in France and the Near East. The others have remained in the grip of an unusually long Winter, which, while it has permitted sporadic outbursts of short duration, has effectually prevented any sustained movements. But in these two theatres the Allies have achieved the greatest successes of the last two years.

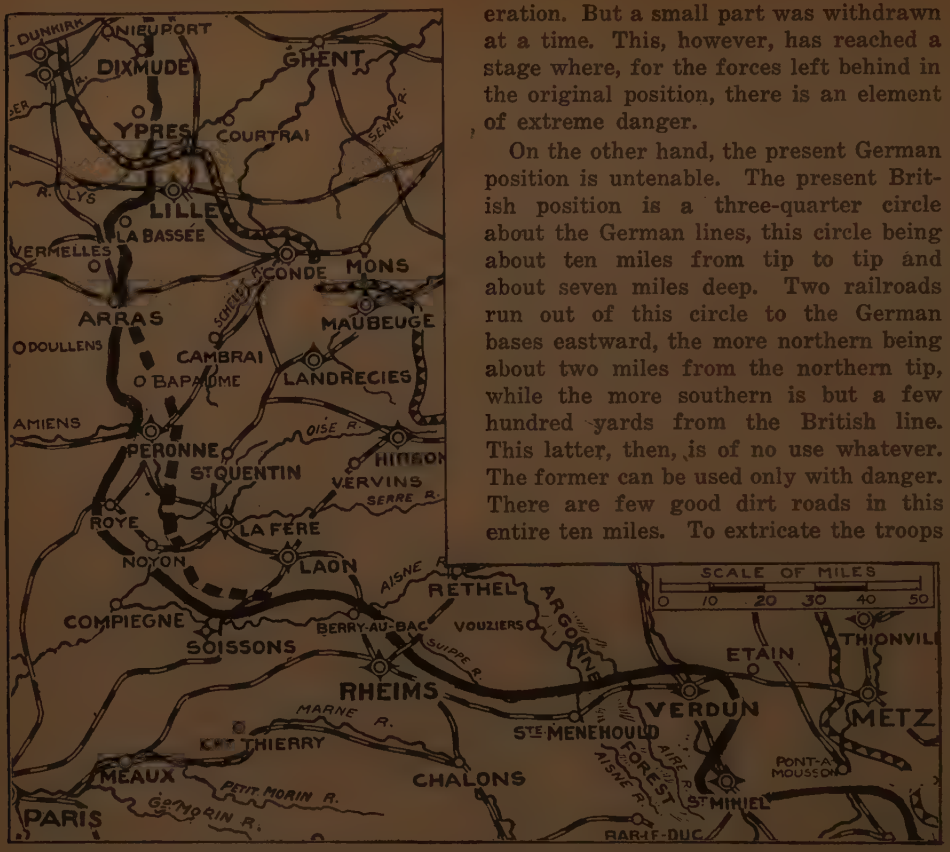
On the French front the ground has not hardened after the melting of the Winter snows, but the British have maintained a consistent pressure which the Germans have not seemed able to hold back. Continuing their success at Grandcourt, which they took last month, the British were pushing slowly up along the railroad that runs from Albert to Achiet le Grand and thence to Arras. The Germans gave ground stubbornly for a while, and then an unexpected thing happened. The entire southern side of the German salient began to retreat, slowly and in good order, with apparently small loss. The German official reports failed to mention this retreat for days, and the British reports were none too definite in regard to it. For sometime the whole affair remained clouded in mystery.

Apparently the British were taken by surprise, and were afraid of some sort of trap. Their advance, therefore, was slow, as if they were feeling their way forward. The Germans were equally wary in their retreat. They left behind them, as the main forces retired, strong posts armed with machine guns lest the retreat be turned into a rout. A number of strong positions were given up. Even the railroad junction at Achiet le Grand was permitted to come directly under fire of the British artillery through the occupation by the British of Achiet le Petit. As many of the roads over which the retreat had to be made were covered by the British artillery the German loss must have been considerable; but, notwithstanding some press reports of a rout, there was not the slightest indication that the withdrawal was otherwise than orderly and in complete control.

The retreat carried the British lines up to the outskirts of Bapaume, the first of the objectives for which the battle of the Somme was begun. Here the Germans made a stand. But the British immediately shifted the point of pressure and attacked along the Bapaume-Péronne road against the Woods of St. Pierre Vaast near Sailly-Saillisel. They captured these woods, and, pushing their lines well forward both to the north and south, went well to the east of the Bapaume position, outflanking it and accentuating the danger of an attack from the south. On the morning of March 17 Bapaume was captured by the British, while the French took Roye and Lassigny.

Abandoning the Whole Salient

This German retreat is evidently the beginning of a retirement from the whole of what might be termed the Ancre salient. That it has not progressed more rapidly is evidence of the extreme care which must be exercised in a retrograde movement when enemy pressure is constant and where contact is never for a moment lost. The Germans have, of course, vast stores of ammunition in their endless series of dugouts, and this must be moved. Not a little of it has fallen into British hands. This was un-



THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS THE OLD FRONT, THE DOTTED LINE FROM ARRAS TO SOISSONS THE NEW POSITION GAINED BY THE ALLIES UP TO MARCH 20, 1917

avoidable, and will be the case whenever such a movement takes place, but, relatively, the amount is small. This necessity of removing ammunition is going to be a source of much trouble to the Germans as they retire, as it must and will subject them to much greater punishment than would otherwise be the case. The fewer the roads, too, over which this can be moved, the greater is going to be the danger of disaster, at least as far as ammunition is concerned. And this difficulty is present now even to a greater degree than before.

The Germans did not and could not retire from the entire salient position at one operation. The line here, with its sinuosities, was about fifteen miles long. Had a retirement on any such front been attempted British pressure would have ruined the movement as a tactical operation. But a small part was withdrawn at a time. This, however, has reached a stage where, for the forces left behind in the original position, there is an element of extreme danger.

On the other hand, the present German position is untenable. The present British position is a three-quarter circle about the German lines, this circle being about ten miles from tip to tip and about seven miles deep. Two railroads run out of this circle to the German bases eastward, the more northern being about two miles from the northern tip, while the more southern is but a few hundred yards from the British line. This latter, then, is of no use whatever. The former can be used only with danger. There are few good dirt roads in this entire ten miles. To extricate the troops which still hold the northwestern corner of the old salient position can only be accomplished at a considerable sacrifice of material and great loss of men. And yet this must be given up. There is scarcely a foot of all this territory which is not under fire of the British guns from practically all directions. As trenches cannot at the same time face more than one way, it is impossible that they can furnish adequate protection. The Germans are therefore in trouble, no matter what their choice may be.

Causes of Retirement

The movements of the past month are in themselves a sufficient answer to the assertion that to get the Germans out of France it will be necessary to drive them out foot by foot for the whole distance. Clever strategy can frequently,

even in trench warfare, put an enemy in a position where a retirement is his only salvation, even though infantry may never have to go into action to effect it. This is what the British have done on the Somme.

As to the reasons for the German retirement, the Germans have been very silent except to state that it was a strategic retreat. This is, of course, meaningless, as every retreat is properly so characterized. The British have in like manner had but little to say of it. One thing we may be certain of: It was dictated by necessity, not through choice. This necessity may have been either of two things. As I have said, the British pressure was becoming more and more severe, and the trap was slowly being drawn tighter and tighter about the German lines. If these forces did not retire soon there was a possibility that they would not be able to retire at all, but must surrender. Another question was the shortage of men. There can be no doubt that this question is causing not a little embarrassment. The Central Powers are outnumbered on all fronts two to one, and are outgunned and outgeneraled on the western front. As it is possible to increase the number of men per mile of line only by shortening the line, this must be done. The eastern line cannot, from its very nature, be shortened without grave sacrifice of territory. Therefore this operation must take place in the west. In either case it bespeaks a German emergency.

Just how far the German retirement will extend no one, of course, can say. Since the rain broke up the battle of the Somme last Fall the Germans have had plenty of time to prepare in rear of their present lines a strong line of defense, just as strong, in fact, as was their original line when the storm on the Somme broke. It is equally certain that they have taken advantage of the opportunity. It is to this line that they are retiring, and they will halt when it is reached, not before.

The remainder of the western front has shown an uneasiness, reflecting possibly the action north of the Somme. This has shown itself on both sides of the Oise north of the Aisne and in the Champagne district. Both of these sections of the line are of importance in the possibilities they present. The former threatens the Noyons salient as well as the entire Aisne line by flanking it, the latter the same line from the other end by threatening the railroad communications. A successful operation against the road between Challerange and Bazancourt would place the German line in an unenviable position as far as supplies are concerned.

The Turkish Reverses

In the Near East events have been much more determinative, and at this time it is not too much to say that Turkey is in grave danger of being forced into a separate peace. The British, operating along the Tigris River from the head of the Persian Gulf, have conducted one of the most brilliant individual moves of the war. Here the fighting has been wide open, trench warfare has not appeared, and, because of the mobility of the forces engaged, strategy has borne a much more prominent part than in the western fighting. It is not a question in this territory only or even principally of the mechanics of war. It is a question of the brilliancy of the individual commander.

The British here have made the most expert use of their cavalry through a series of well-planned and skillfully executed movements against the Turkish line of communications along the river. As fast as the Turks would halt and endeavor to make a stand, the British cavalry, operating on the western bank of the Tigris, where the ground is high and excellently adapted to cavalry work, would strike behind them and force a retreat. As the Tigris is the only line of communications the Turks possessed in this country of few roads, a retreat was in every case inevitable.

Position after position was turned in this way, until, after a most rapid advance, Bagdad fell into British hands. At this writing the British have pushed fifty miles beyond the City of the Caliphs, and the Turks are still in retreat. In addition the British are striking out

along the road from Bagdad to Teheran, along which the Russians are advancing rapidly. The Turks are therefore in a trap, which, if they do not move quickly, they will not be able to escape. The Turkish Army before the British is in a state of almost complete demoralization. It has lost the greater part of its artillery and ammunition, has suffered heavily in prisoners, and many of the men have thrown their arms into the Tigris as they fled. Indeed, the rate of the British advance, which was unbelieveably rapid, tells its own story of the condition of the Turkish Army.

Further east, in Persia, the Russians are having a similar experience. The Turkish Army in Persia, alarmed at the possibility of having its line of retreat cut off by the advancing British, has offered but feeble resistance to the Russians, who have definitely broken the enemy's line and are hurrying westward toward the Turko-Persian frontier. Their rate of advance is as great as that of the British. The Turkish force is in vital danger. The British are squarely across their main line of retreat, and to get away at all they will have to break over the mountains and pass through the gap between the Russian and the British Army—which gap is steadily narrowing.

Less than 150 miles now separates these two forces, so that the danger to the Turks of capture or destruction is apparent. There seems no possibility of the Turks offering any organized resistance to either force until Mosul is reached. At Bagdad they had in their rear the Bagdad railway, and also naturally had stored up in Bagdad a large quantity of materials of war of all kinds. It was indeed the main base from which they were working. If with all these advantages they were unable to halt the British advance for more than two days, it is evident that their power of resistance has been broken.

Aside from the military situation created by these successes, the political situation will be even more prolific of danger to the Turk. Syria and Arabia are waiting only for the opportunity to break loose from the Sultan's dominion and set up independent States. The initial steps have already been taken by Arabia, so that it may be truly said that the disruption of the empire has begun.

Further to the west we have also seen during the month an incident of no little importance. That is the British advance along the coast of the Holy Land to the Dead Sea. This is the beginning of a threat against Adana and Aleppo. There are along this line considerable German forces which will probably make the going harder than it is further east. But the significance of the general pressure against the Turks on every front is not to be lost.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Politico-Military Events of the Month

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Maps on Pages 28 and 45]

THE development of the war situation during the month ending about the middle of March has been confined chiefly to politico-military events. While upon the main theatres of war on the European Continent subdued thunder continues to herald the approach of a new storm, and while the purely military interest centres upon the new mobility of warfare in the Near East, the entire political situation of the world has become mobile. The subjoined discussion is to deal with the two principal political events of the period just past: the American declaration of a state of armed neutrality and the Russian revolution.

As regards the declaration of "armed neutrality" on the part of the United

DR. PAUL RITTER

Swiss Ambassador to the United States, Who Now Looks After German Interests at Washington

(Photo Central News Service)

COUNT TARNOWSKI VON TARNOW

New Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Whose Recognition Has Been Delayed by the Submarine Issue

States, directed against Germany, it must be made clear from the outset that neutrality, as far as its correct definition is concerned, knows no limitation. Neutrality constitutes the relationship between two States "qui neutrarum sunt," that is, which participate on no side. Strictly speaking, it is, therefore, paradoxical for any neutral to incline benevolently toward one party while toward the other party it takes up an expectantly aggressive position, as, for instance, by arming. In either case neutrality, strictly speaking, has ceased.

The development of the law of nations has, however, modified the conception of neutrality. Thus we hear today of "absolute" or "strict" neutrality, and of "partial" neutrality. The latter includes, in the first place, the inclination toward one of two belligerent parties by any sort of assistance. That is "benevolent" (bienveillante) neutrality. Second, there is the conception of "armed neutrality," which takes effect as soon as a neutral State announces that, in order to safeguard its position as a neutral, or to protect its interests from the acts of a belligerent, it will itself resort to the force of arms.

A Historic Instance

The conception of "armed neutrality" found its most pregnant and practical demonstration during the American war of independence. On Jan. 1, 1780, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal concluded a treaty of armed neutrality for the protection and defense of peaceful commercial intercourse.

The fact that this neutrality treaty was directed primarily against England's arbitrary acts at sea shows that England even then disregarded the rights of neutrals and violated their interests. This treaty led to Spain's declaration of war against England and to England's declaration of war on Holland.

Prussia at that time maintained a policy of benevolent neutrality toward the Colonies in their war of independence. Frederick the Great forbade the march through Prussian territory of Hessian auxiliary troops hired by the English, thus delaying the arrival of these troops in America and resulting in great benefit to the fighters for liberty.

Neither benevolent neutrality nor armed neutrality is regarded nowadays as a discontinuance of peace. Both constitute an attitude, not an act of participation in the war.

The next step after a declaration of such a neutrality, if circumstances bring the two nations toward actual hostilities, is the declaration of a "state of war." Even that does not necessarily lead to war itself. At any rate, however, armed neutrality is a ticklish proposition, for the declaration of such a state shows a high degree of tension between the neutral and the belligerent in question.

The crisis between the United States and Germany has been caused by the declaration and enforcement of the German unrestricted U-boat warfare in the barred zones.

The German submarine blockade has a dual purpose. England is to be forced into a mood receptive for peace by the interception of her supplies, and the great offensive movements of the Allies predicted for Spring are to be deprived, by the blockade of the sea routes, of the means for their execution, that is, men and munitions.

Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the British Admiralty, on Feb. 21, and Premier Lloyd George two days later, admitted that the U-boat menace had assumed ominous proportions and created a serious situation. For the first time the gravity of the U-boat's economic menace to England was thus admitted by English statesmen.

From the military point of view, the second purpose of the German submarine war, that of cutting the Allies off from further overseas supply of death-dealing weapons and war material, is the more important one. In the second phase of the U-boat war, which is to be devoted to the materialization of this aim, it will be seen whether the submarine is to prove an effective means of war.

Through the declaration of armed neutrality on the part of the United States, which presupposes the eventuality of a state of war, the entire U-boat question has been taken out of its coherence with

the European war and placed under the wider perspective of world politics. For a war between the United States and Germany would be bound to develop into a struggle between Anglo-Saxons and Teutons.

Events in Mesopotamia

To the world-political considerations belong also the events on the Mesopotamian theatre of war, where on Sunday, March 11, the Anglo-Indian army under General Maude occupied the ancient city of Bagdad.

The name of Bagdad constitutes a political conception. This conception was shattered a year ago by the British catastrophe at Kut-el-Amara. The political conception of Bagdad forms one of the principal aims of the Central Powers, for the City of the Caliphs is to be the bulwark and the centre of economic expansion in the Near East.

In December of last year the British under General Maude reopened the Mesopotamian campaign. Stubborn battles for the possession of Kut-el-Amara followed. On Feb. 28, 1917, Kut was occupied by the British. The Turks retreated to the north. On March 5 Lajij fell, and the next day the victors passed the town of Ctesiphon, evacuated by the Turks. On March 7 the battles on the Diala River began, eight miles from Bagdad. On March 11 the Anglo-Indian troops entered Bagdad. They have since reached a point eighteen miles north of the city.

After the capitulation of Kut-el-Amara by General Townshend, the then British Commander, it was said in allied quarters that now the Russians would enter Mesopotamia and cut off the Turkish retreat. The Russians had taken Erzerum and Trebizond and had advanced in Persia. Isfahan, Persia's second capital, had been conquered by them and the Turks had been driven from Kasri-Shirin to Chanykin, on the Mesopotamian frontier, 150 kilometers from Bagdad.

But after the victorious conclusion of the Turkish campaign against the British, strong Turkish forces were released. These turned on the Russians and drove them as far as Hamadan.

Now the Russians have reopened the Persian campaign. On March 13 Kermanshah was occupied by the Muscovites, and on the following day the Turks were driven from fortified positions on the summit of Narlehtian, west of Kermanshah.

The Turkish War Minister, Enver Pasha, returning from the theatre of operations in Mesopotamia, informed the Turkish Parliament that the retreats on the Mesopotamian and Persian fronts were dictated by "military considerations." This can only mean that the retiring movements are made in accordance with a previously arranged fixed plan and for the realization of certain strategic aims.

Nevertheless, it would be playing the part of the ostrich were one to shut his eyes to the actual significance of the fall of Bagdad. From the military standpoint the conception "prestige" is a completely illusory thing. The fact that the British through the surrender of General Townshend's army and Kut-el-Amara in April of last year lost prestige in Egypt and India did not prevent their occupation in March of this year of the city of Harun-al-Rashid. That the Turks have lost prestige by the fall of Bagdad by no means precludes the possibility of a recapture of the city.

At Bagdad, so say pro-ally sympathizers, a dream to which Germany has devoted twenty years, has been shattered. The fact that the "terminus of the Bagdad Railway" has fallen into British hands, it is added, bars the German road to the East. And in the ears of the Orient sounds the deathknell of German ambitions. Because an open and completely undefended city has fallen, therefore this gigantic work of civilization is to collapse! Can a handful of Indian divisions stem the logical tide of world history?

Whether the Turks recapture Bagdad or no, Mesopotamia remains an incidental theatre of war. The final fate of the Bagdad Railway, and with it that of the two-river-land, is to be decided upon the main theatres of war on the European Continent.

Preparations for that decision are still

in full swing. The calm before the storm begins to become uncanny. It is as if again and again the new armor is tested before the swords are once more drawn, this time for the final decision.

Retirement in France

The retirement of the German troops in the Ancre and Somme regions on the west front had begun in the beginning of February with the evacuation of Grandcourt, south of the Ancre. Through the events of March 16, 17, and 18 not only the Gommecourt-Transloy front but also the lines north and south of the Somme were pushed ahead by the British for a considerable distance.

In a British advance on a width of sixty-seven kilometers from north to south, Bapaume and Péronne were taken and north and south of the Ancre more than sixty villages were occupied. During the twenty-four hours preceding this writing the British pushed their extreme southern front forward an additional fifteen kilometers by occupying the triangle Péronne-Chaulnes-Nesle.

Simultaneously, a German retirement has set in on the line Roye-Noyon, which adjoins the Somme front. The French advanced on a front of thirty kilometers between the Avre and the Oise, and have occupied both Roye and Noyon as well as the roads connecting these two points. North of the Ancre front the Germans are withdrawing as far north as Arras.

Along the whole front of retirement only German rearguards were in fighting contact with the Franco-British forces. Berlin reports that these troops inflicted heavy losses upon the advancing foe.

Even the English military experts describe the German withdrawal as a long-prepared strategic chess move. It is to be expected that the Germans will fall back upon the line Soissons-Lille. The entire systematically executed movement points to the strong probability that the Germans will remain on the defensive in the west.

The Mystery at Petrograd

The military outlook on the east front, where the great decision also is expected to be fought for, is veiled by the historic event of the Russian revolution.

Who was it that in the night of March 11 to 12 gave orders to the garrison of Petrograd to fraternize with the revolutionists? What happened in the great Russian Army Headquarters during the absence of Czar Nicholas immediately after the outbreak of the revolution?

These two questions comprise the military considerations. They cast significant light upon the question as to what influence the upheaval in Russia will have upon the development of the war situation. Efforts are made today to make the world believe that the soldiery, out of softness of heart, sympathized with the starving populace. The streets of Petrograd have seen many curious things, but such sympathy—from that quarter—never.

Who led the garrison on the side of the rebels? In addition to the political revolution against Czardom there must have been a military conspiracy against the person of the Czar, and this conspiracy must have decisive influence upon the outcome of the war.

The Czar was at the front, about to consult with his Generals at army headquarters. There, at headquarters, and not in the streets of Petrograd, was the die cast, and the only question is whether the military conspiracy included the army in the field. If this is the case, then the future outlook as viewed in connection with the garrisons at home offers the following main points:

1. The war party takes over full control of the conduct of military operations.
2. It is forced to appeal once more to the fortunes of arms.
3. In this event a new great offensive on the east front is to be expected in the near future.

The military revolution must bring victory, and the political revolution must still the hunger of the masses. The development of the situation at home and at the front will depend upon the question whether the new power will be able to sharpen the weapons and satisfy the stomachs.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From February 18, Up to and Including March 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Germany released the Yarrowdale prisoners and five American Consuls that were detained after Ambassador Gerard left the country.

A note from the German Foreign Secretary, Dr. Zimmermann, to the German Minister in Mexico, dated Jan. 19, contained a proposal for an alliance between Germany, Mexico, and Japan to make war on the United States if the United States should not remain neutral. The Governments of Japan and Mexico formally denied ever having received the note. Its authenticity was admitted by Dr. Zimmermann.

President Wilson addressed Congress on Feb. 26, and asked for authority to supply armament to American merchant ships and to employ any other instrumentality that might be needed to protect American ships and people in their legitimate pursuit on the sea. He also asked for a sufficient credit to enable him to provide adequate means of protection. The armed neutrality bill was introduced at once. It was passed by the House, but the Senate, through the filibustering of eleven Senators, failed to reach a vote before the Congress expired March 4. President Wilson on March 9 announced his decision to arm American ships, and called Congress in extra session for April 16.

Several American lives were lost during the month as a result of Germany's submarine campaign. Robert Allen Haden, a Presbyterian missionary, was drowned when the French steamer Athos, used as a troopship, was sunk. Two Americans were reported lost on the British bark Galgorm Castle. The Cunard liner Laconia was sunk Feb. 25, and two American women, Mrs. Mary Hoy and her daughter, perished in an open boat. On March 14 the American steamship Algonquin with Americans in her crew was attacked and sunk without warning. All on board escaped in lifeboats. The sinking of three American ships, the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia, was reported on March 18. Fifteen men perished.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The British Government announced that summaries of shipping losses from submarines would be published weekly instead of daily. The report of the Board of Trade issued March 14 announced that from Feb. 1 to March 11 three American ships, fifty-one vessels belonging to other neutral nations, and 156 British ships had been sunk. The losses of other belligerent nations were reported as "indefinite." This list included the French troopship Athos, Belgian relief ships Storstad and Lars Fostenes, and the Cunard liner Laconia. The American ship Algonquin was sunk March 14 and three other American ships were reported sunk March 18.

Holland's indignation at the sinking of seven Dutch food ships that had sailed under partial guarantee of safety led Germany to offer to replace them with German freighters on condition that Holland purchase the German vessels at the close of the war. Later Germany withdrew this offer, fearing that England would seize the ships.

The Allies presented a memorandum to the Chinese Government expressing sympathy with the attitude that China had taken in regard to Germany's blockade and promising favorable consideration of the question of suspension during the war of Boxer indemnity payments and the revision of the tariff in the event of China's effectively severing relations with Germany and Austria. On March 4 the Chinese Cabinet voted to break relations, but President Li Yuan-Hung refused to approve the action, saying that the sole power rested with him, and Premier Chi-Jui and several members of the Cabinet resigned. On March 7 the President asked the Premier to return and offered to ratify the Cabinet's proposal. The Senate, on March 12, approved the severance of relations, and on March 14 the break was announced, the German Ambassador and Consuls were handed their passports, and German-owned ships in the Harbor of Shanghai were seized.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Feb. 20—Russians check German raid in the region of Slaventine, northwest of Podgaste.

Feb. 27—Germans make gas attacks on the Russians in the Smorgon region.

March 3—Germans penetrate Russian lines west of Lutsk on a wide front.

March 12—Russians repel gas attacks southwest of Lakparotch in the Zanarotch-Stahootsy sector and in the region of Velitzk, southeast of Kovel.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 22—Allies establish contact between French and Italian troops and clear the enemy forces from the road between Goritza in Southern Albania and Leskovie; postal communication between Athens and the Central Powers cut; Teutons on the

Rumanian front repulsed near Dorna Watra.

March 2—Germans recapture hill near Rekoza north of the River Zaval.

March 13—Vienna War Office reports skirmishes northeast of Berat in Albania, revealing the presence there of Italian troops.

March 17—British occupy the railroad station at Poroy east of Doiran Lake.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Feb. 19—Artillery active on both banks of the Meuse; patrol encounters in Alsace.

Feb. 20—British fail in attack on German lines near Messines, Belgium; Germans capture British point of support near Le Transloy.

Feb. 21—British penetrate German front near Ypres and Armentières and do great damage.

Feb. 23—British capture German trench north of Guedecourt and advance near Petit Miraumont.

Feb. 24—British enter Petit Miraumont and gain on a mile and a half front north of the river.

Feb. 25—British occupy Serre, Miraumont, Petit Miraumont, and Pys.

Feb. 26—British continue advance along the Ancre on a front of eleven miles; Germans abandon Warlencourt-Eaucourt and the Butte de Warlencourt.

Feb. 27—British occupy Ligny and capture the village of Le Barque.

Feb. 28—British occupy Gommecourt and capture Thilloy and Pulsieux-au-Mont.

March 1—British advance 600 yards north of Miraumont on a front of a mile and a half.

March 2—Germans make a stand on a new line from Essarts through Achiet-le-Petit to about 1,000 yards southeast of Bapaume; British report further progress north of Warlencourt-Eaucourt and northwest of Puisieux.

March 3—British advance on five-mile front northwest of Bapaume; General Haig takes over French line as far south as the Avre River.

March 4—British again advance west of Bapaume and capture German front and support lines east of Bouchavesnes.

March 5—Germans launch big attack at Verdun, gaining at some points.

March 6—French hold recaptured trenches north of Caurières Wood and Douaumont in the face of strong German attacks.

March 7—French in Champagne capture salient between Butte de Mesnil and Maison de Champagne.

March 10—British advance more than three miles in the Ancre region and capture Irles; French repulse violent German assaults in the Champagne.

March 12—French in Champagne recapture all trenches of Hill 185 west of Maison de Champagne Farm; British gain slightly north of Bouchavesnes.

March 13—Germans abandon their main defensive system west of Bapaume on a front of three and a half miles; British occupy Grevillers and Loupart Wood.

March 14—British advance on the Ancre and reach the defenses before Bapaume; French capture Romainville Farm, close to St. Mihiel.

March 15—British capture two and a half miles of German trenches between Bapaûme and Péronne; French gain near Roye; Germans capture a position south of Cumières.

March 16—British occupy almost all of St. Pierre Vaast Wood; French advance on both sides of the Avre from Andechy to south of Lassigny.

March 17—British take Bapaume; French capture Roye and Lassigny and advance five miles, occupying fortified line between the Avre and the Oise Rivers.

March 18—Germans retire on 85-mile line in France, abandoning Péronne, Chaulnes, Nesle, and Noyon; linè of Allies' advance extends from Arras to Soissons, to a depth of twelve miles; sixty villages recaptured; Germans on the Meuse fail in attack on Chambrettes Farm.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 27—Italians enter Austrian trenches on the northern slopes of San Marco.

March 5—Italians successfully storm Austrian positions in the upper part of the Spellegrino Valley in the Avisio district.

March 12—Italians repulse Austrian attacks northeast of Lenzumo in the Trentino and against the southern slopes of Cima di Bocche in the Travignolo Valley.

ASIA MINOR

Feb. 23—British in the Tigris region capture two lines of trenches near Sannaiyat.

Feb. 25—British cross the Tigris at the Shumran bend in the rear of Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 26—British take Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 28—British engage Turks on three sides at a point on the left bank of the Tigris over thirty miles northwest of Kut.

March 3—Russians recapture Hamadan in Persia and advance toward Bagdad as British approach the city from the south.

March 4—Russians advance in the Bijar region in Persia and occupy Khanikali.

March 7—Advance guards of the British Army approach Jerusalem; Russians in Persia seize Asadabad summit.

March 8—British advance to within eight miles of Bagdad, find Ctesiphon evacuated; Russians in Persia occupy Kangaver.

March 9—Two Bedouin tribes join the British, who reach the outskirts of Bagdad; Russians reach Sakkiz, twenty-five miles from the Mesopotamian border.

March 10—British troops engage the Turks on the Diala River line, six miles below Bagdad; Russians capture the town of Senne in Western Persia.

March 11—British occupy Bagdad; Russians

take Sahna in Northwestern Persia and pursue Turks toward Bisitun.

March 13—British occupy Kazimain, five miles above Bagdad.

March 14—British advance thirty miles beyond Bagdad; Russians capture Kermanshah.

March 16—British occupy part of the town of Bakubah; Russians dislodge Turks from fortified positions on the summit of Narleshkian.

March 18—Russians capture Van, and sweep on in Persia over a wide front, occupying Baneh.

AERIAL RECORD

German aviators bombarded a Serbian hospital at Vertekop, causing heavy loss of life. Two English nurses were among those killed.

Air duels have been frequent on the western front, as many as eleven and thirteen machines being brought down on some days.

Broadstairs was bombarded by a German airplane and one woman killed.

Zeppelins raided the southeastern counties of England on the night of March 16. One machine was brought down by the French near Compiègne on its return flight, and the crew of thirty were killed.

NAVAL RECORD

German destroyers bombarded Broadstairs and Margate on the British coast Feb. 26.

The Russian cruiser Rurik was damaged by a mine in the Gulf of Finland.

On Feb. 28 the French torpedo boat destroyer Cassini was destroyed by a submarine in the Mediterranean.

RUSSIA

As a result of a popular revolution the Romanoff dynasty was overthrown. On March 8 strikes were declared in several munitions factories and riots occurred in the streets of Petrograd because of a shortage of food. These disturbances were quelled, but only temporarily. On March 12 the Czar issued imperial ukases suspending the sittings of the Duma and the Council of the Empire. The Duma opposed the order and continued its sittings. A three days' revolt followed, which resulted in the abdication of the Czar on March 15 and the establishment of a Liberal Ministry headed by Prince Lvoff. The Czar's younger brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, was named as regent. He also abdicated, and plans have been made for the convocation of a constituent assembly and full political amnesty. The new Foreign Minister, Paul Milukoff, in a message to Russian diplomats abroad, announced that Russia would fight with the Allies until the end of the war.

MISCELLANEOUS

The United States Government received from Austria-Hungary a reply to a note inquiring concerning Austria's attitude toward the renewal of ruthless submarine warfare. Austria defended the barred zone and said that safety could not be guaranteed to neutrals in enemy vessels. Austria also sent a message to the United States denying that the schooner Lyman M. Law was torpedoed by an Austrian submarine.

The entire Briand Ministry resigned in France, following the resignation of General Lyautey as Minister of War after a stormy debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the desirability of discussing the aviation service. President Poincaré asked M. Ribot to form a new Cabinet, after M. Deschanel had refused to undertake the task.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

The President's Inauguration

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON took the oath of office for his second term at the National Capitol at noon March 5, 1917, in the presence of 50,000 people. He had previously gone through the formality of taking the oath at noon on Sunday, March 4. The parade was not as long as usual, consisting of about 20,000 soldiers and sailors. There was no inauguration ball, and a general air of solemnity marked the whole occasion on account of the critical international situation. The President was very carefully guarded, but no untoward incident marred the occasion. The inaugural address was short and referred chiefly to international affairs. Striking portions of the address follow:

We stand firm in armed neutrality, since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. * * *

We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed

have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance.

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege.

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power.

That Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations.

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms.

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety.

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other States should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

* * *

China Breaks With Germany

ON March 14 Paul Reinsch, American Minister at Peking, reported to the State Department at Washington that China had severed diplomatic relations with Germany and that the German envoy had been handed his passports. Chinese feeling against Germany dates from 1897, when, because of the murder of two German missionaries, Germany seized the east coast of the province of Shan-tung, an area of about 200 square miles; this animosity was greatly increased by the conduct of German troops during the Boxer expedition of 1900. Immediately on breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, China seized six German ships in Chinese ports, following the precedent of Portugal.

The history of the break is as follows: On March 4 the Chinese Cabinet definitely voted to sever relations, but President Li Yuan-Hung refused to act, on the ground that the power to break relations was his alone. The Cabinet resigned and withdrew to Tien-tsin, returning only when the President yielded. On March 10 the President and his Cabinet appeared before the House of Parliament and asked approval of a severance of relations, which was granted by a vote of 431 to 87. The Chinese Senate later concurred. Definite invitations to China to join the Entente have been made but have not yet been acted on.

The immediate effect of China's severence of relations will probably be a greatly increased output of munitions for Russia. China is Japan's source of iron and has provided most of the raw material for Russian munitions made in Japan. China has further sent over 100,000 workmen to Russia and France, to work in munition factories, and the torpedoing of liners carrying these is the immediate cause of the break.

* * *

Bethmann's Liberal Speech

AN episode full of profound significance occurred in the Prussian Diet on March 14, when the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, announced in the course of debate his firm adherence to a progressive political faith and his firm faith in a broader democracy after the war. His words were as follows:

After the war we shall be confronted with the most gigantic tasks that ever confronted a nation. They will be so gigantic that the entire people will have to work to solve them. A strong foreign policy will be necessary, for we shall be surrounded by enemies whom we shall not meet with loud words, but with the internal strength of the nation. We can only pursue such a policy if the patriotism which during the war has developed to such a marvelous reality is maintained and strengthened.

Woe to the statesman who does not recognize the signs of the times and who, after this catastrophe, the like of which the world has never seen, believes that he can take up

his work at the same point at which it was interrupted.

He used the phrase "Equal rights and participation for all in the work of the State." This is construed to foreshadow a complete reformation in the German electoral system, and equal suffrage. It has been hinted that the speech was a result of the great events that were occurring in Russia and in anticipation of a possible Social Democratic uprising in Germany. The German Socialist organ commented on the speech with some skepticism and warned the Chancellor that he must keep faith.

* * *

New Cabinet in France

THE Briand Cabinet resigned March 17 on account of criticisms in the Chamber, Minister of War Lyautey having previously resigned because he was heckled while addressing the Chamber. Alexandre Ribot, the former Finance Minister, formed the new Cabinet, of which he becomes Premier and Foreign Minister; Rene Viviani, former Premier, Minister of Justice; Paul Painlevé, former Minister of Public Instruction, is the new Minister of War; Albert Thomas remains Minister of Munitions; Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine; Joseph Thierry is Minister of Finance; Etienne Clementhal, former Minister of Agriculture, is Minister of Commerce. This is the fourth Cabinet since the outbreak of the war.

* * *

The British in Bagdad

BAGDAD the great is fallen," captured by the advance guard of General Maude on March 11; the British power is now dominant up the whole of the hot Mesopotamian Valley from the Persian Gulf, and General Townshend's disastrous surrender at Kut-el-Amara on April 13, 1916, after a siege lasting from Dec. 5, 1915, is wiped out by victory.

Bagdad dates back far beyond the days of Nebuchadnezzar and the captivity of the Jews; as the capital of the Caliphs, it was the most splendid city in the world, giving to universal literature one of the greatest books that ever came out of the purple East—"The Arabian Nights: The Stories of a Thousand Nights and a Night." This great period of Bagdad's history began in the year 762, before Charlemagne was crowned, and about the time of Afred the Great of England, when the Western world was just emerging from barbarism. General Maude's campaign has been extraordinarily rapid, evidencing admirable preparation. On Feb. 26, 1917, he captured Kut-el-Amara, with many thousand Turkish prisoners, and within two weeks his patrols pushed forward a hundred miles, to within a few miles of Bagdad. The great city, which lies in an open, sun-burnt plain, was apparently almost undefended, and on March 11 the British and Indian forces were within the walls.

This striking victory gives to Great Britain a practically continuous territory, beginning on the east at the frontier of Siam, including Burma and India, Baluchistan and Southern Persia, which has been recognized as under British influence since the Anglo-Russian pact of 1907, and now the whole of the southern section of Asiatic Turkey, with a protectorate over the new kingdom of Arabia, behind Aden, thus bringing the effective influence of England to Egypt and as far as the border of Italian Tripoli. All Southern Asia is thus dominated by Britain.

* * *

Practical Failure of the Submarine

BY the first week in March it was evident that there was a marked falling off in the amount of tonnage sunk by submarines operating in the "forbidden" zones about the British Isles and in the Mediterranean, and a probable explanation of this was furnished by reports from England that large numbers of German submarines had been captured or sunk. It was said that of 100 U-boats which began the campaign of ruthlessness on Feb. 1 no less than 48 had been sunk or taken by Feb. 25; and while this is probably in excess of the real figures, nevertheless all evidence tends in the same direction: that, as a means of bringing famine to England, and thus "forcing England to her knees," the submarine has small chance of success.

It is now said in Germany that the real object of the submarine warfare was not to reduce England to submission by famine, but to compel her to withdraw tonnage she had lent to Russia and Italy, thus isolating these two countries, as a step toward compelling them to make a separate peace. But this explanation is really an admission of failure, so far as England is concerned. It was so widely announced in Germany that unrestricted submarining was Germany's last weapon, which was to bring her rapid victory, that it is difficult to see how the new aspect of the situation can long be withheld from the German people.

* * *

Appam Case Decided

THE United States Supreme Court on March 6 in a unanimous decision decreed restoration to her English owners of the liner Appam and cargo, brought into Hampton Roads more than a year ago by a prize crew from the German raider Möwe. The ship and cargo, valued at between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000, must be delivered by April 6, 1917.

The decision upholds the original ruling by Secretary Lansing that prizes coming into American ports unaccompanied by captor warships have the right to remain only long enough to make themselves seaworthy.

American neutrality was violated in bringing the Appam into Hampton Roads, the court said, and neither the ancient treaties relied upon by Lieutenant Berg, the German prize commander, The Hague Conventions, nor the Declaration of London entitled any belligerents to make American ports a place for deposit of prizes as spoils of war under such circumstances.

"The principles of international law," the opinion adds, "leaving the treaty aside, will not permit the ports of the United States to be thus used by the belligerents. If such use were permitted it would constitute the ports of a neutral nation harbors of safety into which prizes might be safely brought and indefinitely kept.

"From the beginning of its history this country has been careful to maintain a neutral position between warring Governments, and not to allow use of its ports in violation of the obligations of neutrality, nor to permit such use beyond the necessities arising from perils of the seas or the necessities of such vessels as to seaworthiness, provisions, and supplies."

Fifteen Billions of Foreign Trade

THE foreign trade of the United States, imports and exports combined, since the outbreak of the war in Europe at the end of July, 1914, to Feb. 11, 1917, amounted to the sum of $15,622,785,853. Exports during this period were a little more than double the imports, and the balance of trade in favor of this country resulting from these thirty months of trade was $5,501,568,835. This table shows how this trade has accumulated and the huge movement of gold which resulted from it:

MERCHANDISE

	Exports.	Imports.	Credit Trade Balance (Excess of Exports.)
January, 1917	$613,441,020	$241,674,851	$371,766,169
Year, 1916	5,481,423,589	2,391,654,335	3,089,769,254
Year, 1915	3,554,670,847	1,778,596,695	1,776,074,152
Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914	912,641,888	648,682,628	263,959,260
Total since outbreak of war	$10,562,177,344	$5,060,608,509	$5,501,568,835

GOLD

	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Imports.
January, 1917	$20,719,898	$58,926,258	$38,206,360
Year, 1916	155,792,927	685,990,234	530,197,307
Year, 1915	31,425,918	451,954,590	420,528,672
Aug. 1 to Dec. 31, 1914	104,972,197	23,252,604	*81,719,593
Total since outbreak of war	$312,910,940	$1,220,123,686	$907,212,746

*Excess of exports.

Colombian Treaty Defeated

THE treaty with Colombia was debated in the United States Senate on March 13 and 14, having been reported for passage by the Foreign Relations Committee; but it was withdrawn on the 16th, it being clear that it would fail to receive the necessary two-thirds vote. The objections to the treaty are: (1) That $25,000,000 is an excessive amount to pay Colombia for the Panama strip, being $15,000,000 more than Panama received; (2) that there is a clause in the treaty giving Colombia preference in the canal, which is deemed perilous; (3) that the urgency for its passage at this time savors of a threat by Colombia that it is her price for refusing an alliance with Germany; (4) that the treaty implies that President Roosevelt committed a wrong with respect to the Panama revolution, which resulted in the loss of the canal strip by Colombia. It is reported that the treaty when reintroduced will be reconstructed. Senator Knox, Republican from Pennsylvania, who was Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Adminstration, surprised his Republican colleagues by strongly advocating the treaty as presented.

* * *

The Gallipoli Report

EARLY in March the Commission on the British Failure at Gallipoli reported that the question of attacking the Dardanelles was, on the initiative of Winston Churchill, brought under the consideration of the War Council on Nov. 25, 1914, as the ideal method of defending Egypt. The Commissioners hold that the possibility of making a surprise land and water attack offered such great military and political advantages that it was mistaken and ill-advised to sacrifice this possibility by deciding to undertake a purely naval attack, which, from its nature, could not obtain completely the objects set out in the terms of the decision. A part of the blame is laid upon Lord Kitchener, who, says the report, was the sole mouthpiece of War Office opinion in the War Council. He was never overruled by the Cabinet in any matter, great or small. Lord Fisher is criticised because he did not voice his known dislike of the proposed operation. When, because of this dislike, he threatened to resign, a minority report says, Lord Kitchener took Lord Fisher aside and prevailed upon him to return to his seat in the Council. The report makes it clear that the Dardanelles attack was made in part in response to an appeal from Russia on Jan. 2, 1915, Russia being then hard pressed by the threatened Turkish invasion of the Caucasus. It is evident, from this report, that Britain's naval advisers were convinced at the outset that the purely naval attack must fail, but failed to press their view. As a defense of Egypt and of the Russian Caucasus, however, the Gallipoli attack was completely successful.

* * *

In German East Africa

IN the last four or five months very decided progress has been made by the British in German East Africa, the last of Germany's colonial possessions. In September last the struggle there entered a new phase; the Germans, driven from the northern part of their protectorate, and divided into three isolated bodies, were fighting only to detain in Africa troops which the Allies might otherwise employ in the European war theatres or in Mesopotamia.

On Sept. 11 the Belgian field force drove out of Tabora the contingent of the Prussian General, Wahle, of at least 4,000 seasoned native troops and over 500 Europeans. The Belgians found in Tabora over a hundred British subjects, men and women, who had been subjected to many indignities, with the deliberate intention of degrading them in the eyes of the natives. General Wahle at first retreated along the railroad in the direction of Kilima-tinde, with the Belgians in pursuit and an English force under General Crewe on his flank. On Oct. 22 there began a series of encounters between General Wahle and General Northey, which lasted until the end of November. On Nov. 26 one division of Wahle's force, numbering 500, and including fifty-four Europeans, was compelled to surrender. By Jan. 6 Wahle's

force, reduced by one-half, had retreated to Mahange, on which, at the end of January, General Northey was converging three columns.

On Jan. 1 General Smuts began a new offensive against Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck's German force in the Rufiji Valley; hard pressed, these troops endeavored to reach Mahange, to form a junction with the remnants of General Wahle's force. British and Belgian forces, from all sides, are now converging on Mahange, where the struggle is likely to come to an end.

* * *

German Influence in Mexico

IT was announced on March 14 that confidential diplomatic reports from Mexico indicated that the German Bank in Mexico City and the German Legation there are guiding virtually the entire financial and diplomatic activities of Mexico. According to these reports the recent Mexican peace note was inspired by the German Legation, while the German Bank is said to have come into full control of the Mexican financial situation, having accepted quantities of the paper money issued by the Mexican Government. A very large influx of German money from the United States is also recorded.

Two further facts point in the same direction—the exodus of German reservists, who have crossed the Rio Grande in large numbers since the diplomatic break with Germany, bearing passes issued by the Mexican Consulate here, and who are reported to be drilling Mexican soldiers and initiating them into the methods of modern warfare; and the announcement that there are several large German-owned radio stations on Mexican soil, one being in Southern California, capable of communicating directly with Germany. These stations can easily make connections with the internal telegraph systems of the United States, and could thus with practical impunity gather all details of military preparations and movements throughout the United States and send them the same day to Berlin.

There are similar reports of the existence of strong radio stations in Colombia, a few miles from the Panama Canal Zone, likewise owned and operated by Germans, and in communication with the stations in Mexico and, through these, with Berlin. This wireless network over Central and South America rivals the great system of radio stations in Africa, by means of which German Southwest Africa could communicate with Berlin through a single link in the Cameroons. There were equally powerful radio stations in Germany's Pacific possessions.

* * *

Count Zeppelin Is Dead

COUNT ZEPPELIN shares with the late General Shrapnel the distinction of having given his name to a new instrument of war; but, while the English officer died long before the shells called after him had reached the height of their fame, Count Zeppelin lived long enough to see his very vulnerable airships tested in a great war—and pretty well discredited as weapons of offense. Born nearly eighty years ago, he came to the United States as a military observer during the civil war, serving on the staff of General Carl Schurz and narrowly escaping capture at Fredericksburg. He was decorated in the Franco-Prussian war and later represented the Kingdom of Württemberg at Berlin in the Federal Council of the Empire.

In 1891 he devoted all his time and a great part of his large fortune to the construction of lighter-than-air flying machines. Seven years later, after much ridicule and many hairbreadth escapes, he gained his first great triumph by ascending from Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance, and remaining aloft for thirty-seven hours, in the fifth of his airships, and sailing in a straight course for more than eight hundred miles. The Kaiser and all Germany hailed him as the conqueror of the air. But this ship also was soon wrecked, representing a loss of $500,000. It is interesting to remember that it was in the United States that Count Zeppelin made his first ascent, going up in a captive balloon belonging to the Union Army.

While his great airships have proved a failure as a means of "bringing England

to her knees" by terrorism from the clouds, and while admittedly the Zeppelins proved to be England's best recruiting sergeant, it is only fair to say that Count Zeppelin did in fact completely succeed in his main purpose—to make a dirigible balloon with great speed and carrying power and with an immense flying radius, a really fine achievement. Count Zeppelin died on March 8.

* * *

Germans In America

THE number of native-born Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the United States at the time of the census of 1910 was 4,181,615, divided as follows:

Native Austrians	1,174,973
Native Germans	2,501,333
Native Hungarians	495,609

Of native-born Americans with one or both parents born in Germany or Austro-Hungary there were 6,811,699 in the United States in 1910, divided as follows:

Native born, with one or two parents born in	
Austria	826,635
Germany	5,781,437
Hungary	204,627

Total native-born Germans and Austro-Hungarians and Americans of first generation in the United States in 1910, 10,993,314.

* * *

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

FIFTY-NINE Americans taken from vessels sunk by the German raider in the South Atlantic and borne to Swinemünde, Germany, on Jan. 1, on board the captured British steamer Yarrowdale, were released from quarantine March 9, and left at 4 P. M. for the Swiss frontier. The route over which they departed was the one chosen for their return by the United States Government.

Much irritation was felt over the delay in the release of the men, and the explanation of the German authorities that they were held on account of quarantine was questioned, but later it was officially confirmed by the Spanish Embassy doctor that typhus fever had appeared at the camp on Feb. 20, and the quarantine was not lifted until March 7. The men were relieved at the German frontier; they were practically in rags and complain that they had insufficient food. They were cared for by Americans in Switzerland and will be sent home via Spain.

* * *

ACCORDING to English official lists, German casualties in January were 77,534, and for February 60,471; of the latter 21,105 were killed or missing, 12,451 severely wounded. It is computed from unofficial reports that the total German casualties up to March 1, 1917, are 4,148,163, exclusive of those in the navy and colonies.

* * *

GERMAN Zeppelins after a long period of inactivity, made an attack on London, March 16 and 17, which the British authorities assert was fruitless. A Zeppelin, evidently bound for Paris, was brought down by the French near Campiègne when at an altitude of 10,000 feet, and the entire crew was killed. The airship was completely consumed.

* * *

UNDER the new British pension plan totally disabled privates will receive a minimum of $6.87 weekly; the allowance for children is $1.25 and a sum slightly less for each subsequent child.

* * *

THE United States Congress passed and the President signed on March 2 the bill granting full citizenship to the inhabitants of Porto Rico. The law provides that any resident of Porto Rico may renounce his American citizenship within a year. Prohibition is imposed in the bill, but is accompanied by a referendum provision. The first election under the new law will take place in July.

* * *

IT is estimated that the German U-boat blockade reduced the foreign trade of the United States in the month of February $190,000,000. At one time 300,000 tons of cargoes on ships of neutral registry were tied up in New York Harbor alone, fifty-three steamships being of American, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Dutch registry.

The British Advance on Bagdad and Jerusalem

TURKEY in Asia is again fighting for life against three allied armies that are converging upon it from three directions.

Bagdad, the immediate goal of the new Mesopotamian campaign, has been captured, while Jerusalem lies in the path along which another British army, coming out of Egypt, is advancing, after driving off the Turks who were threatening the Suez Canal. From a third direction the Russians are aiming another blow at the Turkish Empire in Asia, namely, from Persia and Armenia, where they have again assumed the offensive.

The most important fighting has been in Mesopotamia. Here the British have completely regained the prestige which they lost when General Townshend, with 9,000 men of the British and Anglo-Indian armies, surrendered at Kut-el-Amara on April 28, 1916. When the British began the first Mesopotamian campaign from the head of the Persian Gulf in 1915, it was understood that the object was to destroy German aims in Asiatic Turkey, and particularly the scheme of expansion connected with the Bagdad Railway. The British marching on Bagdad were to have effected a junction with the Russians advancing from Persia in the east and from Turkish Armenia in the north. But when the British, after being defeated at Ctesiphon, had to fall back, and were later caught in a trap at Kut-el-Amara, and forced to surrender after a long siege, the Russo-British plan collapsed. The Turkish forces released by Townshend's failure were sent to reinforce the army holding back the Russians, and the Russians also had to retreat. The disastrous end to the first British expedition was due entirely to inadequate preparation and insufficient supports when they were wanted.

After a considerable interval plans for the resumption of the campaign were completed early in December, 1916, and on the 13th of that month, with General Maude in command, a new advance on Kut-el-Amara was begun along the right bank of the Tigris. The British force consisted of three divisions of 120,000 men and was assisted by a large flotilla of war craft specially adapted for river work. The British marched through the evacuated Es Sinn lines and established themselves on the Shatt-al-Hai, a canal which enters the Tigris above and below Kut from the south. About Christmas time operations were impeded by heavy rains, but early in January, 1917, the advance was again pressed, and on Jan. 9 and 10 the enemies' trenches northeast of Kut were captured after a stubborn conflict. Rain caused another delay of more than a week, but by Jan. 21 the whole of the right bank of the river east of the Shatt-al-Hai was clear of Turks, and on Jan. 25 further movements to the west began. The Turks made a vigorous resistance and lost heavily. On Jan. 27 and 28 there were hot encounters, and after a further engagement on Feb. 3 General Maude was able to report that the enemy had been driven from the whole of the right bank.

Recapture of Kut-el-Amara

The British had now to clear the Turks from the left bank of the Tigris, where at Sanna-i-Yat, fifteen miles below Kut, they were strongly intrenched. Kut itself lies in a sharp bend on the left bank of the Tigris. The licorice factory opposite the town was shelled, and on Feb. 13 it was officially announced in London that the British had established a line across the Tigris bend west of Kut, and were thus hemming in the Turks. On Feb. 23 the British launched a fierce frontal attack against Sanna-i-Yat.

While the Turks were concentrating their forces on the defensive at this point the British made a successful at-

tempt to cross the Tigris at the Shumran bend, about six miles above Kut. As soon as the landing was effected a bridge was built as the result of nine hours' strenuous work by the engineers. The way was thus open for an attack on the Turks in the rear. Discovering their danger, the Turks began on Feb. 24 to retreat in the direction of Baghela, twenty-four miles west of Kut, burning their stores as they went, but maintaining a strong rearguard defensive. In the meantime the British pressed the advance on Sanna-i-Yat, carrying one line of trenches after the other. With the taking of all the Turkish positions from Sanna-i-Yat to Kut-el Amara the town passed automatically into the hands of the British, whose prestige was thereby re-established.

The scene of operations rapidly changed from Kut to points much further up the river. On Feb. 25 the British gunboats on the Tigris and the cavalry and infantry on the land moved westward in an endeavor to cut off the enemy's retreat. The Turkish rearguards made a stubborn stand about fifteen miles northwest of Kut, but were driven from their trenches. On Feb. 26 the pursuit was maintained, and therre were engagements over thirty miles west-northwest of Kut. On Feb. 27 General Maude's report described the Turkish force retreating to Bagdad as degenerating into a disorderly mob. After passing through Aziziyah, fifty-two miles north of Kut, the Turks tried to fight another rearguard action at Lajij, nine miles southeast of Ctesiphon.

The Fall of Bagdad

The British were now within a few miles of their furthest advance during the first Mesopotamian campaign. It was expected that the Turks would make a stand at Ctesiphon, but when the British arrived there they found the place evacuated. On March 7 British cavalry found the Turks in position on the Diala River, eight miles from the outskirts of Bagdad. The river was unfordable and constituted a formidable obstacle. General Maude therefore withdrew his cavalry and brought his infantry into action.

Meanwhile the Turks had received reinforcements from Bagdad. They offered stubborn resistance along the Diala and in a position covering Bagdad from the southwest. General Maude threw a bridge across the Tigris at its confluence with the Diala. Notwithstanding the heat and dust, the British made a brilliant march of eighteen miles toward Bagdad and found the Turks strongly posted six miles southwest of the town. The Turks were attacked at once and driven back to their second position, two miles in the rear.

On the night of March 8 the British established a footing on the north bank of the Diala. On the 9th and 10th troops on the right bank of the Tigris, in spite of dust storms, pressed their advantage and drove back the Turks to within three miles of Bagdad. At the same time the troops on the Diala thrust the Turks back on the city, which was entered on Sunday morning, March 11.

In announcing this success in the House of Commons the next day, Bonar Law said there was every reason to believe that two-thirds of the Turks' artillery had fallen into the hands of the British or had been thrown into the Tigris. He added this comment:

> General Maude, in these operations, has completed his victory by a pursuit of 110 miles in fifteen days, during which the Tigris was crossed three times. This pursuit was conducted in a country destitute of supplies, despite the commencement of the Summer heat. Such operations could be carried out in such a country only after the most careful arrangements made for the supply of the troops thoroughly and systematically had been effected. The fact that General Maude not only has been able to feed the army, provide it with munitions, and assure proper attention for the sick and wounded, but has been able to report that he is satisfied he can provide for the necessities of his army in Bagdad, reflects the greatest credit on all concerned.

By March 15 the British forces were thirty miles above Bagdad on their way toward Mosul.

In the two months' fighting since December, 1916, it is estimated that the Turks lost over 20,000 men in killed and wounded. The British reported having taken over 7,000 prisoners, and also large quantities of guns, war material, and

SKETCH MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF THE THREE ALLIED EXPEDITIONS THAT ARE CONVERGING TO CUT THE BAGDAD RAILWAY AND ISOLATE A LARGE PORTION OF ASIATIC TURKEY

stores of all kinds which the Turks were unable to destroy in their retreat. The British river craft had the satisfaction of recapturing the gunboat Firefly, which the Turks had taken a year before, as well as securing a considerable number of prizes in the way of river steamers, tugboats, barges, and pontoons.

The Advance From Egypt

No less interesting was the news on March 7 that the advance guards of the British forces marching through Palestine from Egypt were within fifteen miles of Jerusalem. The dispatch stated that the Turks had abandoned a strong position in the neighborhood of Sheik Nuran, west of Shellal. Shellal, which is also known as El Chalil or El Khulil, is the ancient Hebron, which lies half way between the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, twenty miles from each and only fifteen miles from Jerusalem. The Turks prepared for an offensive to keep the enemy out of Syria and Asia Minor, to save the Bagdad Railway, and to prevent the Russians, now at Bitlis, from effecting a junction with the British. These preparations account for the comparatively slight resistance with which General Maude met after he captured Kut-el-Amara. Between Feb. 26, when Kut fell, and March 8 the British had advanced nearly a hundred miles. For some time past the Germans have been extremely busy completing railroad communication, transporting war material, and establishing military camps and depots, with a view to making good their occupation in the territories of which the Bagdad Railway is the main artery.

The Advance Through Persia

Simultaneously with the British strokes in Mesopotamia and Palestine the Russians reopened their drive in Western Persia toward Bagdad. On March 2 they occupied Hamadan, an important city 240 miles east of Bagdad, and on the 6th captured Asadabad Summit, ten miles west of Hamadan. On the 13th they had captured Kermanshah, seventy miles further in the direction of Bagdad.

Without waiting for the completion of the various moves in Asiatic Turkey, the British Government has taken decisive

measures to bring Persia under control. How this was achieved by a British expedition was described in the House of Lords in February, 1917, when Lord Curzon made the first statement on the situation in Persia since the speech delivered by Lord Crewe in the same house on Dec. 7, 1915, (see CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1916, Pages 877 to 879.) The position at that time was one of considerable convulsion. The British Consul at Shiraz had been recently arrested under circumstances of some ignominy. Coming down to the operations of the Turks and Germans in Persia last year the report of Lord Curzon's speech continues:

The movement reached its maximum force in August last. The Turkish military advance was exercising so disastrous an influence on the situation in Teheran at that time that the Persian Government was on the eve of evacuating the capital. Since then there had been not merely a sensible alleviation, but a steady improvement in the conditions. The Russian Army had recovered its position and effectively barred the way of the Turkish forces to Teheran. In that manner the Russian force had rendered great service to the allied cause, and we found ourselves in the somewhat strange and anomalous position of having the Russian Army acting as a successful screen of defense to our Indian Empire. The British Consul at Shiraz and the few male members of the community there who were imprisoned with him had been released after eight months of harsh captivity. Most of the German agents in the country had been captured, and he hoped that before long the few who were still at large would be taken.

British Forces in Persia

The march of the force under Sir Percy Sykes from Bunder Abbas to Ispahan and finally to Teheran, for 1,000 miles, in circumstances of the most arduous and, in some places, of a perilous character, had not, he thought, been mentioned hitherto in this country. It resulted in establishing order over a wide area. In Teheran itself we had secured the existence of a Government friendly to the allied powers; and Russia and Great Britain had been constant, although not imprudent, in giving steady financial assistance to the Persian Government in the dificult times through which it had passed.

The object of Sir Percy Sykes was to organize in Southern Persia a force of military gendarmerie, or police, under the Persian Government, but officered by British officers with Indian training and experience. That force was ultimately to attain to a strength of 11,000 men. Sir Percy Sykes had at present a force of 5,000 men in addition to a military escort of about 800 troops from India, and his military position was being strengthened by reinforcements now being dispatched from India under a military officer experienced in tribal warfare. A similar force of gendarmerie was being raised from Bakhtiari tribesmen, who had always been very friendly to us. He hoped that before long Sir Percy would be able to march from Shiraz, where he was now, and to clear up the brigand camps and robber nests with which that part of Persia was infested. On the eastern side of Persia a similar success had been obtained by another force under a British officer, Major Keith, who had succeeded in pacifying the whole of that considerable quarter.

In Afghanistan the Ameer, in spite of solicitations and the offer of bribes, had, as far as was known, remained entirely loyal to his obligations to Great Britain, and had declined to be seduced from that loyalty by the tempting offer of the spoil of the Punjab.

The attempt to improve the general situation in Persia had been considerably assisted by two independent movements of a military character outside the borders of that country. The first was the success of General Maude in Mesopotamia. The second outside group of events tending to improve the situation arose from the movement of the Shereef of Mecca. He could not say that the situation was altogether free from anxiety. Turkish troops had still to be turned out of parts of Persia, and in the hinterland of the Persian Gulf there was still disorder. The position of the oil fields was practically secure, and he had not heard for many months past of any interruption of communications in that region.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO

Henry P. Fletcher, Who, After Long Delay, Now Represents the United States at the Mexican Capital

(Photo Central News Service)

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

Head of the Expeditionary Force in Mexico, Who Succeeds General Funston as Commander of the Southern Department

(*Photo Underwood & Underwood*)

GERMAN SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Arming American Merchant Ships and the Events Attending It

THE severance of diplomatic relations with Germany was followed three weeks later by the second step in the determination of the United States to preserve the freedom of the seas for its citizens, notwithstanding the establishment of a so-called "barred zone" by German submarines, intended to cut off ingress to European ports.

Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, was dismissed on Feb. 3, 1917; on Feb. 26 President Wilson appeared in person before the houses of Congress in joint session and read an address, the substance of which was that he should be authorized to supply armament and ammunition to American merchant vessels and "to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate pursuits on the seas." The President's address embodied the conclusions reached by himself and his Cabinet after it had become apparent that the German submarine blockade was operating practically as an embargo on American trade with Europe.

While the President was proceeding to the Capitol to deliver his address news reached him of the torpedoing of the Cunard liner Laconia without warning, by which American lives were lost. This fact gave additional weight to his words.

Text of the President's "Armed Neutrality" Address to Congress

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address before Congress on Feb. 26 asked for a formal concession of power enabling him to arm merchant ships and to take other measures needed for the protection of American citizens and property on the high seas when attacked by submarines. The full text of the address follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross-purposes between us.

On the 3d of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the Eastern Mediterranean and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object.

That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active exhibition for nearly four weeks. Its practical results are not fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the 1st of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation.

We have asked the co-operation of the other neutral Governments to prevent these depredations, but I fear none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

Two American vessels have been sunk, the Housatonic and the Lyman M. Law. The case of the Housatonic, which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the Frye, in which, it will be recalled, the German Gov-

ernment admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the Frye, were safeguarded with reasonable care.

The case of the Law, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our ship owners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted—a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day.

This, in itself, might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

But while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint, rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting.

It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time if we are, in fact and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand by constitutional limitation and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it.

I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer in the present circumstances not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise.

Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do.

I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people, who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuit of peace in quietness and good-will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world.

No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen.

I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ

any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought—the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking. Is is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself.

I am thinking not only of the right of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of noncombatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights, but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of State, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty.

I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things.

The Armed Ship Debate in Congress

FOLLOWING President Wilson's appearance at the Capitol, Congressman Flood, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced a bill to carry out the President's recommendations, the bill having been drafted at the White House. It was passed by the House on March 1 by a vote of 403 to 13; of those voting "No" nine were Republicans, three Democrats, and one a Socialist. As passed by the House the bill empowered the President to arm merchant ships, but did not extend to him authority "to use other instrumentalities," and it prohibited insurance of munition-carrying ships in the Government War Risk Fund. The passage of the bill in the House was marked by many patriotic addresses and a complete absence of partisanship; the leaders of the Republican minority advocated the measure as enthusiastically as the Democratic leaders. It was debated for more than seven hours, and more than fifty speeches were made in its favor; there was no serious opposition.

Flood Proclaims Our Policy

Chairman Flood of the Foreign Affairs Committee vigorously announced the policy of the Administration to submit no longer to the virtual blockading of American ports by the German submarine decree.

Germany, he said, had violated the promises made in the interchange of notes between the United States and that nation, "and she is now undertaking to destroy every merchant vessel, whether belligerent or neutral, that is undertaking to land at any port of Great Britain or Ireland, on the Atlantic Coast, or the eastern ports of the Mediterranean. The American merchant marine is tied up in our harbors and American commerce is blockaded in our ports as effectually as if an enemy had blockaded those ports. This condition is intolerable to a free and a brave people, and it has continued as long as the American Government and the American people are willing to submit to it. The pending bill gives the President means to remedy this intolerable condition and free our commerce and protect the lives of American citizens in their lawful pursuits on the high seas."

Mr. Flood said the bill might not avert war, but it would do little directly to bring about war.

"We may have to go further," he continued, "but if we do the fault will not be ours. Our warships have the right to sail the seas, our citizens have the right to go there, and we propose to protect them in that right. I hope we can do it peacefully. If we cannot we will do it

with force and with arms. It is clear that Germany does not intend to lessen the ruthlessness of her submarine warfare in order to avoid a conflict with this country. Our duty is clear—to protect our citizens and our ships in their lawful pursuits."

Mr. Flood said if Germany were conducting her submarine warfare in accordance with international law and the instincts of humanity, if she were merely exercising the right of search and seizure, this country would take its chances in the prize courts, and there would be no need for the legislation of today.

"But Germany is not doing that. She proposes to sink merchant vessels without warning and without the slightest opportunity for noncombatants on board to save their lives. America is not willing to fail to defend her citizens, and I cannot understand how any man with American blood in his veins and American sentiment in his heart can hesitate to give to the President the authority to protect lives of American citizens."

Fails in the Senate

On Feb. 27 the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate reported the measure to that body, with the fullest indorsement of the Administration. The text of the bill, as reported, was as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

That the commanders and crews of all merchant vessels of the United States and bearing the registry of the United States are hereby authorized to arm and defend such vessels against unlawful attacks, and the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered to supply such vessels with defensive arms, fore and aft, and also with the necessary ammunition and means of making use of them; and that he be, and is hereby, authorized and empowered to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as may in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels and the citizens of the United States in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas.

The sum of $100,000,000 is hereby appropriated, to be expended by the President of the United States for the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing provisions, the said sum to be available until the first day of January, 1918.

For the purpose of meeting the expenditures herein authorized, the Secretary of the Treasury, under the direction of the President, is hereby authorized to borrow on the credit of the United States and to issue therefor bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate $100,000,000, said bonds to be in such form and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe and to bear interest at a rate not exceeding 3 per centum per annum: Provided that such bonds shall be sold at not less than par, shall not carry the circulation privilege, and that all citizens of the United States shall be given an equal opportunity to subscribe therefor, but no commission shall be allowed or paid thereon; that both principal and interest shall be payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value, and be exempt from all taxation and duties of the United States as well as from taxation in any form of all State, municipal, or local authorities; that any bonds issued hereunder may, under such conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, be convertible into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest than 3 per centum per annum, if any bonds shall be issued by the United States at a higher rate than 3 per centum per annum by virtue of any act passed on or before Dec. 31, 1918.

In order to pay the necessary expenses connected with the said issue of bonds, or any conversions thereof, a sum not exceeding one-fifth of 1 per centum of the amount of bonds herein authorized to be issued, or which may be converted, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended as the Secretary of the Treasury may direct.

The President is authorized to transfer so much of the amount herein appropriated as he may deem necessary, not exceeding $25,000,000, to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, created by act of Congress, approved Sept. 2, 1914, for the purpose of insuring vessels, their freight, passage moneys, and cargoes against loss or damage by the present risks of war.

The Senate Filibuster

The discussion of this measure in the Senate and its failure of passage through a filibuster by a small group marked one of the most sensational episodes in the history of the upper house of the National Legislature, and resulted in a change in the rules which had been advocated fruitlessly for over 100 years.

The session of Congress was to end automatically on March 4, hence there were but four days remaining when the measure was introduced. A certain group of Senators, in view of the critical foreign situation, had previously insisted

that the President should call an extra session of the new Congress, to convene immediately on the expiration of the old Congress, and to force this action they had been filibustering for several days over important revenue and appropriation bills. Under the then existing rules of the Senate, there was no limit to debate, and a very small opposition group could block all legislation and indefinitely postpone final action on any measure by dilatory motions and long speeches.

When the armed neutrality measure came up for debate a small but determined opposition developed, which undertook to prevent a vote until the session ended, at noon March 4. Senator La Follette of Wisconsin was at the head of this group, and he was assisted by Senators Norris of Nebraska, Cummins of Iowa, Gronna of North Dakota, Clapp of Minnesota, and Works of California, Republicans, and Senators Stone of Missouri, O'Gorman of New York, Kirby of Arkansas, Lane of Oregon, and Vardaman of Mississippi, Democrats.

Senator Stone was Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. In consequence of his opposition to the bill, he relinquished parliamentary control of it to Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, the next ranking member of the committee. The debate over the measure proceeded with more or less bitterness for three days, but it was not until the final day of the session, when it was clear that this small group had determined to defeat the measure by dilatory tactics, that the acrimony reached its acute stage. The leaders of the Senate, both Democratic and Republican, as well as all the influence of the Administration, exerted all possible pressure on the filibusters to allow the measure to reach a vote, but in vain. Senators La Follette and Clapp were deaf to all appeals, and throughout the long session, lasting all night of the 3d of March and until the stroke of 12 on the 4th, they blocked every effort to have a vote. At noon the bill died by the automatic end of the session.

The Famous Manifesto

During the early hours of March 4, when it was apparent that the filibuster would succeed, the Senate majority performed the unprecedented act of signing a manifesto declaring that the will of the overwhelming majority of the Senate was being defeated by a small group of recalcitrants. Seventy-five of the ninety-six members of the body signed the document, and eight more would have signed it could they have been reached. This historic manifesto was as follows:

The undersigned, United States Senators, favor the passage of Senate Bill 8322, to authorize the President of the United States to arm American merchant vessels.

A similar bill already has passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 403 to 13.

Under the rules of the Senate, allowing unlimited debate, it now appears to be impossible to obtain a vote prior to noon March 4, 1917, when the session of Congress expires.

We desire the statement entered in the record to establish the fact that the Senate favors the legislation and would pass it if a vote could be obtained.

President Wilson's Appeal to the Country

PRESIDENT WILSON was deeply indignant over the success of the Senate filibusters in defeating the armed neutrality measure, and issued the following address to the country a few hours after Congress adjourned, following closely on the heels of his second inauguration:

The termination of the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress by constitutional limitation disclosed a situation unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps unparalleled in the history of any modern Government. In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

The Senate has no rules by which debate can be limited or brought to an end, no rules by which dilatory tactics of any kind can be

prevented. A single member can stand in the way of action, if he have but the physical endurance. The result in this case is a complete paralysis alike of the legislative and of the executive branches of the Government.

This inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible at a time when the need of it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole country approved and demanded—has failed. The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency. The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives. The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point and the General Deficiency bill. It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board to meet the special needs of the new situations into which our commerce has been forced or to increase the gold reserve of our national banking system to meet the unusual circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now. The Congress is more definitely united in thought and purpose at this moment, I venture to say, than it has been within the memory of any men now in its membership. There is not only the most united patriotic purpose, but the objects members have in view are perfectly clear and definite. But the Senate cannot act unless its leaders can obtain unanimous consent. Its majority is powerless, helpless. In the midst of a crisis of extraordinary peril, when only definite and decided action can make the nation safe or shield it from war itself by the aggression of others, action is impossible.

Although, as a matter of fact, the nation and the representatives of the nation stand back of the Executive with unprecedented unanimity and spirit, the impression made abroad will, of course, be that it is not so and that other Governments may act as they please without fear that this Government can do anything at all. We cannot explain. The explanation is incredible. The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

Supplementary Statement

At the same time the President authorized the further statement that what rendered the situation even more grave than had been supposed, was the discovery that, while the President under his general constitutional powers could do much of what he had asked Congress to empower him to do, it had been found that there were certain old statutes as yet unrepealed which might raise insuperable practical obstacles and nullify his power.

Popular Indignation

A wave of indignant protest swept the country. Legislatures of many States passed resolutions denouncing the filibustering Senators and pledging support to the President; mass meetings were held in many cities, and at some places the opposing Senators were hanged in effigy. Telegrams of protest poured in from all parts of America and resolutions of protest were passed by important bodies and associations throughout the country.

The Senate had been convened in extra session, as is the custom after the inauguration of the President, to act upon nominations. As soon as the body convened steps were taken to amend the rules so that there could never be a repetition of such a filibuster. An amendment was agreed upon by the Democratic and Republican caucuses, and on March 8 it was adopted by a vote of 76 to 3, the three negative votes being cast by Senators La Follette, Gronna, and Sherman of Illinois. This rule provides that a two-thirds vote of the Senators present may bring a measure to a vote, and thereafter each Senator may debate the measure

only one hour, when it is to be put upon its passage without any dilatory motions or further debate being in order.

This rule is regarded as the most far-reaching change in the procedure of the Senate since the organization of our Government. The adoption of the rule, as was anticipated, removed all obstacles to the effectiveness of an extra session of Congress, and President Wilson therefore called such a session by proclamation on March 9, summoning the body to meet on April 16, 1917.

Sinking of the Laconia and Algonquin

PRESIDENT WILSON declared in his address of Feb. 3, in which he severed diplomatic relations with Germany, that "only actual overt acts" of German submarines against American citizens and ships on the high seas could change the situation into one of war. The succeeding weeks brought a growing list of acts of that nature. On Feb. 3 the German submarine U-53 sank the American freight steamer Housatonic, bound from Galveston to Liverpool with grain. On Feb. 12 the American sailing schooner Lyman M. Law, en route with lumber from Maine to Italy, was destroyed by a submarine off the coast of Sardinia. Five Norwegian steamers with Americans on board were sunk without adequate warning in the next ten days.

The first American to perish by submarine attack after the break with Germany was Robert A. Haden, a missionary, traveling from China on the French steamer Athos, which was carrying Senegalese troops and colonial laborers. The Athos was torpedoed 210 miles east of Malta on Feb. 17. Mr. Haden perished while trying to aid the Chinese on board. Two American members of the crew of the British bark Calgorm Castle were reported lost after the torpedoing of that vessel in British waters on Feb. 27.

The Laconia Disaster

A far graver case, however, occurred at 10:30 o'clock Sunday night, Feb. 27, when the Cunard liner Laconia, 18,000 tons burden, carrying seventy-three passengers—men, women, and children—of whom six were American citizens—manned by a mixed crew of 216, bound from New York to Liverpool and loaded with foodstuffs, cotton, and war material, was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine 150 miles off the Irish coast. The vessel sank in about forty minutes. Twelve persons perished in the bitter weather before the survivors in open boats were rescued by British patrol vessels.

Two of the dead were American citizens—Mrs. Mary E. Hoy and her daughter, Miss Elizabeth Hoy, of Chicago. Both were in a lifeboat that was swamped, and, though taken into another open boat, they died of exposure and were buried at sea. The Rev. Dunstan Sargent of Grenada, British West Indies, a passenger on the Laconia, who administered the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church to seven persons who perished, gave the following account of tragic events in his boat:

"Mrs. Hoy died in the arms of her daughter. Her body slipped off into the sea out of her daughter's weakened arms. The heartbroken daughter succumbed a few minutes afterward, and her body fell over the side of the boat as we were tossed by the huge waves.

"In icy water up to her knees for two hours, the daughter all the time bravely supported her aged mother, uttering words of encouragement to her. From the start both were violently seasick, which, coupled with the cold and exposure, gradually wore down their courage. They were brave women.

"The first to die in our boat was W. Irvine Robinson of Toronto. After his body had been consigned to the sea we tossed about for an hour, getting more and more water until the gunwales were almost level with the sea. Then Cedric P. Ivatt of London, who was not physically strong, succumbed in the arms of his fiancée, who was close beside him, trying in vain to keep him warm by throwing her wealth of hair about his neck. Even after he died she refused to give him up,

and, although the additional weight made the situation more dangerous for us all, we yielded to her pitiful pleading and allowed her to keep the body. It was taken aboard the rescuing patrol, from which it was buried.

"The Hoys were the next to pass away after Mr. Ivatt. Then a fireman died, and later two others of the crew who were too thinly clad to resist exposure. Altogether, we were in the boat ten hours. We were rescued in the middle of the morning."

Word Picture of Scene

One of the survivors, Floyd P. Gibbons, has placed on record this picture of the last moments of the Laconia:

The torpedo had struck at 10:30 P. M., according to our ship's time. It was thirty minutes afterward that another dull thud, which was accompanied by a noticeable drop in the hulk, told its story of the second torpedo that the submarine had dispatched through the engine room and the boat's vitals from a distance of 200 yards.

We watched silently during the next minute, as the tiers of lights dimmed slowly from white to yellow, then to red, and nothing was left but the murky mourning of the night, which hung over all like a pall.

A mean, cheese-colored crescent of a moon revealed one horn above a rag bundle of clouds low in the distance. A rim of blackness settled around our little world, relieved only by general leering stars in the zenith, and where the Laconia's lights had shown there remained only the dim outlines of a blacker hulk standing out above the water like a jagged headland, silhouetted against the overcast sky.

The ship sank rapidly at the stern until at last its nose stood straight in the air. Then it slid silently down and out of sight like a piece of disappearing scenery in a panorama spectacle.

As the vessel was sinking, the submarine that had done the deed suddenly rose out of the sea within a few feet of a boatload of passengers, and a German voice demanded the name of the ship, its tonnage and cargo, and the whereabouts of the Captain. When he had received civil answers the German commander remarked: "Well, you'll be all right. A British patrol will soon pick you up. Good night!" Then he and his ship vanished, and the lifeboats full of shivering victims were left weltering on the empty sea until picked up the next morning by patrol boats.

The sinking of the Laconia furnished the overt act which the President had indicated would call for a more vigorous policy, but it rested with Congress to determine the extent of the warlike step to be taken. On Feb. 28 President Wilson made public the following cablegram which he had received from Austin Y. Hoy, whose mother and sister had perished through the act of a German submarine:

I am an American citizen, representing the Sullivan Machinery Company of Chicago, living abroad, not as an expatriate, but for the promotion of American trade. I love the flag, believing in its significance. My beloved mother and sister, passengers on the Laconia, have been foully murdered on the high seas.

As an American citizen outraged and as such fully within my rights and as an American son and brother bereaved, I call upon my Government to preserve its citizens' self-respect and save others of my countrymen from such deep grief as I now feel. I am of military age, able to fight. If my country can use me against these brutal assassins, I am at its call.

If it stultifies my manhood and my nation's by remaining passive under outrage, I shall seek a man's chance under another flag.

German Government officials regarded the Laconia case as the climax of the situation, and expected the United States to act, but added that there "could be no going back" in their submarine policy.

Sinking of the Algonquin

The next act seriously affecting the relations of the two countries was the sinking of the American steamship Algonquin, bound from New York to London with foodstuffs. The Algonquin was attacked without warning at 6 o'clock on Monday morning, March 12, by a German submarine, which sank her with shellfire and bombs. After twenty-seven hours in open boats the crew of twenty-six men reached Scilly. Captain A. Nordberg gave the following account of the event:

Just after daylight I was on the bridge. It was the mate's watch. I saw two steamers, apparently colliers, steaming west, one on the starboard and the other on the port side. Two minutes later the mate called my attention to another object and at once I said, "I think that is a submarine."

The submarine was about three miles distant, as were also the steamers. Immediately I saw a flash of a gun and a shell fell short. At once I stopped the engines and then went full speed astern, indicating this by three

blasts on the whistle. The submarine kept on firing, the fourth shot throwing up a column of water which drenched me and the man at the wheel. It was a close thing.

The fifth shot struck the ship's side and the next went aft. The submarine was using two guns. Twenty shots were fired at us. I ordered the crew to the boats, and we pulled away two ship's lengths. All this time the submarine was firing at us. Some of the shots came very close.

Once we were in the boats the Germans ceased firing and the submarine dived. Later we saw the periscope, which circled the Algonquin half a dozen times. Then, finding her abandoned, the submarine came to the surface and a boat's crew boarded the steamer.

The first thing done was to lower the American flag. Then I concluded they were going to sink my ship. Ten minutes after I heard the crackle of an explosion and saw smoke. They had blown the ship up with bombs. In fifteen minutes the Algonquin had sunk.

The submarine was flying the German ensign. Her commander asked me the name, nationality, destination, and cargo of the ship, which had the American colors painted on her side and flew the American flag day and night. I asked him to tow us toward land, but he refused, saying: "I'm too busy. I expect a couple of other steamers."

The Algonquin, as it happened, changed owners after its departure from New York, but the fact was unknown alike to the Captain and crew and to the German submarine commander. Fourteen members of the crew were Americans, and Captain Nordberg was a Norwegian who had become a naturalized American citizen.

Ships Armed by Presidential Proclamation

PRESIDENT WILSON issued on March 9 the proclamation calling Congress in extra session April 16, 1917, without specifying any particular purpose, but the following statement announcing the President's determination to arm merchant vessels was given out at the White House:

Secretary Tumulty stated in connection with the President's call for an extra session of Congress that the President is convinced that he has the power to arm American merchant ships and is free to exercise it at once. But so much necessary legislation is pressing for consideration that he is convinced that it is for the best interests of the country to have an early session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, whose support he will also need in all matters collateral to the defense of our merchant marine.

The President decided to act at once, and on March 12 formal notice was given to the world of this decision. The following statement, prepared by Secretary of State Lansing, after a conference with President Wilson, was sent out by the State Department on the 12th to all members of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington:

In view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government of Jan. 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas would be sunk without any precautions being taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.

Legal Basis of Action

In arriving at the decision that he had legal authority to furnish armament to merchantmen President Wilson was guided by the advice of both Secretary Lansing and Attorney General Gregory. Mr. Lansing had had no doubt from the first of the President's power to take means for the defense of American ships and American lives on the seas. Others thought, however, that a law enacted in 1819 prohibited the President from permitting any merchant vessel of American register to use force against the ships of a nation with which the United States was not actually and officially at war. This law specified that armed merchant vessels should not use their guns against national vessels of a Government with which the United States was in amity.

Secretary Lansing held that this statute had been enacted with particular reference to protection against pirates, and that it had no application whatever to the present situation. It could not properly be construed, he contended, to apply to the use of arms by an American merchant vessel to protect itself against

the unlawful attack of a German submarine.

To make assurance doubly sure President Wilson referred the question of the interpretation of the law to Attorney General Gregory, who sustained the Secretary of State, holding that the law of 1819 had reference to conditions when the seas were infested with piratical craft, and was not a bar to a ship protecting herself from the effort of a German submarine to sink her without warning. The President, therefore, felt that no occasion existed for postponing the issuance of an order to furnish Government armament to merchant vessels.

Although the Armed Ship bill, which failed of passage in the Senate, provided for a bond issue of $100,000,000 to pay the expenses of armed neutrality, the Government has sufficient money available for its immediate purposes. Congress will be asked to provide more when the extra session convenes.

Crux of the Situation

Under a bill passed during the last days of the last Congress, the funds at the disposal of the Federal War Risk Bureau to insure American ships was increased to $15,000,000. Armed neutrality is expected to remove the practical blockade of American ports and place the issue of eventual war squarely upon Germany. An attack upon an armed American vessel would precipitate a fight if the ship got sight of the submarine, and an unwarned attack would be regarded by the United States as an act of war.

Germany and Austria both have declared armed merchantmen war vessels. These declarations were based largely, however, upon the charge that British merchant ships used their armament offensively, and it remains to be seen whether Germany will so class and treat American craft with defensive arms. The whole German press comment and unofficial utterances since the question was raised in this country have indicated the conviction that any armed vessel should be considered hostile and sunk in the same way as a belligerent war vessel. There has been no official expression on the subject.

The guns defending American merchantmen will be in charge of gunners belonging to the United States Navy. The official instructions to these men have not been made public, but reliable correspondents have asserted with an air of authority that in view of the warnings by the German Government, the discovering of a submarine in the war zone by an armed ship would presuppose that it had hostile intent, and that it would be fired upon on sight. German official opinion as quoted by the German press asserts that the firing upon a German submarine by an armed American merchantman would be regarded by that country as an act of war.

The Secretary of the Navy issued a formal request to American newspapers and news agencies to refrain from publishing the departure of any American ships from American or foreign ports, and to exclude any information regarding the arming of ships. It is known that six-inch guns were placed upon a large number of American ships in the week ended March 17, 1917, and it was understood that several large freighters and at least one American passenger liner, fully equipped fore and aft with six-inch guns, left American ports for the barred zone during the week named. No official announcement of the sailings was permitted.

Armed neutrality became the status of the United States the moment the first merchant ship under the American flag put to sea with a gun mounted for defense. President Wilson clearly forecast this fact in his address to Congress on Feb. 26.

Writers on international law have held that armed neutrality consisted in placing the country in a position to defend itself and its neutrality against threatened attacks or inroads by belligerents. This state of preparedness may last an indefinite length of time, through good fortune in avoiding contact with belligerent forces afloat or ashore, or through the design of the belligerent to confine its declaration of purpose to infringe the neutrality of a country to mere threats unsupported by action. On the other hand, the status of armed neutrality

may change into one of actual hostility through a collision, such as a submarine attack on an armed merchantman.

Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800

Oppenheim thus describes the origin of the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800:

In 1780, during war with Great Britain, her American colonies, France, and Spain, Russia sent a circular to England, France, and Spain in which she proclaimed the following five principles:

(1) That neutral vessels should be allowed to navigate from port to port of belligerents and along the coast;

(2) That enemy goods on neutral vessels, contraband excepted, should not be seized by belligerents;

(3) That, with regard to contraband, Articles 10 and 11 of the treaty of 1768 between Russia and Great Britain should be applied in all cases;

(4) That a port should only be considered blockaded if the blockading belligerent had stationed vessels there, so as to create an obvious danger for neutral vessels entering the port;

(5) That these principles should be applied in the proceedings and judgments on the legality of the prizes.

George B. Davis, former Judge Advocate General and one of the best-known American authorities on international law, defines an armed neutrality as "an alliance of several powers, usually of a defensive character, though this is by no means essential."

"The purpose of such an alliance," he says, "is to secure the maintenance of certain views of neutral right, which are believed to be in danger or whose justice is likely to be questioned. If the commercial interests of several nations are threatened by unjust and unlawful measures on the part of a belligerent which they deem unjust or dangerous, there can be no question of their right to secure their menaced interests by such combinations as seem best calculated to accomplish this purpose."

Effects of Intensified Submarine Activity

GERMANY relentlessly made good her threat to institute unrestricted submarine warfare in the zone surrounding the United Kingdom and France. On March 19 the following official announcement was made at Berlin:

"In February 368 merchant ships of an aggregate gross tonnage of 781,500 were lost by the war measures of the Central Powers. Among them were 292 hostile ships, with an aggregate gross tonnage of 644,000, and 76 neutral ships of an aggregate gross tonnage of 137,500. Among the neutral ships 61 were sunk by submarines, which is 16.5 per cent. of the total in February, as compared with 29 per cent., the average of neutral losses in the last four months."

These figures differ widely from those given out by the French and English Admiralties. London reported that the total shipping sunk by submarines in February was 490,000 tons.

In the first three weeks of March Germany asserted that the February average was maintained, but again there was a disparity of figures; the English Admiralty reported on March 15 that the total tonnage sunk from Feb. 1 to March 11 was 156 British, 51 other neutrals, and 3 Americans; between March 4 and 11, 1 American, 20 British, and 2 French. Forty-six British ships were sunk between March 1 and 15; of these 16 were less than 1,600 tons each, and 6 were small fishing craft. The Admiralty reported that at the beginning of 1917 Great Britain possessed 3,731 vessels of 1,600 tons and over. Of this number 78 were sunk up to March 15, leaving 3,653 ships of 1,600 tons or more after six weeks of the submarine war.

In the prosecution of their intensified warfare the U-boats spared nothing that came in sight. Hospital ships, Belgian relief ships, and any vessels of neutrals, whether coming or going, were attacked and sunk with the same disregard of the law of visit and search as that exercised toward the craft of Germany's enemies.

The most sensational episodes of the month were the sinking of six grain-laden Dutch ships and the news of the sinking of three American vessels, the

latter reported March 19. These ships were the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia.

The City of Memphis had sailed on March 16 from Cardiff for New York in ballast. When she left port the steamship had the Stars and Stripes painted on both sides. She encountered a submarine about 5 o'clock Saturday evening. The German commander ordered the Captain of the steamer to leave his ship within fifteen minutes.

The entire crew entered five boats, and the submarine then fired a torpedo, which struck the vessel on the starboard side, tearing a great hole, through which the sea poured. The steamer settled down quickly and foundered within a few minutes.

The Memphis was of 5,252 tonnage, 377 feet long, and was valued at $600,000. The Vigilancia was torpedoed without warning; she was of 4,115 tonnage and was proceeding to Havre, via the Azores, from New York on Feb. 28, with a cargo of provisions. She was marked on her sides with the American flag and her name in letters that could be read three miles away. The hailing port, "New York," was painted on the port and starboard bows in letters five feet high.

The Illinois was a tank ship, and sailed from Port Arthur, Texas, Feb. 17, 1917, for London. She was of 5,220 gross tonnage. She carried a cargo of oil.

On March 19 it was ascertained that fifteen members of the Vigilancia crew were lost. Captain Borum and eight members of the crew of the City of Memphis were not heard from until three days later when it was learned they had reached Glasgow.

The news aroused fresh indignation in this country and convinced the public that Germany had included in her plan of submarine ruthlessness American ships as well as those of belligerents. The feeling in Government circles was that the sinking of the vessels produced an actual state of war with Germany. President Wilson took measures to speed up the naval program; on the 20th 260 submarine chasers were ordered for immediate construction, the $115,000,000 emergency fund was employed for purchase of naval equipment, and the immediate graduation of the first and second classes in the Annapolis Naval Academy was ordered, with the rushing of naval recruits to the full emergency limit of 87,000. The general conviction prevailed by March 20 that a formal declaration of war would soon follow. It was known that American merchantmen, armed fore and aft, had left American ports with naval gunners aboard, who were instructed to fire at sight on any submarine that made a hostile approach.

United States Prepares for Defense

SINCE the diplomatic break with Germany the War and Navy Departments of the United States Government have been working night and day to organize for adequate defense in case of war. The navy has made important progress in that direction. Congress, in its closing hours, passed a naval appropriation bill aggregating $535,000,000, the largest in a single year of the nation's history. This total included the authorization of $150,000,000 in twenty-year 3 per cent. bonds, the proceeds of which were to be made immediately available for the President's use, $115,000,000 of the amount to be applied to speeding up the construction of warships already authorized, and $35,000,000 to be devoted to the building of submarines. For aviation in connection with naval operations $5,133,000 was appropriated.

On March 6 Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, called a conference of the leading shipbuilders of the nation in Washington and asked what they could do in the emergency. He made it plain to them that the Government was counting on them for their fullest co-operation and would not hesitate to commandeer the shipyards if necessary. He told them that the Government was now de-

sirous of having some of the new submarines built in nine months. The best building time that had been offered previously was eighteen months. Mr. Daniels also indicated that the Government was desirous of having destroyers built within a year instead of two years, the best time previously offered. Many of the shipbuilding concerns declared their willingness and ability to meet the needs of the hour.

Large Contracts Placed

On March 15 Secretary Daniels placed contracts for what was probably the largest single order for fighting craft ever given by any nation. Under these contracts private builders undertook to turn out four great battle cruisers and six scout cruisers, costing nearly $112,000,000 for hulls and machinery alone, and pledged themselves to keep 70 per cent. of their working forces on navy construction. Though the major ship builders were besieged with commercial orders, some of which would bring 50 per cent. profit, they agreed to accept 10 per cent. profit on the battle cruisers, whose cost will represent about $76,000,000 of the total sums involved in the contracts. This action made it unnecessary for the President to use his authority to commandeer plants. A fifth battle cruiser will be built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, so as to avoid overstraining the facilities of the private establishments.

Both classes of cruisers are of new types and are designed for a speed of 25 knots an hour. The scouts range in cost from $5,950,000 to $5,996,000 and the stipulated time of delivery is from thirty to thirty-two months. These figures can be no guide to the actual cost or time, however, as under the emergency clause of the Naval Appropriation bill construction will be hastened to the limit, the Government footing the bill for additional cost.

The battle cruisers, the fixed limit of cost of which is $19,000,000 per ship, exclusive of speeding-up expense, were placed as follows: Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, two ships; Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation, one ship; New York Shipbuilding Company, one ship.

With the exception of the New York company, each private builder will have to install new ways and machinery for the huge craft. The Government will bear its fair share of this expense. Already an appropriation of $6,000,000 has beeen ordered expended to equip the Philadelphia yard for capital ship building.

Four of the scout cruisers will be built on the Pacific Coast—two by the Seattle Construction Company and two by the Union Iron Works at San Francisco. The other two will be built by William Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia.

The Three-Year Program

In a statement to newspaper men, Secretary Daniels said:

The Navy bill provides the initial appropriations for the following vessels of the three-year program adopted by the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which authorized the construction of 156 vessels of different types: 3 battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, 18 submarines, 1 destroyer tender, and 1 submarine tender.

Of the three-year program, therefore, the money has been provided in this bill and in the former bill to commence the construction of the following vessels: 7 battleships, 5 battle cruisers, 7 scout cruisers, 35 destroyers, 48 submarines, 1 destroyer tender, 1 submarine tender, 1 hospital ship, 1 fuel ship, 1 ammunition ship, 1 gunboat, leaving to be first appropriated for next year the balance of the three-year program, consisting of 3 battleships, 1 battle cruiser, 3 scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, 19 submarines, 2 fuel ships, 1 repair ship, 1 transport, 1 destroyer tender, 1 ammunition ship, and 1 gunboat.

The outstanding features of the bill are, first, the $115,000,000 appropriation for speeding up the construction of ships already authorized and authorized in the bill just approved, and the purchase or construction of aircraft, additional destroyers, submarine chasers, motor boats, and other small craft, which will be essential in an emergency, and which can be constructed in a comparatively short time. A further emergency appropriation of $18,000,000 is provided specifically for the construction of twenty coast submarines in addition to the eighteen submarines for which money is provided in the bill of the three-year program, making thirty-eight submarines specifically appropriated for in this bill.

Contracts for sixteen non-rigid dirigible airships to be used for coast and harbor patrol were let by Secretary Daniels on March 12. The contracts are for $649,250, and the specifications call

for the delivery of these airships in the remarkably brief period of 120 days, which means by the middle of June.

Under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a volunteer reserve auxiliary fleet of 750 ships and motor craft, with 10,000 civilians to man them, is in process of organization for the protection of waters adjoining New York City.

Military Defense Measures

Military defense has made less progress. The Army Appropriation bill for $279,000,000 was among the important measures that died in the Senate during the filibuster at the close of the session. The chief work of the Secretary of War has consisted in organizing the industries and executive talent of the nation for the emergency. The newly formed Council of National Defense has become an active force during the month. It is the central agency for the industrial mobilization of the country, and under the direction of Daniel Willard, a prominent railroad President, its advisory commission is organizing for the rapid transportation of large bodies of troops, for the conservation of great quantities of food and supplies of all kinds, and for the effective employment of all the country's resources at short notice.

All the remaining National Guard units on the Mexican border, embracing about 75,000 men, were ordered on Feb. 17 to return to their home States for immediate muster out of Federal service. A few days later Judge Advocate General Crowder delivered an opinion to the effect that there was no essential difference in the status of the militiamen who had taken the Federal oath under the terms of the Hay National Defense act and those who had not; in other words, both classes of National Guardsmen would be subject to call by the President in case of war with Germany.

Meanwhile orders had been issued on March 7 by the War Department directing the Colonels of all regular army regiments along the border to designate sixty enlisted men from each regiment who could be commissioned as company officers in the army in case of an emergency call. This would furnish a total of 5,000 new officers, who would be eligible for offices up to the rank of Captain, and who could be promoted in case of need. In the event of real war the Government would be compelled to call to the colors not less than 500,000 men, and for such an army 25,000 officers would be necessary. These officers would be obtained from the regular commissioned personnel of the army, from the rapid graduation of West Point cadets, and from the new officers' reserve corps now in process of creation.

Late in February the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, sent to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs the draft of a bill framed by the War College Division of the General Staff calling for eleven months of compulsory military training for every American boy of 18 years who did not come within certain exemption clauses. Under this bill it was estimated that within three years the country would have a first-line reserve of 1,500,000 young men ready to respond instantly to a call to the colors until their thirtieth year. The bill failed of passage, but will be brought up in Congress again.

German Chancellor's Address on the Break With United States

CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG delivered an important address in the Reichstag on Feb. 27, reviewing Germany's position as affected by the intensified submarine warfare and the action of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with the Imperial Government. Discussing the attitude of neutrals the Chancellor said:

One step further than that taken by European neutrals has been taken (as is known) by the United States of America. President Wilson, after receiving our note of Jan. 31, brusquely broke off relations with us. No authentic communication about the reasons which were given for his step reached me. The former United States Ambassador here in Berlin communicated only in spoken words to the State Secretary of the Foreign Office of breaking off relations, and asked for his passports. This form of breaking off relations between great nations living in peace is probably without precedent in history.

All official documents being lacking, I am forced to rely upon doubtful sources—that is, upon the Reuter office's version of the contents of the message sent by President Wilson on Feb. 3 to Congress. In this version the President is reported to have said that our note of Jan. 31 suddenly and without previous indication intentionally withdrew the solemn promises made in the note of May, 1916. To the United States Government, therefore, no choice compatible with dignity and honor was left other than the way which had been announced in its note of April 20, 1916, covering the case if Germany should not wish to give up her submarine method.

If these arguments are correctly reported by Reuter, then I must decidedly protest against them. For more than a century friendly relations between us and America have been carefully promoted. We honored them—as Bismarck once put it—as an heirloom from Frederick the Great. Both countries benefited by it, both giving and taking.

Since the beginning of the war, things have changed on the other side of the waters. Old principles were overthrown.

On Aug. 27, 1913, during the Mexican troubles, President Wilson in a solemn message to Congress declared that he intended to follow the best usage of international law by a prohibition of the supplying of arms to both Mexican parties at war against each other. One year later, in 1914, these usages apparently were no longer considered good. Countless materials of war have been supplied by America to the Entente, and while the right of the American citizen to travel without hindrance to Entente countries and the right to trade without hindrance with France and England, even through the midst of the battlefield, even the right of such trade as we had to pay for with German blood—while all these rights were jealously guarded, the same right of American citizens toward the Central Powers did not seem to be as worthy of protection and as valuable.

They protested against some measures of England which were contrary to international law, but they submitted to them. Under conditions of this kind objection as to lack of respect makes a strange impression.

With equal decisiveness I must protest against the objection that we, by the manner in which we withdrew the assurances given in the note of May 4, offended the honor and dignity of the United States. From the very beginning we had openly and expressly declared that these assurances would be invalid under certain conditions.

The Chancellor then recalled the last paragraph of the note of May 4, 1916, which he read verbatim, the last clause being: "Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, namely, to have the law of humanity followed by all the belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

The Chancellor then continued:

As to the American answer given to the German note, it was so absolutely contrary to what we in our note had said clearly and without any possibility of misunderstanding, that a reply on our part would have changed nothing as to the standpoints maintained by both sides. But nobody, even in America, could doubt that already long ago the conditions were fulfilled upon which, according to our declaration, depended our regaining full liberty of decision.

England did not abandon the isolation of Germany, but, on the contrary, intensified it in the most reckless fashion. Our adversaries were not made to respect the principles of international law, universally recognized before the war, nor made to follow the laws of humanity. The freedom of the seas, which America wanted to restore, in co-operation with us, during the war, has been still more completely destroyed by our adversary, and

America has not hindered this. All this is common knowledge.

Even at the end of January England issued a new isolation declaration for the North Sea, and in this period, since May 4, nine months had passed. Could it then be surprising that on Jan. 31 we considered that the freedom of the seas had not been re-established and that we drew our conclusions from this? But the case extends beyond that of formal importance. We, who were ready for peace, now by mutual understanding fight for life against an enemy who from the beginning put his heel upon the recognized laws of nations. The English starvation blockade, our peace offer, its rebuke by the Entente, the war aims of our enemies purporting our destruction, and the speeches of Lloyd George are known also in America.

I could fully understand it if the United States, as a protector of international law, should have bartered for its re-establishment in equal fashion with all the belligerents, and, if desiring to restore peace to the world, had taken measures to enforce the end of the bloodshed. But I cannot possibly consider it a vital question for the American Nation to protect international law in a one-sided fashion, only against us.

Our enemies, and American circles which are unfriendly toward us, thought that they could point out an important difference between our course of action and that of the British. England, they have satisfied themselves, destroys only material values, which can be replaced, while Germany destroys human lives, which are impossible to replace.

Well, gentlemen, why did the British not endanger American lives? Only because neutral countries, and especially America, voluntarily submitted to the British orders, and because the British, therefore, could attain their object without employing force.

What would have happened if Americans had valued unhampered passenger and freight traffic with Bremen and Hamburg as much as that with Liverpool and London? If they had done so, then we should have been freed from the painful impression that, according to America, a submission to British power and control is compatible with the essential character of neutrality, but that it is incompatible with this neutral policy to recognize German measures of defense.

Gentlemen, let us consider the whole question. The breaking off of relations with us and the attempted mobilization of all neutrals against us do not serve for the protection of the freedom of the seas proclaimed by the United States. These actions will not promote the peace desired by President Wilson. They must, consequently, have encouraged the attempt to starve Germany and to multiply the bloodshed.

We regret the rupture with a nation which by her history seemed to be presdestined surely to work with us, not against us. But since our honest will for peace has encountered only jeering on the part of our enemies, there is no more "going backward." There is only "going ahead" possible for us.

Adverting to peace discussions, the Chancellor pointed out that the German Nation, in the Reichstag's last vote granting new war credits, demonstrated to the whole world its readiness to continue the struggle until its enemies were ready for peace.

Ambassador Gerard's Difficulties in Leaving Berlin

UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR GERARD received official notice of the break with Germany at 8 o'clock Sunday evening, Feb. 4. On Monday he made formal application for his passports, going in person to Foreign Secretary Zimmermann. The Ambassador's orders from Washington included certain instructions regarding the action of American Consuls in Germany. Telegrams were prepared in the usual code transmitting these instructions to these Americans. These messages were sent to the telegraph office in the customary way by an embassy messenger. Each message bore across its face a stamp showing that it was an official message sent by the duly accredited representative of the American Government. But the telegraph office refused to receive those messages. Some one in the German Government recognized by the officials of the Government telegraph office had notified that office not to accept for transmission any further messages from officials of the American Embassy.

Later the telephone connection of the embassy was broken, his telegrams were not delivered, and the embassy

mail failed to be delivered. When this state of affairs dawned upon the Ambassador he proceeded to take precautions. He personally burned or destroyed all code books and ciphers or other means of confidential communication. Every confidential letter, telegram, or other form of communication in the embassy files went into the fire under Mr. Gerard's direction.

The situation following is thus described by a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"Officials of the Foreign Office and the War Office made more or less open efforts to cajole or induce American newspaper correspondents to remain in Berlin after Mr. Gerard had gone. There was an extraordinarily interesting session with Herr Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, at the Foreign Office on the Sunday evening when news of the rupture in relations was first received. Emphasis was then laid by him upon the German interpretation of the old treaty of 1799 between Prussia and the United States, and the vigor of his expression of hope that Germany would be able to negotiate with Mr. Gerard for reaffirmation of that treaty and its specific application to existing conditions gives a clear line on the motive for what was to occur so promptly to Mr. Gerard. Again on Tuesday evening, when the correspondents met Colonel Hafeton of the Military Staff, at military press headquarters, they received a renewed and emphasized impression of the importance with which Germans regarded their efforts to procure extended application of that old treaty to pending relations with the United States.

Interview with Montgelas

"It was while the correspondents were receiving their lecture from the military staff that evening that Mr. Gerard received a call from Count Montgelas, Chief of the American Affairs Division of the Foreign Office. It was at that interview that Count Montgelas submitted to Mr. Gerard a draft of the protocol proposed by Germany by way of reaffirmation and emendation of the old Prussian treaty.

"It was at that meeting that Mr. Gerard denounced the way in which he had been treated by the German Government, and received in explanation a statement of Count Montgelas that the German Government was as yet in ignorance of what had happened to Count von Bernstorff in America. But it was only the censorship of the German Government which was preventing the receipt of full authentic news from the United States, and it was inconceivable that Washington was preventing von Bernstorff from communicating with his Government if he desired to do so.

"It was in response to Count Montgelas's presentation of the proposed protocol that Mr. Gerard stated that he could not be 'sandbagged' into signing such a document. It was in reply to a further suggestion by Count Montgelas that favorable action by Mr. Gerard upon the German proposal would facilitate the withdrawal of newspaper correspondents and other Americans from Germany that Mr. Gerard vigorously declared he would sit right where he was until Christmas if his compatriots were not permitted to withdraw along with him.

"Moreover, the American Ambassador pointed out that it was in practical fact an act of war for Germany to refuse to permit Americans to withdraw from the country under the circumstances. There had been no declaration of war by the United States, only a rupture of diplomatic relations. Under every consideration and any interpretation of legal or moral right, Germany had no ground whatever for interference in such withdrawal. It was at this interview also that Mr. Gerard referred to efforts of the German Government to get his consent to the proposed protocol as an attempt to blackmail him.

Garbled News from America

"Berlin was without authoritative news from the United States. Nothing was coming through but criminally false stuff, carried by a news association which seemed bent on doing everything in its power to accentuate the trouble between the United States and Germany.

These dispatches purported to describe the confiscation of the German ships in American waters by the American Government.

"I had filed several dispatches for THE NEW YORK TIMES reporting these events and describing the mischievous character of these dispatches. Whether any of them got through or not I do not yet know, but I do know that on Thursday morning, when the tension in Berlin had become acute, I received a message from the managing editor of THE TIMES giving explicitly the situation in the United States and setting forth exactly the status of the German ships in American waters and their crews. I showed this message immediately to Ambassador Gerard, who said it was most important and urged that the widest possible publicity be given it. Thereupon I went at once to the Foreign Office and showed the message to one of the Under Secretaries.

"The effect was instantaneous. The message was taken at once to Secretary Zimmermann and sent by the Foreign Office to a German news agency, with the result that it was published that afternoon in all newspapers, and again the next morning.

"There was noticeable immediately a decided rise in the German official temperature. The attitude toward Americans and their departure from Germany was markedly friendly.

"It was not until Friday afternoon that the first passports were delivered, and those did not include Gerard's. His came Saturday morning. Some of the party who left Berlin on the train with him that evening did not receive their passports until 5 o'clock that afternoon. Despite the modification of the attitude following the receipt of THE NEW YORK TIMES dispatch, the decision to permit Americans to leave was not made until some time Friday afternoon. On Thursday evening, however, Gerard received a call from another member of the Foreign Office staff, the apparent purpose being to endeavor to smooth out the unpleasant impressions, also to see if something could not be done, even at that late date, on the important matter of that old Prussian treaty, with its astounding joker, about the safe conduct for German ships to be furnished by the American Government in case of war between the two countries."

Ambassador Gerard and his party, numbering about 100, first proceeded to Switzerland. At the Swiss frontier representatives of the Government received them, and they were hospitably entertained at Berne. Again at the French frontier they were officially received, and at Paris a formal reception was tendered by the Government. From Paris the party proceeded to Madrid, where the King held a long interview with the Ambassador, and thence to Corunna, at which port they embarked on the steamship Alfonso XIII., arriving at Havana, Cuba, without incident on March 5. The Ambassador left on the 10th for Key West, and reached Washington Wednesday, March 14. He was cordially greeted en route by committees representing the cities and States, and was officially received at Washington. The President was confined to his room by illness, but the Ambassador was closeted on Wednesday for several hours with Secretary of State Lansing.

Mr. Gerard reached New York Friday, March 16, and was enthusiastically welcomed by Reception Committees representing the State and the municipality. He studiously declined to make any public statement, holding that any references to his report should be made by the Government.

It is a curious coincidence that Mr. Gerard reached Washington on the same day and practically at the same hour that Count von Bernstorff arrived at Berlin.

Thanks of British Government

Mr. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, announced in the House of Commons after the diplomatic break between the United States and Germany on Feb. 3 that he had communicated to the United States Government, through Ambassador Walter H. Page, the following letter of thanks for the services of Ambassador James W. Gerard and his staff in caring for British interests at Berlin since the beginning of the war:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 4th inst., (No. 2,766,) in which your Excellency informed me that diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the German Empire had ceased as from 2 P. M. on the 3d inst. I request that your Excellency will be good enough to convey to your Government an expression of the thanks of his Majesty's Government for the action taken by them in transferring the charge of British interests in Germany to the Netherland Minister at Berlin.

I desire to take this opportunity of expressing to your Excellency his Majesty's Government's deep appreciation of the care and devotion with which the United States Government has taken charge of British interests in Germany since the outbreak of war. His Majesty's Government are fully conscious of the immense amount of work which the care of British interests has necessarily entailed upon the staffs of the United States Embassies in London and Berlin, and they feel that they cannot value too highly the promptitude and efficiency with which that work has invariably been performed, and the unfailing tact and courtesy shown by the members of your Excellency's staff in dealing with the care of German interests in this country.

His Majesty's Government are especially grateful for all that has been done by the United States diplomatic and Consular officers in Germany for the British prisoners of war. There can be no doubt that their efforts have been the direct cause of a considerable improvement in the treatment of British prisoners, while the machinery devised for relief has, as far as possible, ameliorated the lot of those British subjects who, though not interned, have for various reasons been unable to leave Germany. His Majesty's Government fully realize that these results have not been achieved without much labor on the part of the American officials concerned, and, in some cases, in face of strenuous opposition on the part of the German authorities, and I can assure your Excellency that the work done by the representatives of the United States of America on behalf of British subjects in hostile hands will not readily be forgotten either by his Majesty's Government or by the British people.

I beg that your Excellency will accept personally, and convey to the members of your staff, this expression of the most cordial thanks of his Majesty's Government, and that you will also be so good as to ask your Government to express to Mr. Gerard his Majesty's Government's profound gratitude and recognition of their deep indebtedness to him and to his Excellency's staff.

The Alliance With Mexico and Japan Proposed by Germany

AN important phase growing out of our rupture with Germany and the subsequent drift toward war, (the main issues being treated fully in preceding pages,) was the uncovering of an anti-American alliance proposed by Germany with Mexico and Japan in the event the threatened war ensued.

The plot was revealed by the publication on March 1, 1917, of a letter dated Jan. 19, 1917, signed by the German Foreign Secretary and addressed to the German Minister, von Eckhardt, in Mexico City. The text of the letter is as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On Feb. 1 we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

ZIMMERMANN.

The revelation created a profound impression throughout the country. The immediate effect on Congress was the elimination of practically all opposition to the proposal then pending to authorize the President to proceed at once to arm American merchantmen against German submarines; it also crystallized the con-

viction throughout the country that the German submarine blockade must be sternly resisted, even though it resulted in a declaration of war by Germany. A question having been raised in the United States Senate as to the authenticity of the letter, a resolution was passed requesting the President to inform the Senate as to the genuineness of the German note; thereupon the following reply was communicated by the Executive on the same day:

Washington, D. C., March 1, 1917.

To the Senate:

In response to the resolution adopted by the Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting the President to furnish the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information he has concerning the note published in the press of this date purporting to have been sent Jan. 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I transmit herewith a report by the Secretary of State, which has my approval. WOODROW WILSON.

[Inclosure.]

To the President:

The resolution adopted by the United States Senate on March 1, 1917, requesting that that body be furnished, if not incompatible with the public interest, whatever information you have concerning the note published in the press of this date, purporting to have been sent Jan. 19, 1917, by the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico, I have the honor to state that the Government is in possession of evidence which establishes the fact that the note referred to is authentic, and that it is in possession of the Government of the United States, and that the evidence was procured by this Government during the present week, but that it is, in my opinion, incompatible with the public interest to send to the Senate at the present time any further information in possession of the Government of the United States relative to the note mentioned in the resolution of the Senate. Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT LANSING.

How the Note Was Obtained

The authorities have given no intimation as to how the Zimmermann note was procured, but an unconfirmed explanation was given that four men of the First Indiana Infantry, a noncommissioned officer and three privates, doing patrol duty along the Rio Grande near Llano Grande, Texas, had overhauled a messenger sent by the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, and found the note on his person. The details as related in a dispatch from Houston, Texas, are as follows:

"Just opposite where the messenger attempted to sneak across the river was stationed a squad of thirty-five Carranza 'rurales,' fashioned after the organization of 'Texas Rangers.' However, the messenger did not meet the 'rurales,' but four men of Company G, First Indiana Infantry, and they got the Zimmermann note and other papers from his person. They caught him near the town of Progreso, where he was arrested on Feb. 21, when he attempted to cross the Rio Grande, twelve miles below San Juan Ferry and twenty-five miles west of the International Bridge at Brownsville, Texas, the two regulation crossings. Since the patrol of the border was begun no person is allowed to cross without being questioned, searched, and minutely examined by the patrol bodies, made up of four men and covering every foot of territory from Sam Fordyce, Texas, to Brownsville, Texas, along the Rio Grande —a distance of 106 miles. The messenger doubtless was following explicit instructions as to where to cross, and in so doing he aroused the suspicions of the militiamen."

It is stated, and not officially denied, that the document was in the hands of the President when he broke off relations with Germany by dismissing the Ambassador, but its absolute authenticity was not established until a day or two before it was made public.

Confirmed by Germany

When the Zimmermann proposal was first made public it evoked indignant protests from pro-Germans throughout the country, on the ground that it was spurious, and that its publication was a political trick. The German press in America denounced it as a palpable forgery, a clumsy artifice to influence American sentiment. However, on March 3 Secretary Zimmermann himself acknowledged that the letter was genuine, and the following statement was telegraphed from Berlin that day by the German Official News Bureau, the Overseas News Agency:

Foreign Secretary Zimmermann was asked

by a staff member of the Overseas News Agency about the English report that "a German plot had been revealed to get Mexico to declare war against the United States and to secure Japan's aid against the United States." Secretary Zimmermann answered:

"You understand that it is impossible for me to discuss the facts of this 'revealed plot' just at this moment and under these circumstances. I therefore may be allowed to limit my answer to what is said in the English reports, which certainly are not inspired by sympathy with Germany. The English report expressly states that Germany expected and wished to remain on terms of friendship with the United States, but that we had prepared measures of defense in case the United States declared war against Germany. I fail to see how such a 'plot' is inspired by unfriendliness on our part. It would mean nothing but that we would use means universally admitted in war, in case the United States declared war.

"The most important part of the alleged plot is its condition and form. The whole 'plot' falls flat to the ground in case the United States does not declare war against us. And if we really, as the report alleges, considered the possibility of hostile acts of the United States against us, then we really had reasons to do so.

"An Argentine newspaper a short while ago really 'revealed a plot' when it told that the United States last year suggested to other American republics common action against Germany and her allies. This 'plot' apparently was not conditional in the least. The news as published by La Prensa (Buenos Aires) agrees well with the interpretation given, for instance, by an American newspaper man, Edward Price, in Berlin and London, who said that the United States was waiting only for the proper moment in order opportunely to assist the Entente. The same American stated that Americans from the beginning of the war really participated in it by putting the immense resources of the United States at the Entente's disposal, and that Americans had not declared war only because they felt sure that assistance by friendly neutrality would be during that time much more efficient for the Entente than direct participation in the war. Whether this American newspaper man reported the facts exactly we were at a loss to judge in satisfactory fashion, since we were more or less completely cut off from communication with the United States.

"But there were other facts which seemed to confirm this and similar assurances. Everybody knows these facts, and I need not repeat them. The Entente propaganda services have sufficiently heralded all these pro-Entente demonstrations in the United States. And if you link these demonstrations with the actual attitude of the United States, then it is obvious that it was not frivolous on our part to consider what defensive measures we should take in case we were attacked by the United States."

German Comment

The German newspaper press was cautious in its comments on the disclosure, though some influential organs criticised the manoeuvre as unwise. It was at first reported that the Reichstag would repudiate the Minister and demand his dismissal, but this story proved to be wholly unfounded. The Reichstag Budget Committee at an executive session on March 5, lasting six hours, unequivocally indorsed the action of the Foreign Office by unanimous vote. The Government's efforts to negotiate an alliance in the eventuality of war with the United States was approved as being within the legitimate scope of military precautions. The committee expressed regrets at the misfortune which resulted in the interception of Foreign Secretary Zimmermann's note.

After Dr. Zimmermann had given his report in regard to the instructions to the German Minister in Mexico the subject was debated by members of the Reichstag. Reporting the debate, the Overseas News Agency said that a National Liberal member reminded the committee that President Wilson had attempted to instigate neutrals against Germany. He said he was unable to object to Dr. Zimmermann's action.

Members of the Socialist minority criticised unfavorably the Foreign Secretary's move. Their remarks evoked energetic protests from a member of the Catholic Party. A Conservative member declared Dr. Zimmermann's action was unobjectionable and should be indorsed. The objections raised by the members of the Socialist minority were criticised by other Socialists.

The most caustic criticism of the matter came from Theodor Wolff, editor of the influential Berliner Tageblatt, who wrote:

The invitation to Mexico would have been a mistake even if it had not strayed from the right road. The fresh spirit of enterprise it shows too impatiently eliminated sober judgment.

The Minister to Mexico was instructed to hold out the conquest of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to Carranza, and it would cer-

tainly be interesting to see the face of the wily Mexican when this offer was made. The idea, too, that through Carranza's mediation one could win over rather self-conscious Japan is somewhat strange. With Russia, England, and America, all leading powers in Eastern Asia, standing on the other side, Japan will certainly not be very amenable to Mexico's influence. It is not probable one can help along the world's history in this way.

Naturally no man says a word about morality in this connection; in the first place, morality has for a long time been that thing whose nonobservance is self-understood; secondly, it hasn't the least to do with the Mexican matter. It is not immoral to offer Mexico an alliance for the eventuality of war, and it would not be immoral even to ask Japan, "My yellow beauty, will you go with me?" One who does so is far from being a Machiavelli.

Likewise, nothing justifies the charge that the authors of the plan have touched the fuse to the American powder barrel. The development of things would have been approximately the same, even without the Mexican correspondence. Neither should one condemn an action because it fails. The greatest diplomatic geniuses have occasionally gone wrong.

After we have thus blown ourselves up with righteousness, we can quietly say that the jewel of statesmanship went lost between Berlin and Mexico.

Georg Bernhard in the Vossische Zeitung expressed disapproval in these terms:

To begin with we cannot see what interest we might have in offering the Mexicans bits of American territory. Mexico is carrying on a war of defense against the Union. The Mexicans know full well for what reasons, not only financial, but political, the United States is forced to seek an extension of its territory beyond the Mexican boundary. The American need to defend the Panama Canal is a perpetual menace to every State lying between the Canal and the United States boundary. Therefore these States are bound to look upon the German proffer to assist them in their defense as highly valuable.

Wholly incomprehensible, however, is the inspiration of our diplomacy to negotiate with Japan by way of Mexico. It betrays a wholly false estimate of latent possibilities. We are fully acquainted with Japan's attitude toward America. All the beautiful speeches of the statesmen in Washington and Tokio cannot deceive us, for beneath the mask of friendship the two grimmest foes of the future are facing one another. Long before the war we were aware that Japanese diplomacy was not only astute, but very purposeful, and we know further that among no people has the art of keeping one's face been so keenly developed. Whoever assumed that Japan, in this war, would probably forsake her allegiance to her friends betrays anything but a diplomatic line of reasoning.

Mexico and Japan Speak

The State Department announced that it had no reason to believe that the Zimmermann proposal had ever been presented to the Mexican Government, and the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, Ramon de Negri, issued a formal statement denying that the Carranza Government had been in any way implicated in the matter. The Japanese Embassy at Washington also issued a formal statement denouncing the letter as a "monstrous plot," and adding:

"If such a proposal were made, it is one that could not be entertained by the Japanese Government, as it is an absolutely impossible proposal. Japan is not only in honor bound to her allies in the Entente, but could not entertain the idea of entering into any such alliance at the expense of the United States."

The Japanese Foreign Minister, Viscount Motono, considered the suggestion ridiculous, and added: "If Mexico received the proposal, that country showed intelligence in not transmitting it to Japan." The Prime Minister of Japan, Count Terauchi, made the following statement regarding the matter on March 5:

The revelation of Germany's latest plot, looking to a combination between Japan and Mexico against the United States, is interesting in many ways. We are surprised not so much by the persistent efforts of the Germans to cause an estrangement between Japan and the United States as by their complete failure of appreciating the aims and ideals of other nations.

Nothing is more repugnant to our sense of honor and to the lasting welfare of this country than to betray our allies and friends in time of trial and to become a party to a combination directed against the United States, to whom we are bound not only by the sentiments of true friendship, but also by the material interests of vast and far-reaching importance.

The proposal which is now reported to have been planned by the German Foreign Office has not been communicated to the Japanese Government up to this moment, either directly or indirectly, officially or unofficially, but should it ever come to hand I can conceive no other form of reply than that of indignant and categorical refusal.

The Mikado of Japan sent President Wilson the following greeting on his second inauguration on March 5:

On the occasion of your inauguration as the President of the United States of America we desire to offer to you our sincere congratulations and to express our ardent wishes that your Administration may be attended by brilliant successes in the future, as it has been in the past, and that the United States may grow more and more in its prosperity.

Attitude of Carranza

The exposure of the proposed German-Mexican-Japanese alliance was followed by disclosures of intrigues by alleged German agents in nearly all the Central and South American States. On March 9 it was reported that Washington had discovered that a wireless station has been installed in Mexico, whereby direct communication could be had with Germany. Numerous reports came from points in Central and South America of plottings to involve various States in quarrels, and one circumstantial story was related to the effect that efforts had been made to embroil Mexico with all the Central American States, with the promise that Mexico should be permitted to acquire nearly all of Guatemala and British Honduras.

Carranza, the de facto President of Mexico, made no announcement regarding the exposure of the plot, and it was remarked that no official repudiation of the proposal had been made by any important official of the Carranza Government. It is recalled that on Feb. 12, 1917, Secretary Lansing received from R. P. de Negri, Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Embassy at Washington, the copy of an identical note which the de facto Government of Mexico had also dispatched to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Spain, Sweden, Norway, and other nations, asking that they and the United States join with Mexico in an international agreement to prohibit the exportation of munitions and foodstuffs to the belligerents in Europe.

This proposal, contrary to international law and to the principles of neutrality as laid down by the United States in its notes to the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, caused critics of international affairs to say that, as the Central Powers were the only ones to be benefited by the proposal, it was probably due to German influence on General Carranza or to Carranza's own desire to have a hand in the European quarrel.

Carranza's Intervention Note

The text of the Carranza note reads, in part:

Over two years ago there began on the old Continent the most gigantic armed conflict which history records, spreading death, desolation, and misery among the belligerent nations. This tragic struggle has deeply wounded the sentiments of humanity of all the countries not taking any part in the struggle, and it would not be just or humane that these nations should remain indifferent before such great disaster. A deep sentiment of human brotherhood therefore obliges the Mexican Government to offer its modest co-operation in order to bring about the cessation of the struggle. * * *

The present European war seems to the whole world as a great conflagration, as a great plague that ought to have been isolated and limited long ago, in order to shorten its duration and avoid its extension. Far from that, the commerce of the neutral countries of the world, and particularly that of America, has a great responsibility before history, because all the neutral nations, more or less, have lent their asisstance in money, in provisions, in munitions, or in fuel, and in this way have fed and prolonged this great conflagration.

By reason of high human morals and for their own national preservation, the neutral nations are obligated to abandon this procedure, and also to refuse to continue lending this assistance that has made possible the continuation of the war for over two years. To this end the Mexican Government, acting within the most strict respect for the sovereignty of the countries at war, inspired by the highest humanitarian sentiments, and guided at the same time by the sentiment of self-conservation and defense, permits itself to propose to the Government of your Excellency, as it is also doing to the other neutral Governments, that, working in mutual accord and proceeding upon the basis of the most absolute equality for both groups of combatant powers, to [we?] invite them to put an end to the present war, either by themselves or taking advantage of the good offices or of the friendly mediation of all the nations that jointly may accept this invitation.

If within a reasonable length of time peace cannot be established by this means, the neutral countries will then take the necessary measures in order to confine the conflagration to its strict limits, refusing to the belligerents all kinds of supplies and

stopping merchant traffic with the nations of the world until the end of the war is achieved.

The Mexican Government recognizes that in its proposition it steps aside a little from the principles of international law which until now have been in force in the relations of the neutrals with the belligerents. But we ought to recognize that the present European war is a conflict without any precedent in the history of humanity, which demands supreme effort and new remedies that cannot be found within the narrow and somewhat egotistical limits of international law as known up to date.

The Government of Mexico understands that no neutral nation, powerful as it may be, could by itself take a step of this nature, and that the result of this measure only can be reached with the co-operation of the neutral Governments possessing the greatest international influence before the belligerent nations.

It pertains especially to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in America, and to Spain, Sweden, and Norway in Europe, which are more influential and more at liberty to take a determined stand before the belligerents concerned, to foster this initiative, which, not because it proceeds from a nation which is supposed to be weak at the present time, and therefore incapable of an effective international effort, is nevertheless worthy of serious study and minute consideration.

The proposal at the time brought sharp protests from the newspapers and prominent spokesmen of all the countries, and was denounced as a movement in the interest of Germany. General Carranza expressed surprise that his suggestion should be so construed, and disclaimed that it was made in the interest of any of the belligerents.

Earlier Intrigues in Mexico

German plottings with reference to Mexico were first divulged on Dec. 8, 1915, when it was reported that Franz Rintelen, an intimate friend of the German Crown Prince, and one of the financial advisers of the German Admiralty, had been sent to the United States in the Spring of that year for the double purpose of stirring up strikes in American factories engaged in the manufacture of munitions for the Allies, and also of bringing about a war between the United States and Mexico, the purpose of the last-named plot being to create a situation in this country which would make impossible the sale of war materials to the Allies so long as the Mexican trouble lasted.

Rintelen arrived in the United States in April, 1915, under an assumed name, which he changed to another assumed name shortly after his arrival. He had offices in a New York bank building, and was known to the other tenants as Hansen. As Hansen he went to an uptown hotel with a letter of introduction to a man who was at that time a power in Mexican affairs.

The letter introducing him was written by an official of a bank in which Austro-Hungarian officials in this country have kept large accounts. Rintelen also had an account in this bank, which at one time amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. This money, according to American Secret Service agents, was part of a large fund given to Rintelen by the German Government to carry out the anti-American conspiracies which caused the Berlin authorities to send him to the United States. The total amount of the fund said to have been at the disposal of Rintelen has been placed by responsible officials as high as $30,000,000.

Huerta and Rintelen

A few weeks after Rintelen arrived in New York, Victoriano Huerta, former dictator of Mexico, arrived here from Spain. He had fled to the latter country a few weeks following the American occupation of Vera Cruz, in the Spring of 1914. There is every reason to believe that Rintelen also came to this country from Spain, and that while in that country he had conferred with Huerta and other prominent Mexicans who were then in exile there.

Shortly after his arrival in New York Huerta met Rintelen. Several times later he met and conferred with Captain von Papen, then the German Military Attaché in Washington. Von Papen subsequently was recalled by the German Government at the request of President Wilson. The reason of the recall has never been made public, but those who are in close touch with the situation have never seen fit to deny that the Mexican activities of German agents had something to do with the disgracing of the Attaché.

The German proposition to Huerta was submitted to him at a conference held in a Fifth Avenue hotel, at which there were present, besides Huerta and Rintelen, at least one former Foreign Minister of the Mexican Government and several other Mexicans whose names were household words south of the Rio Grande five years ago.

Von Papen was not at this conference, but he conferred subsequently with Huerta. Von Papen is said to have gone to the border in the Summer of 1915, and, with trusted German agents, made a close study of the situation from a military point of view.

Huerta took kindly to the German proposition, and a few weeks later he announced that he had decided to make New York his home, and rented a house on Long Island. This statement regarding a change of residence proved to be a ruse to throw the United States Secret Service agents off Huerta's track, for a few days after he moved to his Long Island home he disappeared. The Secret Service agents found him in Missouri, speeding on a limited train for El Paso, Texas, where it was learned he was to be joined by confederates and was to slip across the line near Juarez and start the new revolution, the purpose of which was to bring on a war with the United States. The Germans, it is said, had promised Huerta 10,000 rifles, a huge amount of ammunition, and a first credit of about $10,000,000 to finance the enterprise.

Huerta never arrived at El Paso. Instead, the Government agents intercepted him in New Mexico, near the Texas line, and made him a prisoner. Pascual Orozco, a former Madero chieftain, who was also in the plot, was killed a few weeks later in trying to escape into Mexico. Whether or not Huerta ever confessed to the Federal authorities his part in the German plot has never been stated, but the impression is that he died in the jail at San Antonio without telling what he knew of the affair.

The arrest of Huerta and the subsequent investigation by the Secret Service agents resulted in the flight from this country of Rintelen. He sailed on a Holland-America liner on a fraudulent Swiss passport, and was arrested by the British when his ship called at Falmouth for examination by the British military authorities. He is still a prisoner of war in Great Britain, the place of confinement being, it is said, a prison near London.

A significant indication of the attitude of the Carranza Government toward Japan lies in the fact that about the time the Zimmermann note was due to be delivered at Mexico City the Mexican Government canceled orders for 20,000,000 rifle cartridges that had been let in this country and transferred them to Japanese munitions works. The ostensible reason given was the irksome regulation imposed by our Government in regard to deliveries.

It is stated that by March 10 there were 6,000 Germans in various parts of Mexico, all trained soldiers, and that the number is increasing rapidly by the departure from American cities of hundreds each week for Mexico.

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Microbes as War Weapons

A German Plot to Infect Rumanian Horses and Cattle Is Charged

Robert de Lazeu, a writer for the Paris Figaro, has collected the evidence tending to prove that the Germans, under protection of diplomatic immunity in time of peace, had introduced into Rumania certain explosives and microbe cultures intended to be used to blow up Rumanian railways and infect Rumanian cattle and horses.

[*This article is published without verification by the editor, and is presented as an ex parte contribution.*—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN the course of the Dobrudja campaign I had occasion to witness and verify many Bulgarian horrors and German atrocities; but none of these seems to me to have equaled in infamy the discovery that was made on Oct. 5, 1916, at 11 o'clock in the morning, in the garden of the German Legation at Bucharest, of a case of powerful explosives and a whole set of tubes and little boxes of bacillus cultures, intended to spread in Rumania two dreaded epidemics—anthrax and glanders.

The fact is so unheard of, so monstrous, so unprecedented in the annals of civilization and even of barbarism, that I confess I did not give it entire credence at first. The newspapers presented it in an incomplete and cursory fashion. The Austro-German press denied it, and denies it still, sometimes with violence, sometimes with an air of rather strained levity. The newspapers of neutral countries, especially those of America, remained skeptical and concluded that such machinations passed the limits of probability. How could one blame them?

This is why it seems to me to be important to ascertain all the circumstances of an act which the mind and even the imagination refuse to admit, and to devote all the more care to the proofs because the facts involved seem incredible.

I have seen all the apparatus, all the poison bottles, discovered in the legation garden. I have had in my hands all the official reports and all the records in this unprecedented case. I am going to try to present them in such a way that the German press shall be obliged to implore its "good old God" for inspiration to invent new lies, and that no one can longer doubt that in 1916—in a country not at war—in a European capital, diplomats and Military Attachés who were in social intercourse every evening with Ministers or high officials were spending their days, with sleeves rolled up, in preparing explosives to blow up their hosts, and deadly microbes to destroy the horses attached to the vehicles in which they rode.

Bucharest has a Prefect of Police whom all the capitals might envy if they knew him—M. Corbesco. Several weeks before Rumania's entry into the war M. Corbesco had ascertained that explosives were being introduced into the country—coming surreptitiously from the Central Empires—and that the diplomatic channel was being used for this purpose. One day a policeman came and reported to the Prefect that he had found where the explosives were. They were at the German Consulate. M. Corbesco was stupefied, but he kept his counsel and bided his time.

After the mobilization M. Corbesco was anxious to search the legation. It required long parleying. The American Legation, which is intrusted with the protection of the German Legation, interposed purely formal difficulties. Finally, on Sept. 22, at the request of the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the American Legation delegated its First Secretary, Mr. Andrews, to be present at the search.

Poor Mr. Andrews! Whoever knows Mr. Andrews, so obliging and correct, thin as certain scruples and long as an English novel, can guess with what melancholy that diplomat presented himself at that ceremony, for which the peaceful and distinguished manners of the Chancelleries had not exactly fitted him. He took his overcoat, his hat, his

gloves, his diplomatic phlegm plus his American phlegm, and, covered with all these phlegms, betook himself to the German Legation—very phlegmatically. There he found M. Corbesco, Chief of Police, and M. Rafael, Chief Inspector. All three entered the premises, then the garden. They found there one Michel Markus, guardian, and one Andrei Maftei, domestic, both authorized to occupy the legation after the departure of the German Minister, their employer, in the capacity of guards.

"I know," said M. Corbesco, addressing Michel Markus, "that certain boxes have been buried in this garden, and that you have helped to place them here."

Michel Markus admitted that this was true.

"Do you know what these cases contain?"

"No, Sir."

"You are going," said the Prefect, "to show me immediately where these things are buried, and you are going to help me dig them up."

Markus and Maftei went to seek spades and picks, and set themselves to dig in the garden border along the wall of the house on the side next to Cosma Street. At a depth of about twenty inches, between the eighth and ninth tree from the corner of the house, they soon brought to light, first, fifty Bickford fuses, then fifty metal boxes of a long, rectangular shape.

"That is not all," insisted M. Corbesco.

"No, Monsieur le Préfet."

And the docile Markus led M. Corbesco to the fence that separates the legation garden from the adjoining premises on Cosma Street. He paused before a heap of fagots and firewood. Markus removed this and began a new excavation, which shortly brought to light a rectangular box wrapped in white paper and bearing the seal of the Imperial German Consulate at Kronstadt (Brachow) in red wax—also the following labels:

Durch Feldjäger! Ganz geheim! Nicht werfen!!! Bucarest.
Fur Herrn Kostoff, S. Hochwohlgeb. Dem Oberst u. Militarattache an der Kaiserlich-Bulgarischen Gesandtschaft zu Bucarest, Herrn Samargieff.

[*Translation: "By orderly. Absolutely secret. Not to be thrown! For Mr. Kostoff. To his Honor, Mr. Samargieff, Colonel and Military Attache at the Imperial Bulgarian Legation in Bucharest."*]

Within this first envelope was found another envelope of white paper bearing in red pencil the words:

Ganz geheim! Durch Feld.
An den königlichen Oberst und Militarattache, Herrn von ——.

[*Translation: "Absolutely secret. By orderly. To Mr. von ——, royal Colonel and Military Attache."*]

The half-effaced name was easily deciphered. It was that of Colonel von Hammerstein, Military Attaché at the German Legation, just as Samargieff was that of the Military Attaché at the Bulgarian Legation. In all this business Kostoff was merely a sort of tool and go-between, ordered to carry the ignominious package from one legation to the other.

The box was opened and within it was found, on a bed of wadding, a typewritten note in German, as follows:

Anbei 1 Fläschchen fur Pferde und 4 für Hornvieh. Verwendung wie besprochen. Jedes Rörchen genügt für 200 Stück. Wenn möglich den Tieren direct in das Maul, sonst in Futter. Bitten um kleinen Bericht über dortige Erfolge und falls Resultate zu verzeichnen, wäre Anwesenheit von Hr. K. für einen Tag hier Erwünscht.

[*Translation: "One vial for horses, four for cattle. Use as agreed. Each tube is enough for 200 animals. If possible, to be placed directly in the mouth, otherwise in the fodder. Please inform us of the results in a brief note. The presence of Mr. K. is desired here for one day.*]

The text of this outrageous document was immediately countersinged by the Chief of Police and by Mr. Andrews, representative of the Central Empires in the circumstances.

In the box, under the wadding, were found six little boxes of white wood, of oblong form. In each little box was a glass tube containing a yellowish liquid, whose nature remained to be ascertained.

How had these objects been buried here—by whom—under whose orders? This was to be learned by questioning Markus and Maftei, and it was done on that same day of Oct. 5 in the presence of Mr. Andrews, who became more and more depressed, in the hotel of the

United States Legation. I have been able to procure the exact text of the declarations of these two men. That of Michel Markus is as follows:

My name is Michel Markus. I am a German subject living at Bucharest in the premises of the German Legation, where I have been employed for twenty-two years. Regarding the facts on which you interrogate me, namely, what I know concerning the discovery of the fifty fuses and of the fifty boxes containing explosives, and concerning the box sealed with the seal of the German Consulate at Kronstadt, all found buried in the garden of the German Legation at Bucharest, I make the following declaration:

On the day before, or the very day of the departure of the German Diplomatic Corps from Bucharest, Mr. von Rheinbaden, counselor of the legation, gave me the order to burn the flags and everything that remained not locked up. The cases containing the objects above mentioned were in a room of the cellar, where they had been brought from the German Consulate before the day on which the decree mobilizing the Rumanian Army was published. When I called the attention of Mr. Rheinbaden to these cases he told me it would be necessary to bury them.

After the departure of the diplomats I asked Mr. Krüger, Chancellor of the legation, what I should do with the cases, and he replied that they must be buried. Then Mr. Krüger, Andrei Maftel, and I took them and buried them in a ditch dug by us at the place where you found them. I did not know what these cases contained; I only know that Mr. Krüger advised me to handle them carefully. Regarding the box wrapped in paper and bearing the seal of the Imperial Consulate, I recall that on the day before the mobilization, or on the day itself, Mr. Adolf (I don't remember his family name, but I know that he was Assistant Military Attaché, serving with Colonel Hammerstein, the Military Attaché) brought me this box and told me to bury it in the garden. I helped for a moment to dig a hole, but, as I was very busy with my own work, it was finally Mr. Adolf himself who buried the box. He did not tell me what was in the box, which he held in his hand. I do not know whence or by whom this box was brought to the legation; I saw it for the first time on the day when Mr. Adolf ordered me to bury it in the garden.

After having read over this declaration and pronounced it correct, the undersigned has hereto placed his signature.

(Signed) MICHEL MARKUS.

When Andrei Maftei was questioned regarding the same facts he made the following declaration:

My name is Andrei Maftei, and I am a native of Transylvania; I was employed at the German Legation until the day when Dr. Bernhardt left it to go and live at 8 Temisana Street.

Concerning the explosives, I know that after the departure of the diplomats—I don't remember the day—Mr. Markus told me to take the case and carry it into the garden, where it was buried by Mr. Markus and Mr. Krüger; then I went on to attend to my work. I know nothing more, either about this case or about the white box with a red seal which has been found by you at the back of the garden near the fence, under a pile of wood.

After having read over this declaration and pronounced it correct, the undersigned has hereto placed his signature.

(Signed) ANDREI MAFTEI.

What was the nature of the explosives and tubes of poison discovered in the garden of the German Legation? The Bureau of Pyrotechnics of the Rumanian Army and the Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology at Bucharest were asked to ascertain this. The results of their analyses proved beyond doubt that the affair was no "simple joke," as one German paper ventured to state—without joking.

Here is the report on the explosives written by Lieut. Col. Philipesco, Director of Pyrotechnics, and Lieutenant A. Pecuraru, chief of the Laboratory Service:

The explosives discovered at the German Legation and sent to us for examination consist of:

Fifty cartouches made of rectangular zinc-plate boxes of the dimensions of 20 by 7 by 5 centimeters; three of the larger surfaces each present points for priming, in order to permit of the discharge of the cartouche regardless of its position.

These cartouche mines, each weighing one kilogram, (two and one-half pounds,) bear the label, "Donarit I. Kavalerie Sprengpatronen. Sprengstoff A. G. Carbonit Hamburg 'Schlebusch.'"

The explosive contained in these boxes belongs to the class of shattering explosives, which have as their base nitrate of ammonia and trinitrotoluene (trotyl) with its less nitrous derivatives.

In destructive force this explosive is in the category of dynamite and "Kieselguhr," one kilogram developing 700 grand calories. Regarding this destructive effect it is sufficient to mention that 200 grams of the said explosive, that is to say, one-fifth of the contents of any one of these boxes, is sufficient to blow up one meter of a railway. The fifty kilograms could destroy a bridge pier or a large building, could be used to mine a railway, &c.

And here is the report of Dr. Babès, Director of the Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology, under date of Oct. 5 (18):

Having completed the testing of the vials of cultures received with your letter No. 143,003, dated Sept. 24, I have ascertained as follows:

1. The vial covered with red paper contained a culture of the bacillus of anthrax, which has been identified by derivative cultures and by inoculations of animals.

2. The vial covered with white paper contained a culture of the bacillus of glanders, which has been identified by derivative cultures and by injections applied to animals.

Comment of Professor Roux

In an article in the Bulletin des Armées the eminent director of the Pasteur Institute at Paris, Dr. Roux, accepts the foregoing charge as proved, and makes the following comment:

"These microbes have been identified by Professor Babès, director of the Bacteriological Institute at Bucharest. Besides, a label in German indicated the method of using these cultures; they were intended for cattle and horses. One vial of glanders was sufficient to infect 200 horses.

"It is very certain that if the contents of one of these tubes had been turned into the trough from which the horses of a cavalry squadron drink, most of the animals would have been infected, and, with the help of the fatigue of the campaign, an epidemic of glanders would have followed. The Germans hoped that it would spread to other cavalry units. Cavalrymen whose horses are glandered are soon dismounted.

"In like manner the anthrax cultures, if thrown into the food of cattle or horses, would have given some of these the anthrax fever, which kills more surely and rapidly than glanders. The bacilli of glanders and anthrax are not only fatal for horses and cattle, they are also fatal for human beings, who can contract these diseases in caring for the animals or handling infected meat. The Germans, by infecting the animals, hoped also to communicate the disease indirectly to men.

"Our enemies, who pervert everything, even science, have thus attempted to make of the most beneficent of all sciences—that of bacteriology—a clandestine weapon. This incontestable and criminal ability, however, is not as formidable as one might imagine. It is not as easy to create an extensive epidemic among men or animals as the wickedness of our adversaries desired. To sow the disease is not enough; circumstances must lend themselves to the propagation of the microbes. It is probable that the number of human and animal victims in this case would not have been very great, for we now possess singularly effective means for checking the extension of these maladies."

A Historian's Answer

By Joseph Reinach

French Historian and Publicist

Shortly after President Wilson sent his peace note of Dec. 20, 1916, to the belligerent powers, Joseph Reinach wrote for the Paris Figaro the reply here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

POINTS OF FACT

I. PREMEDITATION OF THE WAR

CONSIDERING that on April 13, 1905, the Reichstag passed a new military law extending over six years, and providing for an initial, non-renewable credit of 87,000,000 francs and a supplementary credit of 39,000,000 annually for expenses in case of war;

That on March 7, 1911, the Reichstag voted a five-year non-renewable expenditure for military purposes of 103,000,000, with a supplementary annual expenditure of 55,000,000;

That on June 14, 1912, the Reichstag voted another non-renewable credit of 180,000,000 and a new annual supplementary credit of 55,000,000;

That on July 3, 1913, the Reichstag voted a non-renewable credit of 1,105,000,000 francs, with a new annual supplementary credit of 228,000,000;

CONSIDERING that during the same period the French Chamber voted: On March 21, 1905, a supplementary annual credit of 21,000,000, and, on March 26, 1914, through the necessity of parrying in part the menace of the enormous sums appropriated by the Reichstag since 1905, and especially in 1913, a permanent supplement of 257,000,000 francs for the war budget, and a non-renewable credit of 720,000,000;

That these facts and dates establish the respective tendencies of the two countries at the beginning of 1914;

II. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

CONSIDERING that on July 25, 1914, in response to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum of the 23d, the Serbian Government accepted in practical totality the conditions imposed by the Government at Vienna, and declared itself ready to submit any points of difference either to The Hague or the great powers;

That on the same day, without paying any attention to this reply, which had been made at the request of Russia and France, the Austro-Hungarian Minister broke off relations with Serbia and left Belgrade;

That on July 27, 1914, the British Government, in concert with France and Russia and with the support of Italy, proposed to Germany a conference in London with a view to preserving the peace of Europe;

That the German Government refused to consider this suggestion;

That on July 29, 1914, relying upon the declaration of Herr von Jagow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, "that Austria must have special guarantees before Serbia's reply could offer a basis for negotiations," the French Government immediately suggested that an international commission should take charge of the execution of Serbia's promises;

That no response was made to that suggestion;

That on the same day a personal telegram from the Czar of Russia to the German Emperor offered to submit the Austro-Serbian difference to The Hague tribunal;

That again there was no reply to this telegram; and that, furthermore, this important matter of record was omitted intentionally from the German White Book of August, 1914;

That on July 31 the British Government asked France and Germany whether, in case war could not be averted, they would respect the neutrality of Belgium;

That France, one of the parties to the Treaty of 1839, at once replied that the treaty would be scrupulously respected;

That Germany, also a party to that treaty, refused to give any guarantee,

and on Aug. 2, upon a pretext—since proved absolutely false—that France was preparing to send troops through Belgium along the Meuse, destroyed the treaty, qualifying it in the words of the German Chancellor as a "scrap of paper," addressed an ultimatum to Belgium, invaded Luxemburg, whose neutrality she had no less solemnly guaranteed, and crossed the Belgian frontier with her armies;

That on July 31, 1914, Germany began mobilization under the pretext that she was "in danger of war";

That on the next day France, while finding herself compelled to take a similar step, announced that in order to avoid any clash at the frontier she was withdrawing her border troops ten kilometers back of the line;

That on Aug. 2, early in the morning, the first German patrols set foot on French soil, while it was only in the evening of the following day, Aug. 3, 1914, that the German Government sent its declaration of war to the French Government;

That this declaration of war was accompanied by a statement that Belgian and German territory had been violated by French aviators, a statement since recognized by the German Government itself as without foundation of fact or truth;

POINTS OF RIGHT

III.—Conduct of the War

CONSIDERING that the whole world knows how the Central Powers and their allies have conducted the war, notably in violating the articles of the Geneva Convention relating to the Red Cross, those of The Hague Conference on the use of asphyxiating gas, the laws of maritime warfare, and Article 22 of the Convention of Nov. 29, 1909, forbidding a belligerent to force citizens of another belligerent to take part in war operations against their own country;

IV.—The Lessons of History

CONSIDERING that the Imperial German Government has sought in vain to throw upon the Entente the responsibility for a catastrophe without precedent and for the death of several millions of men;

That the statesmen, educators, and military officials of Germany, in their writings, teachings, and public addresses have long proclaimed the necessity of making right bow before might;

That whole German generations have been mentally formed upon a doctrine of contempt for the plighted word and the triumph of brute force;

That in connection with her increasing and unjustified military preparations, Germany, through an unscrupulous and immoral diplomacy, sought to impose upon free nations a habit of humiliation and fear;

That these nations, in the illusion of an imprudent confidence, had come to neglect—for the works of civilization and peace—the most legitimate precautions and preparations for self-defense;

That the men responsible for the disregard of plighted honor and the brutal aggression which the war has brought forth, could not, a few months before hostilities, longer keep their own evil counsel, as evidenced by the Emperor's conversation with the King of Belgium on Nov. 6, 1913, and the speech of the German Chancellor from the tribune of the Reichstag on Aug. 4, 1914;

That the rulers of Germany, therefore, by virtue of the very power they hold, have been the sole responsible and guilty parties, having for a long time previous to hostilities premeditated and prepared war, loosing it at the moment which they judged favorable and giving it its character of increasing ferocity, as manifested in the untold destruction of property and cruelty to humanity;

That in logical consequence these men, who have shown contempt for their sacred engagements, are disqualified to engage in peace negotiations, which they themselves, either through cynicism or through lack of conscience, characterize as "offensive diplomacy";

That the Governments and peoples of the Entente cannot consider the question of peace as long as they have to treat with men who can no longer be trusted;

CONSIDERING that no chance exists for a just, honorable, and lasting peace,

a peace restoring the principles of right and honor, in the presence of men who have deliberately violated engagements and treaties signed by themselves;

CONSIDERING that these men thus remain the sole yet insurmountable obstacle to the re-establishment of that peace of which they pretend to be sincere champions, and which is longed for by their own people, who are suffering cruel deprivations, and even hunger;

CONSIDERING that if the German Nation has been deceived by official falsehood and systematically kept in ignorance of the true facts, the German rulers have followed out exactly a coldly premeditated plan;

CONSIDERING that, having failed to crush France, as they had hoped, in a few weeks, and to turn then upon Russia and terrorize or corrupt Belgium, England, Japan, Italy, Portugal, and Rumania, they do not conceal the fact that peace for them now would be only a truce to prepare for a new aggression;

CONSIDERING that there could be neither security nor justice in a world over which is suspended the sword of Prussian militarism:

THE ENTENTE POWERS, resolved not to lay down their arms before the liberation of the oppressed peoples, declare, in the name of the nations that are the victims of German aggression and in the face of the world, that they will not treat with William II., the man responsible before humanity and history for this war, its mourning and its ruins.

America Through English Eyes

By William Archer

English Dramatist, Essayist, and Critic

[The severance of relations by the United States with Germany aroused widespread discussion of the attitude of Great Britain toward the United States. Among the many contributions on this subject, Mr. Archer's essay in The Westminster Gazette (London) is especially noteworthy for its truth, clarity, and keen analysis.—ED. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

MANY people do not realize that hitherto all the active political relations between Great Britain and America have been hostile relations. Twice the two nations have been at war, and there are not a few Americans who are fond of boasting that in both of these conflicts they "whipped" us. Our normal level relations have no doubt been amicable enough; but whenever the level has been broken it has been by incidents which left a certain legacy of ill-feeling. The general attitude of Britain during the great civil war was anything but sympathetic. Once we were on the verge of a rupture over the case of Mason and Slidell. The affair of the Alabama was exceedingly disagreeable. The Venezuelan squabble led us, not perhaps to the brink of hostilities, but some way in that direction. The incident of Manila Bay is perhaps the only international episode of any note that has definitely tended to draw the two nations together.

Of course this does not mean that there has not been real friendship between them. There has never been a moment when thousands of Englishmen and thousands of Americans have not felt the warmest regard for each other. Perhaps it may even be said that the reciprocal feeling of the majority of both peoples has been a sort of vaguely critical and suspicious kindliness. But there have always been certain classes in America that cherished old and new rancors against England, and these were not a little encouraged by the general tone of common school education. No one can read the American newspapers of today without realizing that, except among a cultured minority in the Eastern States, pro-ally sympathies are centred rather upon France and Belgium than upon England, and that in the Middle West and West the feeling of the masses toward the Allies in general, and England in particular, is at best one of indifference.

HERBERT C. HOOVER

Mr. Hoover's Work as Head of the Belgian Relief Commission Has Been Called the Most Splendid American Achievement of the Last Two Years

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

GENERAL F. S. MAUDE

The British Victor of Kut-el-Amara, Who Has Defeated the Turks and Fought His Way to Bagdad

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

Whatever may happen, this is not going to change all at once. We are not going to fall on each other's neck and swear eternal friendship. Nevertheless, a great new fact has come into existence. In the most momentous crisis in the history of the world the whole English-speaking race is at last standing shoulder to shoulder. Nothing but criminal unwisdom or malignant ill-fortune can cancel or turn to evil the beneficent results that ought to flow from this wonderful and almost unhoped-for achievement of German political genius. Never again can it be said that "all active political relations between Great Britain and America have been hostile relations." That remark is expunged from the page of history.

And now it is up to us—why should we not talk American?—to make the best of this new situation. Hitherto—take us all around—we have been culpably and stupidly inappreciative of America. The time has been, no doubt, when there was a great deal of rawness in American life, which lent itself to caricature, and when, on the other hand, many Americans displayed at once great self-assertiveness and morbid resentfulness of criticism. But the civil war may fairly be said to have made an end to all that—or at least the beginning of an end. Since then half a century has passed, and now we have not the smallest rational excuse for carelessness or captiousness in our judgments of America.

To any one with a spark of imagination the United States is the most fascinating country in the world. Its past is romantic, its present marvelous, its future inconceivable.

Let me give one instance of the romance of the past that clings to so many places in America. I will not speak of Lexington or Concord; I will not speak of Mount Vernon or Charleston; I will speak of the place in all America which most people in England, perhaps, think of as the very antithesis of romance—I mean Pittsburgh. It is called "hell with the lid off," and I don't say it does not merit that term of endearment; but to stand on the big bluff over against the city, and look down upon the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela (most beautiful of words!) is to experience a strange and complex emotion. For the two rivers (each as great as the Rhine or the Rhone) unite to form the magnificent Ohio. And the Ohio rolls on into the still mightier Mississippi; and down these gigantic waterways the first French adventurers paddled thousands of leagues through the boundless, sinister wilderness; and Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley sought the city of Eden; and Huckleberry Finn and Jim went drifting through an Odyssey which I, for one, believe to be as surely immortal as any story in this world. A few miles up the Monongahela is the spot where General Braddock, with George Washington and George Warrington in his train, fell into the fatal ambush. And there, at the very tip of the tongue of land between the two rivers, nestling in the shadow of the skyscrapers like a beehive under St. Peter's, is the little octagonal blockhouse, pierced for musketry, which was once Fort Duquesne, and after that Fort Pitt, and from which the city takes its name. Of the titanic, lurid picturesqueness of the scene I shall not attempt to speak. I have merely tried to suggest a few of the historic and literary associations which cluster around the spot itself, and the vast river system to which it is, as it were, the northeastern gateway. How any one can find America prosaic or uninteresting passes my comprehension.

As for its present, as summed up and typified in New York, what is there in the world to compare with it? The view of the mountainous city, towering between its noble estuaries, is by far the most impressive testimony that can anywhere be found to the genius and daring of man. Beautiful? I don't know. There is an immense amount of beautiful architecture to be seen in New York and all through the Eastern States; but the whole impression of New York is more than beautiful—it is exciting, thrilling, inspiring. To land in New York on a cloudless day (and they are many) of Spring or Autumn is to realize why America is bound to lead the world. It is because there is some as yet un-

identified element in the pure, keen air, which, passing into the blood, tingles through the whole system in the form of energy and capacity.

Yet there is no greater error than to think that New York is a city of unresting rush, clatter, and whirl. It is a city where not only women but men have plenty of leisure and know how to enjoy it. Above all, it is a city where they have always time to be helpful and hospitable to the stranger within their gates. Nowhere are the amenities of life carried to higher perfection. I never return to England without feeling that I have come back some five-and-twenty years in the art of living, at any rate on the material side. Indeed, one might say fifty years, were it not that we have of late had the sense to learn a good deal from America.

And think, now, of the future! America has been, and still is, largely occupied in the development of her material resources; yet think what strides she has also made on the intellectual side! The splendid universities which stud the land may not rival those of Europe in pure scholarship; but they are humming hives of all sorts of eager intellectual activity. It will not, perhaps, be to their disadvantage if intimate relations with Germany are severed for a time. Their leading scholars confess that the German influence has not been wholly beneficial. But everywhere they have magnificent apparatus for research, and everywhere they make full use of it. Who does not know that the cultivated American is one of the finest products of civilization? And civilization of the best sort is spreading with enormous rapidity.

I am aware that in some ways my vision of America is unduly roseate, for the simple reason that it has been my good fortune, wherever I went, to move almost exclusively in the circles that were most congenial to me. Of course there are many less desirable sides of American life with which I have scarcely come in contact, or not at all. There are, for instance, the vulgarities and crudities inseparable from every great half-educated democracy—that is a matter in which we certainly have no right to throw the first stone. Of course America, like all the rest of the world, has great social struggles, and possibly convulsions, to go through, before she can attain something like a just and stable social order. New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis—there is much that is terrible as well as much that is admirable in the life of these swarming, seething cities. But nowhere is there a more alert social idealism at work, or a more ardent spirit of social service.

My point, then, is this: Let us realize what an enormous advantage we possess in our community of language, of historical and intellectual traditions, and of political and moral ideals, with this nation of marvelous achievements and still more marvelous potentialities. If these ideals are to survive and flourish, it is of the utmost importance that America and Great Britain should grow together, instead of growing apart. The community of speech, while it is a priceless bond, is also a source of danger. Careless, carping, supercilious talk, narrow-minded comment, uncivil jesting, whether with pen or pencil, rankles doubly when it is brought home to us in our own language. This is an admonition to both sides, but mainly to England. We are the older people, and ought to show the finer consideration. In this respect our sins are many—sins, mainly, of ignorance and thoughtlessness. But, in spite of everything, we are, and have been any time this century, drawing together in a remarkable way. Note how half the most successful pieces on the London stage are of American origin, and are often most acceptable when played by American actors. Note how the bookstalls are piled with the writings of an author so redolent of the soil as O. Henry. Think how the cinema is familiarizing even the street arab and the factory girl with the surface aspects of American life. We have now a unique opportunity to draw closer all the countless ties which unite us with our "gigantic daughter of the West." Let us have done with carelessness, ignorance, supercilious patronage, flippant criticism, and make the best of this great boon which the Germans have so kindly forced upon us.

Military Operations of the War

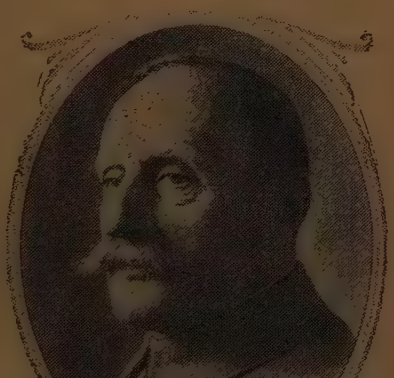
By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York;
Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has personally studied the military methods of the European armies in six of the countries now at war, and has been officially recognized by the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He is one of the experts who have chronicled the present war for The Army and Navy Journal. The subjoined article is the second in a series which Major Dayton is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

II.—Battles of the Marne, the Aisne, and Tannenberg

SEDAN DAY—Sept. 5—in 1914 was only superficially an echo of Sedan Day in 1870. The armies of France had suffered defeat, but nowhere had allowed themselves to be cut off. The defenses of Paris were in poor shape and would not have withstood a German attack much better than had those of Antwerp or Namur The necessity of the situation was for a counterattack in the open.



GENERAL FOCH

Von Kluck, flushed with continuous victories, thought the French and British in his front entirely demoralized, and he continued his headlong drive. He made a tactical blunder by marching his right flank across the enemies' front in an effort to separate the British from the supporting French Fifth Army. The British air scouts discovered von Kluck's manoeuvre and reported large detachments south of the Marne with one column on the Grand Morin. The French airmen, too, reported all the German dispositions from the lower Marne to Verdun. General Joffre decided that the time had come to strike back, and formed a plan which would have been impossible if the reports of the air scouts had been lacking.

On the night of Sept. 5 von Kluck's cavalry patrols got as far south as the banks of the Seine. Conscious of a possible menace to his right rear from the west, he left a rear guard of considerable strength in the valley of the Ourcq facing the suspected menace. The crucial battle of the Marne, recognized by all the commanders as the supreme crisis of the war, began at dawn on Sunday, Sept. 6.

The new French Army, the Sixth, engaged in hand-to-hand fighting among the villages above Meaux, and turned von Kluck's flank. The British, covered by the Forest of Crecy, moved northeast toward a line between Dagny and Coulommières.

The Fifth French Army on the British right struck north on a route which, as they progressed, led them on the 7th across the Grand Morin, on the 8th over the Petit Morin, and by the 9th close to the south bank of the Marne below Mezy.

The British, making a half wheel to the left, made an alignment with the French Fifth Army, and on the 9th arrived on the Marne with their centre at La Ferté. The French Sixth Army, attacking at right angles, closed in above the Marne and on the west of the Ourcq, gradually as the victory progressed changing front toward the north, so that by Sept. 10 they were aligned on the left

abreast of the British and astride the Ourcq.

The battle was continuous and on a scale hitherto unknown. Military students will study its details for generations. Here I can only attempt the merest outline of the great struggle.

Von Kluck was outfought by a superior force, which caught him in a false position into which he had been betrayed by the belief that his opponents, soundly beaten, needed only one more hard blow to complete their collapse. Instead of that they were in excellent morale, and had received powerful fresh reinforcements. I believe that eventually it will be proved that the speed of von Kluck's pursuit had caused his great army to outrun much of its supplies. His change of direction toward the east was not only an attempt to drive a wedge through the allied front, but also was intended to close up his overextended lines of communication.

On Sept. 9, following a whole series of glorious battles, the British crossed the Marne at Château-Thierry, and by evening were some miles north of the river. The French, under d'Esperey, ended a day of terrific fighting by joining the British right at Château-Thierry. Further east one of France's greatest Generals, Foch, found von Bülow's right flank exposed and attacked the Prussian Guard at La Fère Champenoise. In the marshes drained by the Petit Morin, Foch took forty guns and many prisoners, and about Sept. 9 he had driven a wedge between the armies of von Bülow and von Hausen. As the battle progressed the French General Staff used Langle to help Foch, and the Germans were driven back toward Epernay and Châlons.

By Sept. 10 the Allies had virtually completed the great victory called the battle of the Marne. The German right (von Kluck) had received heavy reinforcements of perhaps 40,000 men, but von Bülow's crushing defeat to the east made it impossible for the German line to re-form for a counterattack.

The German retreat is admitted to have been a military masterpiece, and on Sept. 12 they had reached the line of positions on the Aisne and the Suippes which they had previously prepared for emergency use. On the east the Crown Prince fell back to preserve the alignment, and this saved Fort Troyon, which, under bombardment, was ready to fall. The Crown Prince held the Argonne and St. Menehould. In the Vosges, after a prolonged struggle, the French, under General de Castlenau, withstood an attempt of the Crown Prince of Bavaria to force a passage through the Gap of Nancy. By Sept. 12 de Castelnau had taken Lunéville, St. Dié, and the line of the Meurthe.

Battle of the Aisne

The battlefield of the Aisne is the birthplace of modern trench warfare.

When the Germans were pursuing the French and British toward Paris in the first week of September it might have seemed as though the prospect of quick victory would obscure all other vision. Nothing in the long history of the war proves the value of trained professional staff officers more clearly than the fact that just then, as they crossed the Aisne flushed with victory, parties of sappers were left behind. Their mission was to prepare a defensive position on the plateau north of the river valley and extending to the east across Champagne into the Argonne. Beyond the Argonne the Crown Prince was already closing in to the investment of Verdun with a great circle from the Argonne to the Woevre.

It was nearly the middle of September when the victorious Allies, fresh from the victory of the Marne, began to be puzzled by the stern resistance they met along this line. It was no longer merely the hard fighting of rear guards determined to cover retreating armies, but seemed like the determined stand of an enemy unwilling to retreat further. On Sept. 12 Maunoury's Sixth Army, which had clung to the heels of von Kluck's army all the way from Paris, began to shell the hostile positions beyond the river with a view to covering a crossing by pontoon, as the bridges had been systematically destroyed. The British Army to the east, near Soissons, was similarly engaged. Beyond them the other French armies were delayed under d'Esperey

and Langle along the Vesle and the upper Suippe.

On the 13th Maunoury got several divisions across the Aisne under heavy fire, and a good part of the British Army crossed, but with great difficulty. The following day these French and British troops fought their way forward until they came in touch with the real German lines of intrenchment on the high ground of the plateau, where they proceeded to dig themselves in and try to hold on to the ground gained. Sir John French was the British commander, and in command of the First Corps was Sir Douglas Haig, who was destined to win much glory in the heavy fighting of the next week. England lost many officers in this hard-fought battle, including three Colonels in one brigade, all killed on the first day.

On the 15th the Germans began a series of violent counterattacks and forced both French and British to retire short distances, which, however, were largely regained on the 17th after the arrival of strong reinforcements. On the 18th the Allies failed, after furious efforts, to break the German fortified lines, and so the acute stage of the battle ended.

On the right, meanwhile, the German Crown Prince was delivering a fierce attack upon the fortress of Verdun, held by the French under General Sarrail.

First Battle of Verdun

Before the German defeat at the Marne the Crown Prince's right flank had held St. Menehould, twenty miles west of the fortress, but in maintaining his alignment with the German armies to the west he had fallen back two days' march to the north. General Sarrail realized from the experience of the Belgian forts that no fortification could withstand a close bombardment by the heavy German howitzers. Consequently he threw up earthworks and intrenchments on every hill and across every valley for twenty miles or more around. On Sept. 20 the German heavy shells practically demolished Fort Troyon, south of Verdun, and on the 23d the Crown Prince's forces crossed the Meuse and captured St. Mihiel, with the bridgehead, thus establishing a marked salient in the line of invasion which was destined to remain for years.

On Oct. 3 the Crown Prince attempted to turn Sarrail's flank and get through again to St. Menehould, where he would have cut the railway communications between Verdun and Paris. In the Forest of Argonne the French won the battle and established touch with the right flank of General Langle's Fourth Army in Champagne, thus establishing a line which, with slight fluctuations, remains to this day.

Joffre's Extension to the Sea

General Joffre had formed two new armies meanwhile, and about the time the lines along the Aisne began to congeal into what we have since learned to call the stalemate, he brought these new units up on the left. General de Castelnau was brought from Lorraine to command the Seventh Army, and Joffre brought out of a professorship in the military college General Maud'huy to command the Tenth Army. The Seventh Army took its place on a line through Péronne and Roye about Sept. 20, and at the end of the month Maud'huy occupied Arras and Lens after a hard battle in which the French used every available reserve, including even marines.

This great extension was intended to outflank the Germans in their intrenchments on the Aisne, and by cutting their lines of supply compel another retirement. The plan failed because simultaneously the Germans were extending their right flank in an effort to gain the coast at Calais.

Early in October large forces of German cavalry were active about Lille, and General French asked for authority to transfer the British Army from almost the centre to the extreme left. General Joffre agreed and filled the gap with a new army of reserves under General d'Urbal. By Oct. 19 the British First Corps reached St. Omer just in time to prevent huge German armies from driving a wedge between the Allies and the Channel ports.

Alsace and Lorraine

As soon as it became evident that war could no longer be avoided, France de-

termined to secure the advantage of the initiative by striking through the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and invading Germany across the Rhine. There was no doubt that the Germans would violate Belgium, but it was hoped that the resistance at the fortified triangle—Liége, Namur, and Antwerp—would greatly delay the invasion of Northern France, and meanwhile it was hoped that a strong diversion could be created by the invasion of Germany below Metz. It would be worth much to make German soil, instead of French, the scene of war's devastations, and then, too, French patriotism cried out for the redemption of the provinces torn from France forty-four years ago.

France struck an eager blow, but with forces not really sufficiently mobilized to give the effort the weight it required for so great a mission.

On Aug. 7 a brigade from the fortress at Belfort crossed the frontier and routed small German detachments which endeavored to defend Altkirch, an Alsatian town in the plain between the southern end of the Vosges Mountains and the Swiss frontier. An invasion of Germany made through this gap between the mountains would, after crossing Alsace, strike Southern Württemberg, with Bavaria beyond and the Austrian Tyrol below. Certainly it would have been a brilliant stroke of genius if France could have transferred to those South German kingdoms the war which has since wrecked Flanders, Artois, Picardy, and Champagne. But not only would that have required a great force for the attack, but another army would have been needful to guard the flank against the German strongholds at Strassburg and Neu Breisach. To be successful, the effort launched here should have had something like the weight in men and material with which Germany struck down from the north.

On Aug. 8 the French occupied without opposition the important town of Mulhouse and attacked with success a German force stationed in the woods beyond. By the 10th strong German reinforcements arrived, and the French fell back to Altkirch. Here faulty reports from French air scouts produced the impression that a comparatively weak German force was defending the Rhine country below Metz. Consequently a general offensive was undertaken by the French Army in Alsace, under General Pau, and the army of Lorraine, commanded by General de Castelnau.

The plan was to attack along the whole line from Nancy to Belfort, and by Aug. 15 the French had captured most of the passes through the Vosges and were looking down on the plains of Alsace beyond. Attempted diversions by German columns from Metz were defeated by de Castelnau, and Pau pressed forward, capturing Dannemarie, Thann, Mulhouse, and Saarburg.

By Aug. 17 not only the entire range of the Vosges had been captured, but at Saarburg the French were astride the railway communications between Strassburg and Metz. This point and date marked the high tide of the French invasion, for by Aug. 20 an overpowering German Army fell upon their left from the direction of Metz. The French attempted to retreat, but a division on the left was overwhelmed and practically destroyed in the battle of Metz. By the 22d the French armies of Alsace and Lorraine had lost all the ground gained, and the pursuing Germans were threatening the whole French sector between Toul and Nancy. Their victorious advance was halted by de Castelnau's splendid defense of the field works which he erected on the wooded hills about Nancy.

From the 6th to the 9th of September the Bavarians were encouraged in desperate attacks by the presence of the Kaiser, but they were unable to gain ground in face of the deadly fire of the French 75-millimeter guns, which made great practice at shore ranges. On Sept. 9 the Germans lost their positions in the Forest of Champenoux, and the French took Amance. Two days later they had St. Dié and the line of the Meurthe River. The fighting in this sector ended on Sept. 12, when de Castelnau's men reoccupied Lunéville, and since then the fortified eastern frontier of France has remained an impassable barrier to the German legions.

Eastern Theatre of War—Rise of Hindenburg

One of the earliest surprises of the war was the prompt mobilization of the Russian Army, which all professional critics looked upon as a brave, slow army good for defense, but lacking in initiative. The notion was proved wrong by a very speedy mobilization and a quick and effective attack upon East Prussia designed to relieve the pressure upon Russia's allies in the west.

GENERAL VON HINDENBURG

Within the first week of August General Rennenkampf, a hero of the Manchurian war, crossed the Prussian frontier, cut the railway which skirts the Masurian Lakes, and drove back the whole line of Prussian outposts. General von François, the Prussian commander, made a stand at Gumbinnen, but after three or four days' fighting against greatly superior artillery and infantry he was compelled to retreat on Königsberg.

Meanwhile General Samsonov, another soldier who learned modern war by fighting Japanese, marched up from Mlawa through the region west of the Masurian Lakes. This army drove a strong German force headlong out of an intrenched position between Orlau and Frankenau and took many prisoners as the panic-stricken Germans retreated on Königsberg. By the last week in August what was left of the German armies in East Prussia was shut up in Königsberg.

Then Germany called out of his retirement at Hanover a veteran of 1870, General von Hindenburg, who knew thoroughly the terrain of East Prussia. In the period of his active service he had commanded army corps at Königsberg and Allenstein, and had frequently commanded at manoeuvres in the Masurian Lake region. He loved the ground, and knew it as no one else in the world did. He had used every ounce of his influence at Berlin to block the project of a land improvement company, who had proposed to drain the lakes and marshes.

An army of something like 150,000 men was given to von Hindenburg, and he brought this force together east of Thorn and Graudenz. Rennenkampf, after his series of early successes, swept on confidently to the investment of Königsberg, a first-class fortress, with a garrison of 50,000 and 1,200 guns. Samsonov pushed on toward the north of the lake region, but was quite out of touch with Rennenkampf. He turned to pierce the lake region to his west via Allenstein, probably with the intention of striking in between Thorn and Danzig. He had about five army corps, of probably 200,000 men, and certainly outnumbered von Hindenburg's force.

On Wednesday, Aug. 26, von Hindenburg struck on a wide front, and Samsonov's march was abruptly halted. He discovered that a strong army was posted behind the lakes and marshes, which were commanded by the German batteries. The strength of von Hindenburg's position consisted not only in a well-defended front, but in exceptionally good opportunities to develop quickly flank attacks both right and left.

The battle, one of the classics of strategy, lasted until the end of August, and gave the Germans one of the most complete victories of the entire war. Von Hindenburg, feinting first toward one flank, then toward the other, succeeded in rolling the Russian Army up in a confused and helpless mass, entangled in the marsh lands.

Von Hindenburg's complete mastery of the strategy of this great battle was evidenced as much by what he refrained

from doing as by what he did. Midway of the battle he had a great victory surely within his grasp, and could have driven a defeated enemy headlong back into Russia. He withstood the temptation, and carried the battle on for sevaral days while he continued to entangle Samsonov in a position whence there might be no escape. By Aug. 31 von Hindenburg had scored the only complete victory of the war. Samsonov and most of his corps and division commanders were killed. Perhaps 20 per cent. of the Russian force escaped via Ortelsberg. The Germans took nearly 90,000 prisoners and so much artillery and booty that they had hard work to handle it.

This tactical victory made von Hindenburg a national hero, for, with a smaller force, he had surrounded and destroyed the larger army. Von Hindenburg turned north against Rennenkampf, who instantly abandoned the attack on Königsberg, and retreated precipitately into Russia via Gumbinnen, where he fought a rearguard action.

Poland and Galicia

To the south early in August the Germans crossed the frontier and occupied without opposition several towns in Western Poland, and from the mining region began to ship coal back to Germany via Posen.

In Galicia Austria concentrated for an important campaign against Russian Poland. One army, whose base was at Przemysl, was for the attack toward the north, while the second army, with a base at Lemberg, faced east. These armies numbered over 300,000 men each.

The first army pushed north with no very serious opposition. A Russian army under General Ruzsky crossed the frontier, took Sokal, and advanced upon Lemberg. General Brusiloff, with another army, joined in the attack upon Lemberg. The fighting was general along a line between the Vistula and the Dniester. Austria's plan was to take advantage of the expected slowness of Russian mobilization and strike without waiting to be struck. To their astonishment they soon met the armies of Ruzsky and Brusiloff, each with over a quarter of a million men. A third and smaller Russian army under General Ewerts was to engage the Austrians while the larger armies should envelop them.

By Aug. 27 Brusiloff took Tarnopol after a hard battle, and a few days later he captured Halicz and proceeded to invest Lemberg, which was in the hands of the Russians by Sept. 3. In the week's series of battles the Russians took 100,000 prisoners and great quantities of ordnance abandoned by the Austrian armies, whose retreat was a rout. From Lemberg the Russians pursued the demoralized Austrians into the Carpathian passes, taking many towns en route. To the north, Ivanov, who had succeeded Ewerts, attacked a mixed Austro-German army under General Dankl and the Archduke Joseph, and on Sept. 10 won a splendid victory. At Rava Russka, von Auffenberg, in command of Dankl's right, was crushed and his army dispersed. The utterly defeated remnants of the Austrian armies retreated to Cracow, Przemysl, and Jaroslav. The Austrians were expelled from Poland, and the Russians were going deep into Austria.

On the Serbian Front

When Austria declared war on July 28 a bombardment of the Serbian capital at Belgrade began, but the Dual Monarchy met unexpectedly stiff resistance when attempts were made to cross the Danube. A combined Serbian and Montenegrin force invaded Bosnia, and advanced toward Serajevo. On Aug. 17 a larger Austrian army was soundly beaten at Shabatz by a Serb force, and a few days later they suffered another reverse on the banks of the Jadar. Both defeats were costly, and the Serbs took many prisoners and much artillery. They showed a surprising ability to withstand whatever forces Austria dared divert from the Russian front.

[*Continuation in May Issue*]

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

This article, describing the concluding phases of the Battle of Jutland, is the fourth of a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—for the purpose of deducing the naval lessons furnished by the sea engagements of the European war.

IV.—The Battle of Jutland—Continued

The Third Phase

The British Grand Fleet Joins in the Battle

DURING the first and second phases of the battle the Grand Fleet was closing at utmost fleet speed on a southeast by south course. Three battle cruisers, led by Rear Admiral Hood in the Invincible, together with screening light cruisers and destroyers, were in advance operating as a fast wing. At 5:45 an outpost light cruiser was engaged with a division of German light cruisers. At 6:10 Admiral Beatty's engaged squadron was sighted by the Invincible. At 6:21 Admiral Hood led his squadron into action, taking station in the van just ahead of the Lion and closing at 6:25 to a range of 8,000 yards. A few minutes later the Invincible was sunk by gun fire.

In the meanwhile the British battle fleet was coming into action, filling the previously mentioned gap opening up between Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral Evan Thomas. At 5:55 advanced British armored cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers were engaged with German cruisers and destroyers. At 6:16 the armored cruisers Warrior, Black Prince, and Defence under Sir Robert Arbuthnot were drawn between the lines and disabled by close-range fire from the German battleships. At 6:14 Admiral Jellicoe formed the Grand Fleet in battle line, and during deployment at 6:17 the first battle squadron opened fire on a German battleship of the Kaiser class. At 6:30 the other battle squadrons engaged ships of the König class. The four battleships of the Elizabeth class, previously engaged during the second phase, formed astern of the main battle fleet. At this time the Warspite of this fifth battle squadron had her helm jam with right rudder, causing her to turn toward the German line, where she was subjected to severe fire, but the trouble being soon corrected she was extricated from this predicament. Admiral Jellicoe reports:

> Owing principally to the mist, but partly to the smoke, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time in the enemy's battle line. Toward the van only some four or five ships were ever visible at once. More could be seen from the rear squadron, but never more than eight to twelve. * * * The action between the battle fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 P. M. to 8:20 P. M., at ranges between 9,000 yards and 12,000 yards. During this time the British fleet made alterations of course from southeast by east to west (168¾ degrees) in the endeavor to close, but the enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. The alterations of course had the effect of bringing the British fleet (which commenced the action in a position of advantage on the bow of the enemy) to a quarterly bearing from the enemy's battle line, but at the same time placed us between the enemy and his bases. During the somewhat brief periods that the ships of the High Seas Fleet were visible through the mist the heavy and effective fire kept up by the battleships and battle cruisers of the Grand Fleet caused me much satisfaction, and the enemy vessels were seen to be constantly hit, some being observed to haul out of the line and at least one to sink. The enemy's return fire at this time was not effective and the damage caused to our ships was insignificant.

Series of Local Actions

From the reports it appears that the area of the battle was covered by mist and smoke of varying density, interspersed with sections wherein opposing ships could see each other at the battle range. This gave rise to a series of local actions during which all ships of the

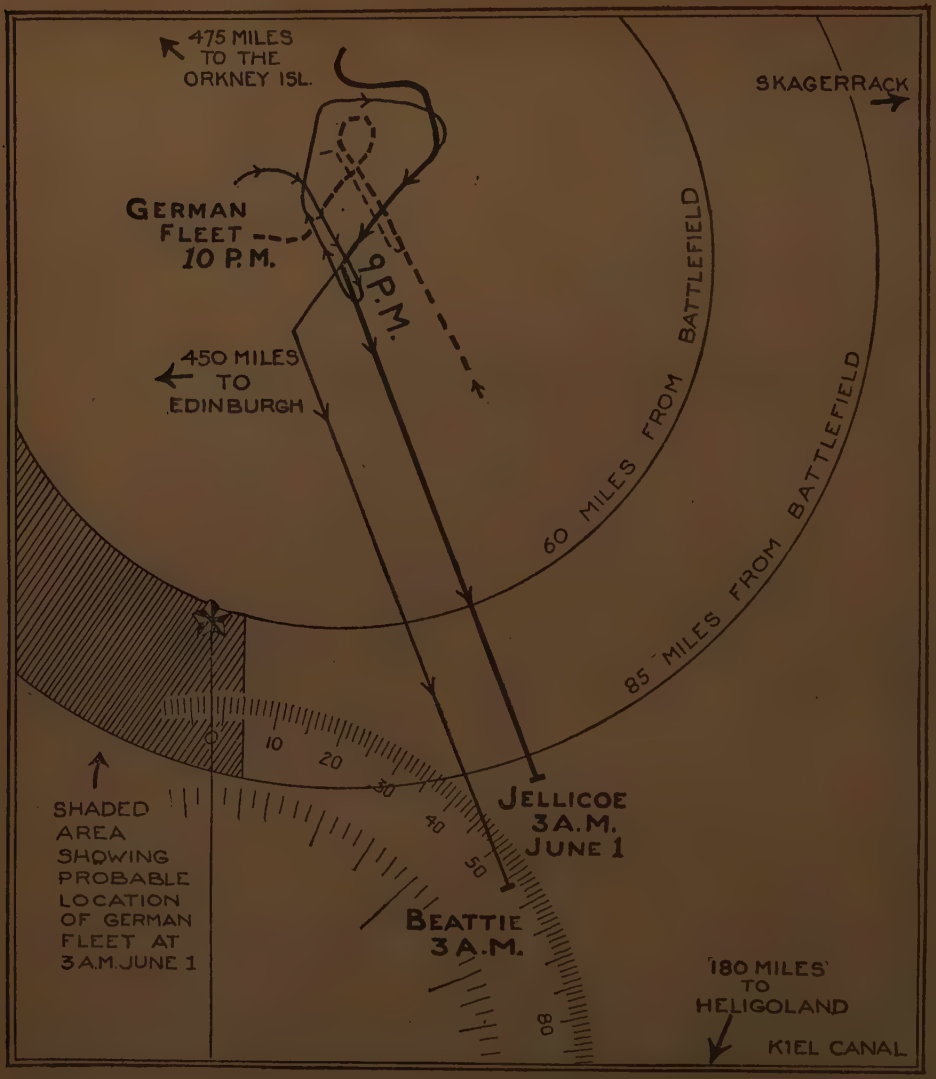


DIAGRAM OF LATER PHASES OF BATTLE OF JUTLAND

battle fleet became engaged, but at no time simultaneously. These detached actions were for the most part between few ships for brief periods. The aggregate fighting, however, seems to have been considerable, as may be gathered from the following synopsis of the principal incidents reported by Admiral Jellicoe and Vice Admiral Beatty:

At 6:17 the third battle squadron engaged German battleships, battle cruisers, and light cruisers at a range of 11,000 yards. The fourth battle squadron, in which was placed the Commander in Chief's flagship Iron Duke, engaged the battle squadron, consisting of the König and Kaiser classes, as well as some of the German battle cruisers and light cruisers. The mist rendered range taking difficult, but the fire of the squadron was effective. The Iron Duke opened at 6:30 on a battleship of the König class at 12,000 yards range, hitting on the second salvo, and continuing to hit until the target ship turned away. The fire of other ships of the fourth squadron was principally directed at enemy battle cruisers and cruisers as they appeared out of the mist. The ships of the second battle squadron were in action with vessels of the Kaiser and König classes between 6:30 and 7:20, and fired also at a battle cruiser which had dropped back, apparently severely damaged. The first battle

squadron received more of the return fire than the remainder of the main fleet. The Colossus was hit, but not seriously damaged, and other ships were straddled with fair frequency by the German salvos.

Admiral Jellicoe makes special mention of the Marlborough of the third battle squadron, stating that at 6:17 she fired seven salvos at a German battleship of the Kaiser class, then engaged a cruiser and again a battleship. At 6:54 she was hit by a torpedo and took up a considerable list to starboard, but at 7:03 reopened on a cruiser, and at 7:12 fired fourteen rapid salvos at a battleship of the König class, hitting her frequently until she turned out of line. These details in the case of the Marlborough permit some rather interesting speculations. It seems that this ship alone fired approximately between 200 and 250 13.5-inch shells, each one weighing about 1,240 pounds, aggregating in the neighborhood of 140 tons of high explosive steel shell, at the effective battle range of 12,000 yards in the beginning and closing to 9,000 yards during the course of the action. If this is at all indicative of the fighting done by the other battleships of the main body it is apparent that a considerable weight of metal was let loose. In the first and second phases it is estimated that each of the ships under Vice Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral Thomas fired four or five times this amount (about 600 tons each) and the Germans quite as much, if not more.

After the injury to the Marlborough Vice Admiral Burney transferred his flag to the Revenge.

It appears that the British battle cruisers after the loss of the Invincible were out of action for about half an hour. At about 6:50 the two remaining ships of Admiral Hood's squadron were ordered to prolong Admiral Beatty's line astern, and, having lost sight of the enemy, the battle cruiser squadrons reduced speed to 18 knots. Course was gradually changed to south and then to southwest in an effort to regain touch with the enemy. At 7:14 two German battle cruisers and two battleships were sighted at about 15,000 yards range, bearing northwesterly. At 7:17 Admiral Beatty's ships re-engaged and increased speed to 22 knots. At 7:32 the British battle cruisers had again reduced speed to 18 knots. German destroyers advanced, emitting clouds of dark gray smoke, under which screen the German capital ships turned away and were lost sight of at 7:45. British light cruisers were ordered to sweep westward to regain touch, and at 8:20 Admiral Beatty ordered a westerly course in support.

Climax of the Fighting

Soon afterward German battle cruisers and battleships were heavily engaged at 10,000 yards range. Admiral Beatty reports that the leading ship was hit repeatedly by the Lion and turned out of line eight points, emitting high flames; that the Princess Royal set fire to a three-funnel battleship, and that the New Zealand and Indomitable both engaged the third ship, forcing her to haul out of line on fire and heeling over. The mist at this time shut them from view, but the Falmouth reported the German ships as last seen at 8:38 steam to the westward. The British battle cruisers did not regain touch, and at 9:24 changed to the southerly course set by Admiral Jellicoe for the battle fleet.

During the third phase the conditions of mist and failing light favored torpedo attack, but few details have as yet been reported. The fourth light cruiser squadron occupied a position in the van until 7:20 P. M., when they carried out orders to attack German destroyers. Again at 8:18 P. M. this squadron moved out to support the eleventh destroyer flotilla in a torpedo attack. They came under a heavy fire from the enemy battle fleet at ranges between 6,500 and 8,000 yards, but succeeded in firing torpedoes at German battleships.

At 6:25 the third light cruiser squadron attacked the German battle cruisers with torpedoes, and the Indomitable reported that a few minutes later a German battle cruiser of the Derfflinger class fell out of line. This may have been the Lützow, as at about this time Vice Admiral Hipper, while under a heavy fire, transshipped his flag in a torpedo boat from the disabled Lützow to the Derfflinger.

Battle Line—The Formation for Approach

ROYAL OAK (1915 EIGHT 15-IN.)
REVENGE (1916 EIGHT 15-IN.)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN (1915 EIGHT 15-IN.)
Rear Admiral Duff
CANADA (1915 TEN 14-IN.)
BENBOW (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
EMPEROR of INDIA (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
MARLBOROUGH (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Vice Admiral Burney.
SUPERB (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
TEMERAIRE (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
BELLEROPHON (1909 TEN 12-IN.)
VANGUARD (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
COLLINGWOOD (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
Rear Admiral Grant
St VINCENT (1910 TEN 12-IN.)
NEPTUNE (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
HERCULES (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
COLLOSSUS (1911 TEN 12-IN.)
Vice Admiral Sturdee.
IRON DUKE (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Admiral Jellicoe.
ERIN (1914 TEN 13.5-IN.)
CENTURION (1913 TEN 13.5-IN.)
AJAX (1913 TEN 13.5-IN.)
KING GEORGE V (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Rear Admiral Loveson.
MONARCH (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
CONQUEROR (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
THUNDERER (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
ORION (1912 TEN 13.5-IN.)
Vice Admiral Jerram.

Above is shown the probable formation of the Grand Fleet for the approach and how the three squadrons may be swung into the battle column of "line ahead." If during the approach it is desired to gain distance to either the right or left, all ships may simultaneously turn to the right or left through any angle designated, turning back again before forming column for battle. The battle line may be formed by one 90° turn as shown above or by a succession of oblique movements. This chart also shows dates of completion and principal armament of dreadnoughts in Admiral Jellicoe's fleet. In addition there were four Queen Elizabeths, (1914-15, eight 15-inch guns,) five battle cruisers, (1908-12, eight 12-inch guns,) four battle cruisers, (1911-14, eight 13.5-inch guns.)

Losses on Both Sides

It is thus seen that during the third phase, lasting from 6:15 to about 8:30 P. M., practically the entire British Grand Fleet was engaged with practically the entire German High Seas Fleet. Early in the phase the British armored cruiser Defense (tonnage 14,600, carrying four 9.2-inch guns and 755 men) was sunk. At the same time the armored cruiser Warrior (tonnage 13,500, carrying six 9.2-inch guns and 704 men) and her sister ship, the Black Prince, were disabled. The Warrior was taken in tow by the Engadine, but broke away during rough weather in the night, and sank after the crew had been taken off. The Black Prince came in close contact with a German battleship during the night and was sunk by gunfire.

Between 6 and 6:30 the Germans lost the light cruiser Wiesbaden. Rear Admiral Hood's flagship, the Invincible, (tonnage 17,250, carrying eight 12-inch guns and 750 men,) was sunk soon after engaging. The German battle cruiser Lützow (tonnage 28,000, carrying ten 12-inch guns and 750 men) was disabled, and sank while returning to port. The German battleship Pommern (tonnage 13,040, carrying four 11-inch guns and 750 men) was probably disabled during the day battle and sunk in the night by a torpedo. The German light cruisers Frauenlob and Rostock were destroyed in the evening fighting, while the light cruiser Elbing was abandoned because of damage due to collision with another German ship. According to official admission, each side seems to have lost about four destroyers, either during this phase or during the night fighting.

The details of how Admiral Jellicoe manoeuvred his ships into action have not been disclosed, but the British battle fleet probably approached with squadrons or divisions in line or line of bearing. That is, the ships were in several parallel columns on a southerly course, with the leading ships in a line approximately east and west, at such a distance apart as to permit all ships to swing into one column, heading either east or west. The deployment into a battle line heading easterly seems to have been skillfully effected under trying conditions. Just what the relative positions of the two fleets were during this phase is not known, but the British seem to have had a tactical advantage in turning the German van. The conditions of poor visibility, however, did not permit them to get full benefit of it, although they had the German ships backed by the twilight sky, an important advantage, which must have increased as darkness approached.

Some criticism has been made of Admiral Jellicoe for not pressing the retiring enemy ships more closely, but it is to be remembered that retiring ships are in a favorable position for using mines and torpedoes. Moreover, the mist and the direction of the wind were helpful to the destroyers in making a good smoke screen for the Germans.

The Fourth Phase

Torpedo Attacks and Fighting During the Night of May 31 to June 1

Admiral Jellicoe reports that after the arrival of the Grand Fleet the tactics of the Germans were generally to avoid further action, in which they were favored by conditions of visibility.

At this stage of the action, shortly after 8:40, Admiral Jellicoe quotes Vice Admiral Beatty as follows:

> In view of the gathering darkness, and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy battle fleet during the dark hours.

Admiral Jellicoe then reports:

> At 9 P. M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose of the fleet for the night, with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manoeuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships.

The British fleet, after making dispositions to guard against night torpedo attacks, steamed at moderate

speed on southerly courses. During the night the British heavy ships were not engaged, but Admiral Jellicoe reports that the British Fourth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Flotillas delivered a series of successful torpedo attacks.

Apart from the proceedings of the flotillas, the second light-cruiser squadron, stationed in the rear of the battle fleet, was in close action for about fifteen minutes at 10:20 P. M. with a German squadron, comprising one cruiser and four light cruisers. In this action the Southampton and the Dublin suffered rather heavy casualties, although their steaming and fighting qualities were not seriously impaired.

This night fighting comprises an interesting and perhaps an important phase of the battle, but too little is known about it at this time to permit profitable discussion. During both the day and night conditions were favorable for the use of torpedoes. Destroyer attacks seem to have been numerous, persistent, and daring. It may be assumed that a great many torpedoes were fired, but the resulting damage does not appear to have been very extensive.

The German fleet after nightfall probably steered a southwesterly course at somewhat reduced speed because of damaged ships. It should be kept in mind that the fleet speed of the British was 20 knots. The fleet speed of the Germans was 17 knots, as their dreadnoughts had been eked out with predreadnought battleships of less speed.

Of course, to deceive the enemy, Admiral Scheer may have set a different course, such as toward the nearest land to the eastward; but it seems more reasonable that he tried to ease around the British fleet in the general direction of his Heligoland base.

Early on the morning of June 1 (3 A. M.) Admiral Jellicoe's battle fleet was to the westward of Horn Reef, some ninety miles from the battlefield, as shown on the chart. The British fleet then turned to the northward and retraced its course.

Visibility was three to four miles. Admiral Jellicoe reports that the British fleet remained in the proximity of the battlefield and near the line of approach to German ports until 11 A. M., June 1; that the position of the British fleet must have been known to the enemy, because at 4 A. M. the fleet engaged for about five minutes a Zeppelin which had ample opportunity to note and subsequently to report the position and course of the British fleet; that the waters from the latitude of Horn Reef to the scene of the action were thoroughly searched, but no enemy ships sighted; and that at 1:15 P. M., it being evident that the German fleet had succeeded in returning to port, course was shaped for British bases, which were reached without further incident. By 9:30 P. M. of the next day, June 2, the fleet having fueled and replenished with ammunition, was reported ready for further action.

Results of the Battle

The conduct of the British fleet on the morning of June 1, retracing its tracks to the northward over the battle area—apparently searching the least likely places to find enemy ships—raises a lot of perplexing questions. On the chart, Page 88, it is evident that, if the German fleet was trying to ease around the British fleet from the westward toward its bases, it must have been in the shaded area, whether using fleet speed of 17 knots for five hours, or more likely, say, 12 knots for that time. If, as suggested above, Admiral Scheer had taken an easterly course, with perhaps the Skagerrack in mind in case of emergency, the German fleet must have been to the eastward of the course taken by the British fleet in the night—which would seem the one lane where the German fleet could not be located.

With the Grand Fleet in position to put itself between the German High Seas Fleet and its bases, why was there no decisive engagement? The fleets could not have been very far apart. Considering that the June nights between evening and morning twilight are only five hours long in these latitudes, and also considering the numerous scouts, both German and British, it looks as though they should have been pretty well informed of each other's whereabouts. But before

criticising Admiral Jellicoe for not seeking an engagement in the vicinity of Heligoland it might be well to reflect upon the conditions confronting him on that morning: Visibility only three to four miles; close to enemy bases and comparatively far from home bases; a fleet somewhat knocked about after the previous day's fighting, and no doubt a number of the ships short of both fuel and ammunition; destroyers and light cruisers scattered, many more or less damaged, and perhaps the majority with torpedoes expended; an enemy skilled in the use of submarines and mines.

Because of these conditions, and since the success of the allied cause and the safety of the British Empire depend upon the Grand Fleet, there appear to be few grounds for questioning Admiral Jellicoe's wisdom in safeguarding his ships against the submarine and mine traps laid for them in the vicinity of Heligoland Bight. It is significant that the British Admiralty Staff, which comprises those who know most and care most about the conduct of the fleet, appears to be well satisfied with the way the ships were handled.

It is hard for persons unused to the sea to visualize the conditions and circumstances attending this engagement. Even seagoing men of excellent balance are liable, when transplanted temporarily to the tranquillity of a war college, to be somewhat influenced by environment, and, while in enthusiastic search of illustration for pet theories, they may overlook or fail to give due weight to modifying factors which cannot be simulated on the game board. Students of tactics on shore make their decisions after study and discussion in the comfortable quiet of a well-lighted room, and then use T square and ruler to move their miniature ships on a motionless wooden ocean. The fighters of the Jutland battle faced quite a different proposition. Decisions had to be made quickly, accurately transmitted by signal, and promptly carried out on a sea darkened by mist, smoke, and approaching night. All this had to be done, moreover, in the midst of battle, under the strain of apprehension, in the uncertainties of meagre and conflicting information.

Which side won and which side suffered the more damage—these are and for some time probably will continue to be debatable questions. Great Britain and Germany both claim a victory, and one's point of view seems to determine which of these two opinions is accepted. Very likely history will judge the battle indecisive. As to the damage inflicted, present official British and German admissions show that Great Britain lost a greater tonnage in ships actually sunk, but this is by no means conclusive evidence that the British fleet suffered greater punishment than did the German fleet. A careful study of the reports of the battle as well as sidelights, such as the official veil of secrecy enshrouding the German fleet and the fact that an honorary degree has been conferred upon the Chief Constructor of the German Navy because of the structural merits of German warships, especially with regard to their non-sinkability after injury, all indicate that many British shells and torpedoes found their mark. The chief losses, moreover, occurred in the battle cruiser squadrons. The battleship line, the backbone of British sea power, was not shorn of a single unit.

As regards general results, the military situation does not seem to have been much changed. British sea power is still supreme and exerting its inexorable pressure; the German High Seas Fleet is still a fleet in being and a menace to its enemies.

The following is the British statement of losses:

BATTLE CRUISERS

	Tonnage.	Armor Belt.	Main Battery.	Sp'd.	Men.	C'p'd
Queen Mary	27,000	9 in.	8 13.5-in.	28	1,000	'13
Indef'gable	18,750	8 in.	8 12-in.	26	899	'11
Invincible	17,250	7 in.	8 12-in.	26	750	'08

ARMORED CRUISERS

Defense	14,600	6 in.	4 9.2-in.	23	755	'08
Bl'k Prince	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	20.5	704	'06
Warrior	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	22.9	704	'08

DESTROYERS

Tipperary	1,900	.....	.....	31	160	'14
Turbulent	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Fortune	920	.....	.....	29.50	100	'12
Sp'w Hawk	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Ardent	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Nomad	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Nestor	.....	.....	.....	..	...	..
Shark	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12

The German losses reported by the German Admiralty are:

BATTLESHIP

	Tonnage.	Armament.	Sp'd.	Date Completion.
Pommern	13,040	4 11-in. 14 6.7-in.	19	1907

BATTLE CRUISER

Lutzow	28,000	8 12-in. 12 6-in.	27	1915

LIGHT CRUISERS

Rostock	4,820	12 4.1-in.	27.3	1914
Frauenlob	2,656	10 4.1-in.	21.5	1903

NEW LIGHT CRUISERS

Elbing	....
[illegible]	....

DESTROYERS

Five	....

TOTAL TONNAGE LOST

British	117,150
German	60,720

TOTAL PERSONNEL LOST

British	6,105
German	2,414

[The fifth article of this series will appear in May.]

A German Story of the Sinking of the Lützow

THE Telegraaf of Amsterdam has published a statement made by a deserter from the German Navy, a seaman of the first class who had been six years in the navy and received the Iron Cross after the Jutland battle. He stated that in the Jutland battle he was aboard the Lützow, which was sunk. Over 1,000 were saved of her crew, which totaled 1,600. He was taken aboard a destroyer, which was sunk five minutes later. The following remarkable details of the sinking of the Lützow formed part of his narrative:

It was 8 o'clock in the evening. We were first hit by a torpedo behind the foremast below the water line. The torpedo penetrated the walls and exploded within the ship, killing and wounding a great number of men and destroying the food store. The watertight compartment before the engine room held good, and everything was done to support the bulkhead, with the object of preserving the ship. Gradually, however, her condition became hopeless. The staff left the vessel about 10 P. M., the crew remaining on duty. After the staff had been transferred to a torpedo boat the Lützow received another hit, which destroyed the wireless room beneath the bridge. Every one within was killed. Afterward the ship received four severe hits from fifteen-inch shells. She was now proceeding at only three miles an hour.

At 3 o'clock in the morning the vessel appeared to be lost, and we were ordered to leave the ship. Four torpedo boats received 1,003 men surviving out of 1,600. Three hundred wounded remained on board, whom it was impossible to remove. Our torpedo boat was not 100 yards from the Lützow when it was attacked by five English destroyers and two small cruisers. Our vessel was torpedoed and quickly sank. Three other German torpedo boats thereupon took us over. Some time afterward the torpedo boat I was on was hit near the engine room. An order then arrived to retire from further operations by developing smoke. A heavy screen of smoke hid us and the Lützow from the English. That was our salvation.

To save her from falling into English hands we were ordered to sink the Lützow with 300 of her own wounded on board. This order was executed. One of our torpedo boats torpedoed this great German ship, which quickly sank, carrying with it our 300 wounded into the depths. The English then left us in peace, and proceeded in the direction where the Lützow had sunk. Apparently they had not seen through the screen of smoke that the Lützow had sunk. While they were vainly seeking the ship we escaped and steamed at full power southward for thirteen hours. We were then taken over by the small cruiser Regensburg, in which we steamed for five hours more before our return at midnight to Wilhelmshaven.

It is remarkable that all our ships hit in the Jutland battle were hit in the forepart. Many ships were severely damaged while proceeding homeward. All the badly damaged vessels have been repaired, and new ships are serving, or are shortly to serve, in the fleet. Among the new ships are the Baden, Bayern, and Hindenburg. Shortly also there will be a new Emden, while a new Karlsruhe is already in active service. An Ersatz Blücher is on the stocks in Danzig Dockyard. The Derfflinger, which was seriously damaged in the Jutland battle, is again in service. The dockyards are now exclusively constructing submarines and large cruisers, because the greatest losses have been suffered in these types.

RHEIMS, THE DESERTED CITY

This Lonely Woman, Still Faithful to the Martyr City, Only Emphasizes the Emptiness of the Once Busy Streets

(Photo Central News Service)

AN ITALIAN MINE LAYER

A Mine Laying Vessel Sowing Its Deadly Freight Under Full Headway. The Mines Are Dropped at Carefully Charted Points

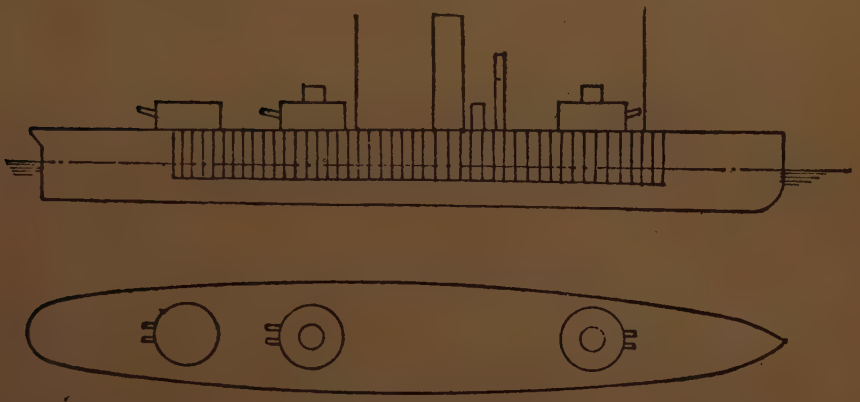
(Photo Central News Service)

Comparative Strength of Navies Today

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

II.—The United States Navy and Others



U. S. S. ROANOKE, 1863
Seagoing Turret Vessel

Armament: two 15-inch, two 11-inch, two 150-pdr. rifled guns. Armor: 1½-in. wrought-iron deck in two layers of ¾ in. each, and side armor, 4½ in. at top, 3½ in. at bottom; wrought-iron plates 4 ft. below and 6 ft. above waterline.

As was explained in Part I. of this article, the United States Navy fell back in tonnage from second to third place in the period of foreign naval increase, from 1906 to 1911. Through all these years our navy was restricted to the two-battleships-a-year program.

Fortunately, as has been shown when making comparisons with the British and German navies, tonnage does not tell the whole story. The United States Navy has been the leader in the development of the "all-big-gun" battleship of today, called the "dreadnought." From the first single-turret ship, the Monitor, to the two-turret monitors, then to the U. S. S. Roanoke—these were the three great strides in such ships designed by the United States Navy in the epoch-making times of the civil war, which led to the plan of big guns in turrets aligned over the keel.

With the present article are shown plans of the U. S. S. Roanoke and U. S. S. Michigan. The design of this last ship has been imitated by all the navies in their dreadnoughts. The design of her parent ship, the Roanoke, will be of interest because some of the foreign navies have reverted to the plan of the Roanoke, as will be seen later.

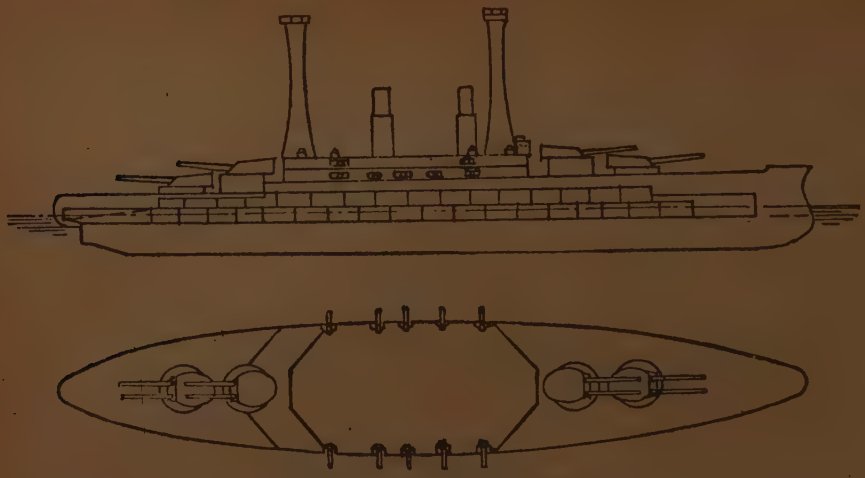
In the recognized first essentials of sea power the strength of the United States Navy is given as follows:

UNITED STATES NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	17
Predreadnought battleships	21

The United States Navy has no battle cruisers.

As the object of this article is to give the strength of the navies at corresponding stages of their building programs, two of the dreadnoughts should be omitted from this list, the Tennessee and California, as their percentage completed is small. The three ships of the class of the Mississippi, recently launched, should be included on this basis, as these three ships might be hurried to completion, in



U. S. S. MICHIGAN, 1906

Armament: eight 12-in. 45 cal. B. L. R., twenty-two 3-in. 50 cal. R. F., four 3-pdr. saluting. Armor belt: 10 in., 11 in., 12 in., at top; 8 in., 9 in., 10 in., at bottom. Casemate: 8 in. at top; 10 in. at bottom. Side plating forward and aft, 1½-in. nickel steel. Protective deck forward, 1½-in., after, 3-in. nickel steel.*

*By courtesy of U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings.

U. S. S. PENNSYLVANIA

Length, 600 feet. Beam, 97 feet. Mean draught, 28 6-6 feet.
Ahead: 6—14 in. Broadside: 12—14 in. Astern: 6—14 in.

view of the indicated non-completion of the building programs of the British and German Navies. A look at the chart on Page 90 showing battle formation in Lieutenant Gill's article, will confirm what was said about this in Part I. of this article. The dates of the ships are conclusive.

Consequently, the dreadnoughts in the corresponding program of the United States Navy should be fifteen.

The Battle Fleet

Above is given the plan of U. S. S. Pennsylvania. As will be seen, this ship is the developed design of the Michigan, with three guns in each turret instead of two. It is probably safe to say that this ship and her sister ship, the Arizona, are the most powerful battleships in the world. The nearest approach would be the Japanese battleships of the Fu-So class. The Japanese ships, while closely imitating ours in armament, followed our earlier design of the Arkansas, also shown, in which the twelve guns are carried in six turrets instead of four.

This arrangement of turrets in the Japanese battleships has made necessary

a longer hull and armor spread over more turrets—a less powerful fort with less available guns.

The recent building program of our first-line dreadnought battleships is given below:

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1912	Arkansas	26,000	12 12-in.	21.05
1912	Wyoming	26,000		21.22
1913	Texas	27,000	10 14-in.	21.0
1914	New York	27,000	10 14-in.	21.0
1915	Nevada	27,500	10 14-in.	20.5
1915	Oklahoma	27,500		20.05
1916	Pennsylvania	31,400	12 14-in.	21.05
1916	Arizona	31,400		
	Idaho	32,000	12 14-in.	21.0
	Mississippi	32,000		
	New Mexico	32,000		

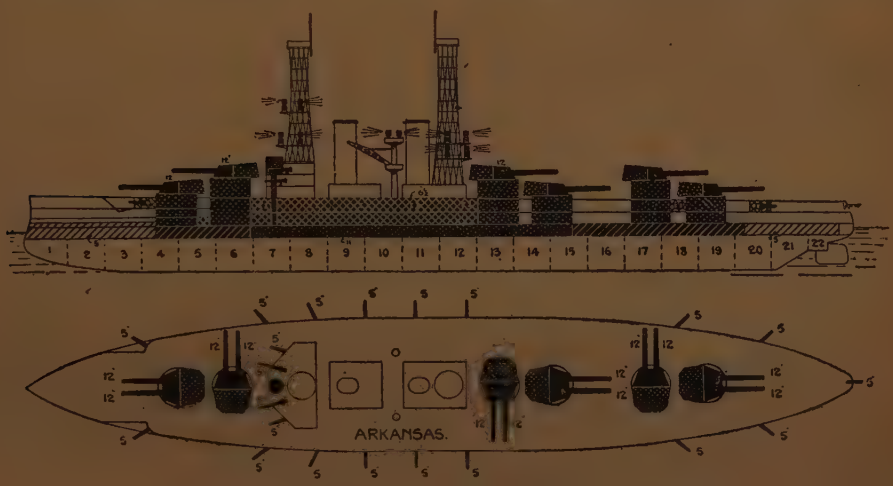
Battle Cruisers.

No.		
1, 2, 3, 4	35,000	35 knots, 10 14-in.
5, 6	Characteristics not determined	

Scout Cruisers.

No.		
4	Seattle	
5, 6, 7	7,100	35 knots
8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13	Characteristics not determined	

From the foregoing table it will be seen that a great increase of the United



U. S. S. ARKANSAS

Length, 554 feet. Beam, 93¼ feet. Mean draught, 28½ feet.
Ahead: 4—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 4—12 in.

In addition to the dreadnought battleships of the first line, it should be understood that our predreadnought battleships are better than those of other navies. Our consistent policy of making the gun the main thing has given many of these second-line battleships a clear title to be factors in a battle of modern fleets.

UNITED STATES VESSELS BUILDING AND AUTHORIZED

Name.	Displacement.	Sp'd.	Main battery.	Where building.
Battleships.				
Tennessee	32,300	21	12 14-in.	New York
California	32,300	21	12 14-in.	Mare Island
Colorado	32,600	21	8 16-in.	Camden
Maryland				N'port News
Washington				Camden
W. Virginia				N'port News

No.	
49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54	Characteristics not determined

States Navy has been authorized. As this is for future years it has nothing to do with this article. But the program is here given because some of its features point out the real weakness of our navy—our weakness in auxiliaries of the battle fleet.

Auxiliaries of Battle Fleet

Our lack of battle cruisers does not now seem the fatal defect so often proclaimed in the first months of the war. Battle cruisers are not now considered equal to the task of standing up against battleships. The development of the submarine has lessened the raiding value of the battle cruiser, which was thought destined to be the knight errant of the seas. In consequence, the tactical use of battle cruisers, by such a navy as the

German or Japanese, against a navy without battle cruisers, seems restricted to the use of these ships as scout cruisers and screen.

Undoubtedly they would give great trouble to such a fleet as ours, but their limitations are now realized. As will be seen from the above table, unless there is some change, we are to build six battle cruisers in our three-year program. It is possible that we may be the last to build them.

The authorization of ten scout cruisers draws attention to the real weakness and greatest need of our navy. We have absolutely no scouts in the modern sense of the word—and from the great sums given by Congress to the navy a large number of these ships should be built as soon as possible.

In destroyers also we are below the needs of our fleet. We have sixty-three built and building. The tactics of the battle of Jutland and the development of the torpedo and submarine indicate an increased value for these craft. A great number should be built as soon as possible. Many are authorized in the future program—and these should be rushed to completion.

Fortunately, without any guiding wisdom of our own, the war has given our country great elements of preparedness. Where there were practically no high explosives available, we now have a great stock on hand. Many kinds of munitions of war are available for seizure in our emergency.

The same conditions have developed an efficient type of submarine that has been built—and can be built—in great numbers in an unprecedentedly short time. This is fortunate for our nation, as in our problem of defense submarines will be of great value. Our coasts are long, and the danger of raids by battle cruisers was very real before the war developed the submarine. Now only specially built monitors dare to stay near a coast long enough to attempt a serious bombardment.

Aircraft are now given a vogue, in spite of the fact that in the war very small tactical results have resulted from the great sums expended on them. Outside of the limitations imposed on their use by the weather, the development of anti-aircraft guns compels them to fly at such great heights that their usefulness is diminished. It is obvious that we should have some of these craft of a reliable type—but there should not be a great deal of money and energy diverted to aircraft. Their usefulness at sea is greatly diminished, because they are unable to navigate. Out of sight of land, or out of sight of the mother ship, they are lost.

Armament

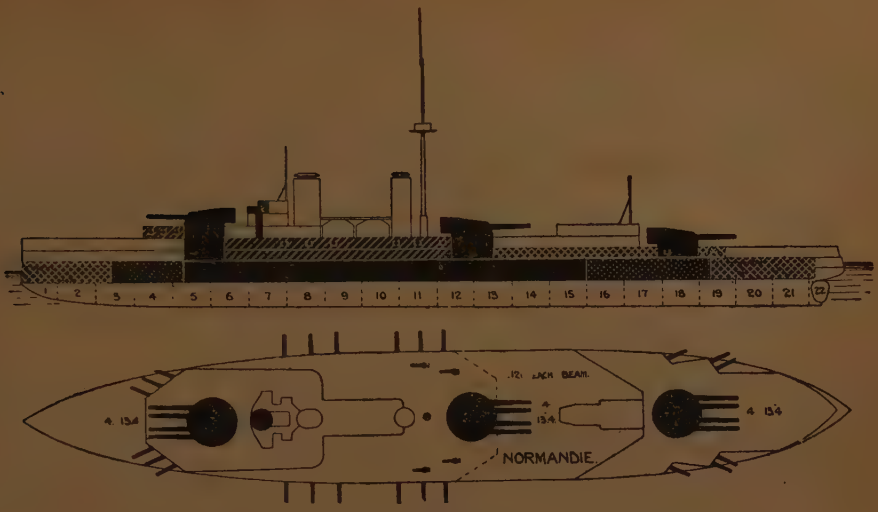
The details of the principal guns of the United States Navy were given in Part I. of this article. The twelve dreadnoughts completed of the battle fleet carry sixty-four 12-inch guns and sixty-four 14-inch guns. The three ships of the Mississippi class will add thirty-six 14-inch guns to this total.

In addition to these, the two ships of the Michigan class, which are more powerful than many foreign dreadnoughts, carry sixteen 12-inch guns. Of the other predreadnought battleships six carry twenty-four 45-calibre 12-inch guns, and eight carry thirty-two 40-calibre 12-inch guns, which would make these ships factors in any battle of modern fleets. This cannot be said to the same extent of the predreadnought battleships of the other navies. Every gun in this list is available for a broadside because all our big guns are carried in turrets aligned over the keel.

The shortage of men is too much emphasized in current comment on our navy. It should be realized that we have a highly trained personnel, that even the second-line ships in reserve are in being with skeleton crews—and that we have unusually intelligent classes to draw upon for our war strength.

Great Britain's lesson in unpreparedness should be studied by our country. On land and sea it was not the lack of men that was the trouble. It was the lack of weapons for the men.

On land our energies should be concentrated on providing munitions and equipment—on the sea to provide ma-



FRENCH DREADNOUGHT NORMANDIE
Length, 574 feet. Beam, 92 feet. Maximum draught, 28¾ feet.
Ahead: 4—13.4 in. Broadside: 12—13.4 in. Astern: 4—13.4 in

terial is still more urgent. Great as is the need of more trained men for our navy, our need of scouts is outstanding; and with every resource of American ingenuity we should hasten the building of a fleet of scout cruisers.

The French Navy

The French Navy was for many years second only to the British Navy, but in the abnormal increase from 1906 to 1911 there was no effort made to keep pace with Great Britain and Germany—and this was probably wise from the peculiar situation of France. The strength of the French Navy in the main accepted essentials is as follows:

FRENCH NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	12
Predreadnought battleships	17

The French Navy has no battle cruisers.

The known recent building program is as follows:

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1915	Bretagne	23,172	10 13.4-inch	20.0
1915	Loraine	23,172		
1915	Provence	23,172		
1916	Normandie	24,828	12 13.4-inch	21.5
1916	Languedoc	24,828		
1916	Flandre	24,828		
1916	Gascogne	24,828		
1917	Bearn	24,828		

As will be seen from the plans of the Normandie given above, the French have reverted to the plan of U. S. S. Roanoke, with three turrets aligned over the keel—but with four guns in each turret. No other navy has adopted this arrangement of guns.

The French have always designed and

FRENCH NAVAL GUN IN USE ON THE WESTERN FRONT
(© *Underwood & Underwood.*)

built good battleships—and French ships have been of great use in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. But with the fearful drain of all the resources of France necessary to maintain her battle front, it is safe to say that not only has there been no completion of her naval building program, but that many of her ships are not now in active commission.

It is now known that equality in heavy artillery on the western front was only established by use of the French naval guns—many of them actually taken from French warships. Probably the French Navy was also drawn upon for men in this great emergency. Consequently the French Navy should be considered as a power in abeyance—not in proportion to its building program.

In auxiliaries of the battle fleet France is well equipped. Her submarines in particular are known to be very good, although, as has been the case with the British Navy, there has not been much chance to use them.

The Japanese Navy

The strength of the Japanese Navy in the first essentials in the known building program is as follows:

JAPANESE NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	6
Predreadnought battleships	13
Battle cruisers	4

The recent building program, so far as known, is as follows:

DREADNOUGHTS

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1912	Kawachi	20,800	12 12-inch	20.5
1912	Settsu	20,800		
1915	Fu-So	30,600		
1916	Yamashiro	30,600	12 14-inch	22.0
1916	Ise	30,600		
1917	Hinga	30,600		

BATTLE CRUISERS

1913	Kongo	27,500	8 14-inch	28.0
1914	Hiyei	27,500		27.0
1914	Kirishima	27,500	8 14-inch	28.0
1915	Haruna	27,500		28.0

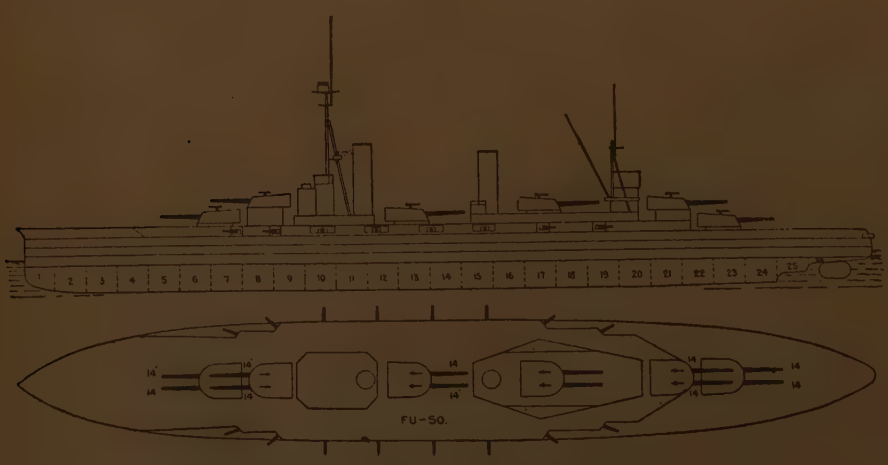
The first two dreadnoughts have the ineffective arrangement of the turrets of the German Helgoland class, (Part I., Figure 2.) The four dreadnoughts of the Fu-So class are formidable battleships, but, as explained above, they have followed the design of the Arkansas, and are probably not as powerful as the battleships of the Pennsylvania design.

The Japanese predreadnought battleships are not as good as those of the United States Navy.

As a matter of course Japan, like the other nations at war, has given out no naval information since she entered the war. Undoubtedly there has been a great increase of the Japanese building program, but it is not probable that any new capital ships are ready for service.

The Battle Cruisers

As in the case of the British Navy, it will be noted that the Japanese naval program did not include battle cruisers for completion later than 1915. Whether



JAPANESE DREADNOUGHT FU-SO

Length, 673 feet.

Ahead: 4—14 in. Broadside: 12—14 in. Astern: 4—14 in.

JAPANESE BATTLE CRUISER KONGO

Length, 704 feet. Beam, 92 feet. Maximum draught, 29½ feet.
Ahead: 4—14 in. Broadside: 8—14 in. Astern: 4—14 in.

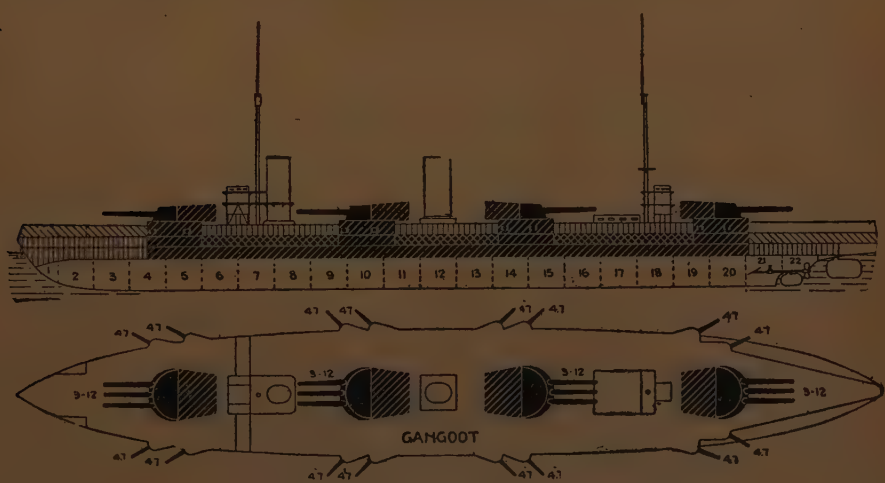
or not other ships of this class have been recently laid down is not known.

The four battle cruisers in the Japanese building program probably make up the most powerful squadron of their class afloat today, but it is also possible that the Japanese regret building these ships instead of battleships. Their fine armament is carried on hulls that cannot be trusted to resist a serious combat with battleships. Their tactical use would greatly embarrass such a battle fleet as our own, but they cannot any longer be considered a menace.

In all the auxiliaries of the battle fleet it may be assumed that the progressive Japanese are well equipped. In guns they have closely followed us—and it is probable that they are going to larger calibres, as is the United States Navy.

The Russian Navy

In the matter of sea power Russia has been at a disadvantage through being obliged to maintain two separate navies —the Baltic fleet and the Black Sea fleet. This unusual condition has come from closing the Dardanelles to Russian warships. Their strength in first essentials is as follows:



RUSSIAN DREADNOUGHT GANGOOT

Length, 590½ feet. Beam, 85½ feet. Mean draught, 27½ feet.
Ahead: 3—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 3—12 in.

RUSSIAN BATTLE CRUISER BORODINO

Guns: 9—14 in., 20—5.1 in. Torpedo tubes
Ahead: 3—14 in. Broadside: 9—14 in. Astern: 3—14 in.

RUSSIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	7
Predreadnought battleships	7
Battle cruisers	4

The known building program of dreadnoughts is as follows:

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1914..	Sevastopol	23,026	12 12-inch	23.0
1914..	Petropavlovsk	23,026		
1914..	Poltava	23,026		
1914..	Gangoot	23,026		
1914..	Imp'sa Maria	22,435	12 12-inch	21.0
1915..	Imp. Alex. III	22,435		
1915..	Ekaterina II..	22,435		

Of these the last three are for the Black Sea fleet. It will be observed that the Russian dreadnoughts are turret ships of the Roanoke design, with four turrets instead of three—and three guns in each turret.

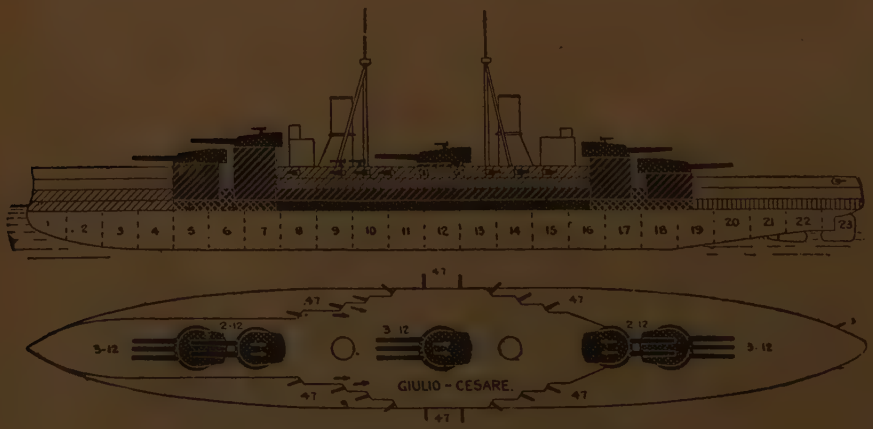
The program is as follows:

RUSSIAN BATTLE CRUISERS

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1916..	Navarin	32,000	12 14-inch	25.0
1916..	Borodino	32,000		
1916..	Ismail	32,000		
1916..	Kinburn	32,000		

In these Russian battle cruisers we find again the design of the Roanoke, with three guns in each turret instead of two.

Knowing the pressure that the war has brought upon Russia, it seems impossible that this building program of dreadnoughts and battle cruisers has been completed in any degree that would make the Russian Navy a factor in the balance of sea power at this time.



ITALIAN DREADNOUGHT GIULIO CESARE

Length, 575½ feet. Beam, 91¾ feet. Mean draught, 27¾ feet.
Ahead: 5—12 in. Broadside: 13—12 in. Astern: 5—12 in.

Russia, however, is well provided with destroyers, having an unusual number of these craft for a navy of its size.

The Italian Navy

The corresponding strength of the Italian Navy is as follows:

ITALIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	9
Predreadnought battleships	7

The Italian Navy has no battle cruisers. The latest construction in the known building program is as follows:

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1913	Giulio Cesare	22,022	13 12-inch	22.5
1914	C'te di Cavour	22,022	13 12-inch	22.5
1915	Andrea Doria	22,564	13 12-inch	22.5
1915	Duilio	22,564		
1917	Carraciolo	30,000	8 15-inch	25.0
1917	Mar'o-Collona	30,000		
1917	C'ro-Colombo	30,000		
1917	F'co-Morosini	30,000		

The Italian naval constructors have been very skillful—and the above is an advanced program calculated to make Italy, if not a great naval power, a valuable ally to any naval power. The turret plan shown above should be noted, as it provides an ingenious way of mounting thirteen heavy guns—and it is unique among the navies of the world.

But, again in the case of Italy, it must be realized that the country has probably been too much occupied in other fields to carry out this ambitious naval program.

The Hungarian Navy

Austria-Hungary's known strength in first essentials of sea power is given as follows:

Dreadnoughts	8
Predreadnought battleships	6

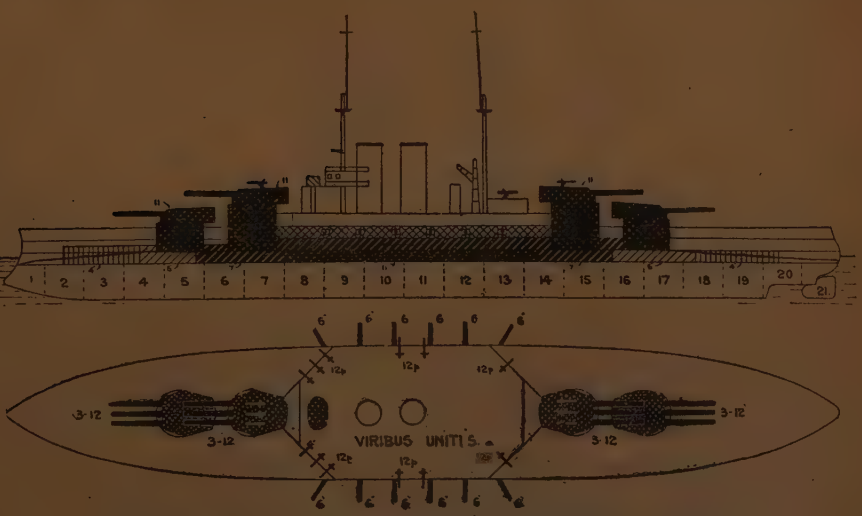
The Austro-Hungarian Navy has no battle cruisers. The recent known building program is as follows:

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Comp'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Armament.	Speed Knots.
1912	Viribus Unitis	20,010	12 12-inch	21.0
1913	Tegetthoff	20,010		
1914	Prinz Eugen	20,010		
1914	Szent Istvan	20,010	12 12-inch	21.0
(1)	One ship	24,500	10 13.5-inch	21.0
(1)	One ship	24,500		
(1)	One ship	24,500		
(1)	One ship	24,500		

It is improbable that this program has been carried through to any degree. It is much more likely that with German assistance Austria-Hungary has been devoting her energies to submarines—and has thus become a factor in the war of destruction now being waged in the Mediterranean.

(1) Time due to be completed unknown.



AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN DREADNOUGHT VIRIBUS UNITIS

Length, 496 feet. Beam, 89½ feet. Mean draught, 27 feet.
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside: 12—12 in. Astern: 6—12 in.

Austria-Hungary's Submarine Note

Reply to the United States

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S new Ambassador to the United States, Count Tarnowski von Tarnow, successor to Dr. Dumba, arrived in Washington almost simultaneously with the announcement of Germany's new policy of sinking all merchant ships without warning. Before accepting the credentials of Count Tarnowski, the United States Government decided that it must know the attitude of his Government on this vital subject. Accordingly on Feb. 18 a note was dispatched to Vienna asking for a definite and full statement as to the stand which the Dual Monarchy had assumed regarding submarine warfare, and inquiring whether the assurances given to the United States at the time of the sinking of the Ancona and Persia were to be regarded as changed or withdrawn. Frederic C. Penfield, American Ambassador at Vienna, handed this memorandum to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and the status of the new Ambassador remained one of suspense pending a reply.

Text of American Note

The text of the United States Government's inquiry of Feb. 18, as reported through the European press, is as follows:

In Note 4,107 of Dec. 9, 1915, the American Government laid down the points of view whereby it was guided regarding the activity of submarines in naval warfare. These points of view were on an earlier occasion clearly expressed to the German Government, and the United States Government was of the opinion that the Austro-Hungarian Government was acquainted therewith. The Austro-Hungarian Government replied with Note 5,735 of Dec. 14, 1915, wherein it declared it had neither adequate knowledge of the exchange of ideas which had taken place between the United States and Germany nor was of the opinion that even complete knowledge would suffice for judgment in regard to the Ancona incident, as the questions arising from this incident bore a different character.

Nevertheless, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry declared, in Note 5,949 of Dec. 21, 1915: "As regards the principle set up in the United States Government's very esteemed note, that enemy private ships, provided they do not flee or offer resistance, should not be destroyed before the passengers are placed in safety, the Austro-Hungarian Government is in a position to assent in the main to this view of the Washington Cabinet."

Further, the Austro-Hungarian Government on the occasion of the sinking of the steamer Persia in January, 1916, declared that, although not informed regarding this incident, it would be guided by the principles whereto it agreed in the Ancona affair, should events prove that responsibility falls on Austria-Hungary in this matter.

Simultaneously with the communication from the German Government on the 10th of January, 1916, the Austro-Hungarian Government declared that every merchant ship which for whatever purpose was armed with a gun forfeits by this circumstance alone the character of a peaceful vessel, and that in consideration of these circumstances the Austro-Hungarian naval forces had received orders to treat such vessels as warships. In conformity with this declaration, ships whereon were American citizens were sunk in the Mediterranean, presumably by Austro-Hungarian submarines. Some of these ships, for example the English steamer Welsh Prince, were torpedoed without warning by a submarine under the Austro-Hungarian flag. The American Ambassador at Vienna requested information regarding these cases, but thus far has received no reply.

At the same time as the German declaration of Jan. 31, 1917, which described certain portions of the sea off the coasts of Entente countries as exposed to danger from submarines, the Austro-Hungarian Government made known that Austria-Hungary and her allies, as from Feb. 1, would prevent with all available means shipping within the defined barred area.

From the foregoing it can be concluded that the assurance, given on the occasion of the Ancona case and renewed on the occasion of the discussion of the Persia case, is in all material respects the same assurance contained in the note of the German Government of May 4, which reads: "In conformity with the general principles of international law concerning the holding up, search, and destruction of merchant ships, such ships will not be sunk either inside or outside that portion of the sea which has been declared a naval war zone without previous warning and without taking such means as are available for saving human lives, unless such ships flee or endeavor to offer resistance," and that this assurance is more or less

altered by the declaration of the Austro-Hungarian Government of Feb. 10 and Jan. 31.

Since the United States Government is in doubt regarding the meaning to be attached to these declarations, especially the last, it desires to be finally and clearly informed of the standpoint which the Austro-Hungarian Government adopts in these circumstances and also whether the assurance given in the Ancona and Persia cases is to be regarded as changed or withdrawn.

Text of Austrian Note

The reply of Emperor Charles's Government to the foregoing memorandum was handed to Ambassador Penfield on March 6. It took the unsatisfactory position that neutrals at sea would enter the barred zone at their own risk, and that only neutrals on neutral ships had any right to freedom of the seas. At the same time the Austro-Hungarian Government asserted that it adhered strictly to the assurances given at the time of the Ancona incident, though it had declared in the second Ancona note: "The Imperial and Royal Government can substantially concur in the principle that private ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed before the persons on board have been brought into safety."

The full text of the Austro-Hungarian reply to the United States is as follows:

From the memorandum of Feb. 18 of the American Ambassador, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister has concluded that the Washington Cabinet, in view of statements made on Feb. 10 of last year and on Jan. 31, 1917, by the Austro-Hungarian Government, is now in doubt regarding the attitude which Austria-Hungary will henceforth observe regarding the submarine war and as to whether the assurances given by the Austro-Hungarian Government to the Washington Cabinet, in the course of negotiations about the Ancona and Persia papers, have not been nullified by the aforementioned statement. The Austro-Hungarian Government is ready to make a clear and definite statement so that these doubts may be solved.

The Austro-Hungarian Government may be allowed first of all to discuss briefly the methods employed by the Entente Powers in waging submarine war, because they are the starting point for the intensified submarine war begun by Austria-Hungary and her allies and also throw a bright light upon the attitude which the Austro-Hungarian Government has taken hitherto in regard to the questions which have arisen.

When Great Britain joined the war against the Central Powers only a few years had elapsed since that memorable time when she, in union with other States, began to lay the foundation at The Hague for modern naval war law. Soon afterward the British Government had assembled in Holland representatives of the great powers in order to consolidate the further work of The Hague Conference, especially in the sense of a just arrangement between interested belligerents and neutrals. These efforts aimed at nothing less than the mutual establishment of principles of right which even in war times should embody the principles of freedom of the seas and the safeguarding of the interests of neutrals.

Neutrals were not to enjoy these benefits for long. Hardly had the United Kingdom decided to participate in the war when, almost at once, it began to break down the barriers which the principles of international law had erected. While the Central Powers, in the very beginning of the war, had declared that they would observe the Declaration of London, which also bore the signature of the British representative, Great Britain threw overboard some of its important provisions. In an endeavor to cut off the Central Powers from supplies from overseas she enlarged, step by step, the list of contraband until nothing was missing in the list of things which today men want for their subsistence.

Then Great Britain proclaimed what she called a blockade of the coasts of the North Sea, which form also an important commerce route for Austro-Hungarians, in order to prevent goods which were still missing in the list of contraband from entering Germany and in order to prevent all sea traffic by neutrals to those coasts as well as all exports through neutrals. That this blockade was in flagrant contradiction to the customary principles of the right of blockade, as established by international agreements, was explicitly declared by the President of the United States of America in words which will continue to live in the history of international law.

By the illegal prevention of reports from the Central Powers Great Britain aimed at paralyzing the countless factories and works which the industrial and highly developed peoples of Central Europe had created and, by forcing workmen to be idle, to incite them to rebellion.

When Austria-Hungary's southern neighbor joined the enemies of the Central Powers his first act was to declare as blockaded all coasts of the enemy, following, of course, the example of his allies in ignoring all the legal rights in the creation of which Italy had taken an active part a short time before. Austria-Hungary did not neglect to inform neutral powers at once that the blockade was not legal.

Long-Suffering Central Powers

For more than two years the Central Powers hesitated. Only then, and after long and careful consideration of pros and cons, did

they begin to return like for like and attacked the enemy on the sea. As the only ones of the belligerents who had done everything to secure the existing treaties which were to guarantee to neutrals the freedom of the seas, they felt with pained hearts the law of the hour which commanded them to violate this freedom. But they took this step to fulfill the paramount duty toward their peoples and from the conviction that it would help the principle of the freedom of the seas to be victorious. The proclamations which they issued last January are apparently directed only against the rights of neutrals. In reality they serve toward the restoration of these rights, which their enemies have incessantly violated and which, if they were victors, they would destroy forever. Thus the submarines which are cruising around the English coast announce to peoples who need the sea—and what people does not want coasts?—that the day is not far off when the flags of all States, in the glory of their newly won freedom, can freely fly over the seas.

We cherish the hope that this announcement will find an echo everywhere where neutral peoples live, and that it will especially be understood by the great people of the United States, whose most illustrious representative has during the war defended with flaming words the freedom of the seas as the highway of all nations.

Working for "Freedom of the Seas"

If the people and Government of the United States keep in mind that the blockade proclaimed by Great Britain is not only meant to wear down the Central Powers by starvation, but aims at subjecting the seas to her rule in order to establish in this manner her tyranny over all nations, while, on the other hand, the blockade of England and her allies only serves to make these powers incline toward peace with honor and a guarantee to all nations of the freedom of the sea traffic and sea commerce, and thereby a secured existence, then the question which of the two parties has the right on its side is already decided. Though the Central Powers have no desire in this war to beg for allies, they yet believe that they will be entitled to look to neutrals to appreciate their efforts to revise in the interest of all the principles of international law and equal rights of nations.

In replying now to the question put in the American note of Feb. 18, the Austro-Hungarian Government firstly remarks that in the exchange of notes referring to the cases of the Ancona and the Persia it restricted itself to defining its attitude to concrete questions which individually arose, without laying down its fundamental legal conception. But in its note of Oct. 19, 1915, referring to the Ancona case, it reserved to itself the right to bring up for discussion at a later date difficult international questions which arise in connection with submarine warfare. It now refers to this reservation, and now briefly discusses the question of sinking enemy vessels, to which that note refers, it is guided by the desire to show the American Government that it now, as heretofore, strictly adheres to the assurance already given, and endeavors by clearing up that important question arising from submarine warfare, because it touches the laws of humanity, to avoid misunderstandings between the monarchy and the American Union.

Above all, the Austro-Hungarian Government desires to emphasize that it is also its opinion that the thesis set up by the American Government, which also is represented in various learned records, that enemy merchantmen, apart from cases of attempted flight and resistance, must not be destroyed without precautions being taken for the safety of the persons aboard, forms, so to say, the kernel of the whole subject. Regarded from a higher standpoint, this thesis can, of course, be ranked in a further suggestive connection, and from that view its domain of application can be marked out more exactly.

"General Warning" Sufficient

From the laws of humanity, which the Austro-Hungarian Government and the Washington Cabinet take in the same manner as judging the lines, the more general principle can be derived that when executing the right of destroying enemy merchantmen the loss of human life should as far as possible be avoided. To this principle the belligerent can only do justice by issuing warning before exercising the right. Therein he can choose the way which the aforementioned thesis of the American Government indicates, according to which the commander of the war vessel himself gives warning so that the crew and passengers may bring themselves into safety in the last moment, or the Government of a belligerent State can, if this is recognized as an inevitable necessity of war, issue warning of full effect also before the departure of the vessel which is to be sunk; or, finally, it can, if it establishes extensive measures against enemy sea trade, employ a general warning for all enemy vessels in question.

That the principle according to which care must be taken for the safety of the persons aboard undergoes exceptions the American Government itself recognized. But the Austro-Hungarian Government believes that destruction without warning is admissible not only when a vessel flees or offers resistance. It appears—to mention only one example—that the character of the vessel itself also must be taken into consideration. Merchantmen or other private vessels which carry a military garrison or arms aboard in order to commit hostile acts of any kind may, according to valid right, be destroyed without hesitation.

Austrian Ships Sunk Without Notice

The Austro-Hungarian Government need not call attention to the fact that the belligerent is released of all consideration for human life if his opponent sinks enemy mer-

chantmen without previous warning, as happened with the vessels Electra, (German;) Bubrovnik, (Austrian;) Zagreb, (Austrian,) &c., which already has been repeatedly censured; and in this respect the Austro-Hungarian Government never returned like for like, notwithstanding its uncontested right. In the course of the entire war Austro-Hungarian war vessels have not sunk one enemy merchantman without previous, if only general, warning.

The repeatedly mentioned thesis of the United States Government also allows various interpretations, in so far, namely, as it is doubtful whether, as is asserted from various sides, only on resistance justifies the destruction of a vessel with persons aboard, or resistance of another kind; as is shown if the crew intentionally neglects to take the passengers into boats—the Ancona case—or if the passengers themselves refuse to enter boats. According to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, the destruction of a warned vessel without rescuing the persons aboard is admissible in cases of the latter kind, because otherwise it would be left to the individual passenger to nullify the right of belligerents to sink vessels.

Moreover, it may be pointed out also that there is no unanimity as regards in what cases the sinking of neutral merchantmen at all is admissible. The obligation to issue a warning immediately before sinking vessels leads, according to the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, on the one hand, to harshness which could be avoided; on the other hand, it is under circumstances calculated to injure the justified interests of belligerents. In the first place, it must not be overlooked that the rescue of persons is almost always left to mere chance, as the only choice remaining is to take them aboard war vessels which are exposed to any enemy influence, or to expose them in small boats to the dangers of the elements; so that it therefore corresponds much better to the principles of humanity to prevent persons, by timely warning, from using endangered vessels.

Neutrals Must Not Use Enemy Ships

Furthermore, notwithstanding careful examination of all legal questions referring thereto, the Austro-Hungarian Government could not come to the conviction that subjects of neutral States are entitled to travel unmolested on enemy vessels.

The principle that neutrals in war time also should enjoy the advantages of freedom of the seas refers only to neutral vessels, not to neutral persons on board enemy vessels, because belligerents, as is well known, are entitled to prevent the enemy's sea traffic as far as they are able. Being in possession of the necessary war means and considering it necessary for the attainment of their war aims, they can prohibit sea traffic of enemy merchantmen on pain of their destruction, provided they have previously announced this to be their intention, so that every one, whether enemy or neutral, may be enabled to avoid endangering life. Even if doubts should arise regarding the justifiableness of such procedure, and if the enemy should threaten reprisals, then this would be an affair for settlement between the belligerents only, who, as generally recognized, are entitled to make the high seas the scene of military operations and to oppose any interference with their enterprises and to decide for themselves what measures shall be taken against enemy sea traffic.

In such cases neutrals have no other legitimate interest, and therefore no other legal claim, than that the belligerent inform them in time of prohibitions directed to the enemy, that they can avoid intrusting their lives and their goods to enemy vessels.

The Austro-Hungarian Government can suppose that the Washington Cabinet will agree with these explanations, which, according to the Austro-Hungarian Government's firm conviction, are unassailable, as otherwise disputing their correctness would doubtless be tantamount to saying—which certainly does not correspond to the opinion of the United States—that neutrals must be free to interfere with military operations of belligerents or even directly assume the office of judging as to the war means which are to be employed against enemies.

Analogy of Land Warfare

It appears that it also would be a flagrant misunderstanding if a neutral Government, only to enable its subjects to travel on enemy vessels, while they as readily, and even with far greater security, could use neutral vessels, should fall to arms with a belligerent power which, perhaps, was fighting for its existence, not to speak of the most serious abuses for which the road would be left clear if the belligerent were to be forced to lower arms before every neutral who desired to use enemy vessels for his business or pleasure trips. Never was there the slightest doubt that neutral subjects themselves have to bear all the loss which they suffer by entering on land territory where warlike operations are taking place. There obviously is no reason to allow different principles for war on sea, the more so as at the Second Peace Conference the wish was expressed that, until the time when war on sea should have found a settlement by agreements, the law in force for war on land should be employed, as far as this was possible, also for war on sea.

In the spirit of what was previously said, the regulation that warning must be given to a ship which is to be sunk undergoes exceptions of various kinds, under certain circumstances, as, for instance, as mentioned by the American Government, in cases of flight and resistance, when vessels may be de-

stroyed without warning, while in other cases warning before the departure of a vessel is necessary. The Austro-Hungarian Government can therefore state, whatever attitude the Washington Cabinet may take in regard to individual questions raised here, that it, as especially regards protection of neutrals against endangering their lives, is essentially in accord with the American Government. But it was not only satisfied to put into effect in the course of this war the conception represented by her, but beyond that it also accommodated its attitude with painful care to the thesis set up by the Washington Cabinet, and would feel inclined to support it in its endeavor to secure American citizens against dangers at sea, which endeavor it supports by the warmest philanthropy, and by instructing and warning those intrusted with it.

As regards Circular Note 10,602 of last year, regarding the treatment of armed enemy merchantmen, the Austro-Hungarian Government, it is true, has to state that, as already mentioned previously, it is of the opinion that the arming of merchantmen, even solely for defense against the exercise of the right of capture, is not established by modern international law. A war vessel is obliged to come into contact with enemy merchantmen in a peaceful manner. It has to waylay the vessel by certain signals, to enter into communication with the Captain, to examine the ship's papers, draw up a protocol, and, if necessary, take an inventory, &c. Fulfillment of these duties presupposes naturally that the war vessel has full certainty that the merchantman, on its part, also will act peacefully. Without doubt such certainty does not exist if the merchantman possesses armament which is sufficient to fight the war vessel. It can hardly be expected to discharge its duties under the muzzles of guns, whatever their purpose may be, without mentioning the fact that merchantmen of the Entente Powers, despite all assurances to the contrary, are—as this has been proved—provided with arms for an aggressive purpose and also use them for this purpose.

It would also be a misinterpretation of the duties of humanity to demand the crews of war vessels expose themselves without defense to arms of the enemy. No State could value its duties of humanity toward the legal defenders of the Fatherland less than its duties toward subjects of foreign powers. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore could have stated from conviction that its promise made to the Washington Cabinet did not extend, from the very beginning, to armed merchantmen, because they, according to the valid principle and right which restrict hostilities to organized forces, are to be regarded as private vessels, which may be destroyed.

As history shows, it was never permitted under general international law that merchantmen oppose the exercise of the right of capture by war vessels. Even if a regulation of such kind could be found, this would not prove that vessels should be allowed to arm themselves. It must also be taken into consideration that the arming of merchantmen would completely transform warfare on the sea, and that such a transformation cannot correspond with the intentions of those who endeavor to bring to bear the principles of humanity in warfare on sea. In fact, since the abolition of privateering no Government, until a few years ago, has thought in the least of arming merchantmen. At the Second Peace Conference, which was occupied with all questions of naval war law, the arming of merchantmen was mentioned only once. This utterance, however, is significant because it was made by high naval officers, who freely declared: "When a warship proposes to stop and visit a merchant ship, the commander, before launching a small boat, will cause a cannon shot to be fired. A cannon shot is the best guarantee that can be given. Merchant ships have no cannon on board."

Notwithstanding that, Austria-Hungary adhered to her promise also as regards this question. In the mentioned circular note neutrals were warned in time against intrusting their persons and property to armed vessels. The issued measure was not put in force at once, but a period of grace was given in order to enable neutrals to leave armed vessels which they had already boarded. Finally, Austro-Hungarian war vessels themselves have been instructed, even in the case of encountering armed enemy merchantmen, if, in view of the circumstances, it is possible, to issue a warning and take care of the rescue of passengers.

The statement of the American Embassy that the armed British steamers Secundo, Uno, and Welsh Prince were torpedoed by Austro-Hungarian submarines without warning is erroneous. [The Secundo and Uno are listed in marine registers as Norwegian vessels.] The Austro-Hungarian Government meanwhile received information that no Austro-Hungarian war vessel took part in the sinking of these steamers.

In the same manner as in the repeatedly mentioned circular note, the Austro-Hungarian Government—and therewith it comes back to the question of intensified submarine warfare—as mentioned at the beginning of this aide-mémoire and also in its declaration of Jan. 31 of the current year, issued a warning to all neutrals by fixing a certain period. Moreover, the whole declaration represents in essence nothing else but a warning, namely, that no merchantmen will be allowed to enter the sea areas exactly described in the declaration.

Moreover, Austro-Hungarian war vessels are instructed if possible to warn merchantmen encountered in these areas and to bring into safety the crews and passengers. The Austro-Hungarian Government also possessed numerous reports that crews and passengers of vessels which have been destroyed in these areas have been brought into safety. For the eventual losses of human life which never-

theless may occur in the destruction of armed vessels or such encountered in the barred zone the Austro-Hungarian Government can take no responsibility.

Little Risk From Austrian U-Boats

Moreover, it may be pointed out that Austro-Hungarian submarines solely are operating in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, and that, therefore, an encroachment of American intrests is hardly to be feared from Austro-Hungarian war vessels.

In view of everything mentioned in the beginning of this aide-mémoire, there need hardly be an assurance that the barricading of sea areas described in the declaration does not aim at destruction of human life or even its endangering. But apart from the higher aim of sparing further suffering to mankind by shortening the war, and solely to place Great Britain and her allies, who, without an effective blockade over the coasts of the Central Powers, prevent the sea traffic of neutrals with these powers in the same isolation, the step is taken to render them by this pressure more pliable toward a peace which bears in itself a guarantee and is durable.

That Austria-Hungary uses different means is especially caused by circumstances over which mankind has no power. The Austro-Hungarian Government is convinced that it has done everything in its power to avoid human losses. It would attain this aim, which is intended by the Central Powers, most quickly and most certainly if in those sea areas no single human life were lost and no single life were endangered.

Says Ancona Pledge Stands

Summarizing, the Austro-Hungarian Government can state that the assurance given to the Washington Cabinet in the Ancona case and renewed in the Persia case has neither been abolished nor restricted by its declaration of Feb. 10, 1916, and Jan. 31, 1917. Within this assurance it will also in the future, united with its allies, do everything so that the peoples on earth will soon again participate in the blessings of peace. If in the prosecution of this aim, which, as is well known, finds full sympathy in the Washington Cabinet, it sees itself obliged to prevent neutral sea traffic in certain sea areas, in justification of this measure it will point not so much at the attitude of the enemy, which it considers not at all worthy of imitation, but it will point out that Austria-Hungary, by reason of the obstinacy and malignity of her enemies, who intend her destruction, has been placed in a state of self-defense than which history knows no more typical example.

As the Austro-Hungarian Government finds inspiration in the consciousness that the fight which Austria-Hungary is waging serves not only for maintenance of its vital interests but also for realization of the equal rights of all States, it lays the greatest stress in this last and most severe period of the war, which, as it deeply deplores, demands sacrifices also from friends, on the confirmation by word and deed that the principle of humanity guides it, in the same manner as the law of respect of the interests of neutral peoples.

[Russian Cartoon]

An Unspeakable Libel

—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

SHARK: "Ah, neighbor, I have been grossly insulted!"

"How?"

"I was mistaken for a German submarine."

"The Blacks Attack!"

A Vivid Battle Scene by Rheinhold Eichacker, a German Officer on the Western Front

"After a lengthy artillery preparation, white and colored Frenchmen attacked our positions in heavy force. They succeeded in getting a foothold in some of our most advanced trenches. A furious counterattack drove them back again in a hand-to-hand encounter. Nothing else of importance."—*German Army Report.*

AT 7:15 in the morning the French attacked. The black Senegal negroes, France's cattle for the shambles. After a seven-hour suffocating drumfire that, according to all human reckoning, should not have left a mortal man alive. But we still lived—and waited. Six meters under the sod lay our "waiting rooms." Burrowed into the ground on a slant. "Courage bracers," they call them out there.

At 7:15 the enemy shifted his fire backward upon our reserves. Our pickets sounded the alarm. We sprang to arms, with our gas masks in place. For a few seconds the trenches resembled an antheap. There was feverish hurrying, running, shouting, and shoving. Just for seconds. Then everybody was at his post. Everybody who was alive. Every one a rock in the seething waves. Every one determined to hold his position against hell itself.

A gas attack! Several hundred pairs of wide-open warriors' eyes fixed their glances upon the ugly, smoking cloud that, lazy and impenetrable, rolled toward us. Hundreds of fighting eyes, fixed, threatening, deadly. Let them come, the blacks! And they came. First singly, at wide intervals. Feeling their way, like the arms of a horrible cuttlefish. Eager, grasping, like the claws of a mighty monster. Thus they rushed closer, flickering and sometimes disappearing in their cloud. Entire bodies and single limbs, now showing in the harsh glare, now sinking in the shadows, came nearer and nearer. Strong, wild fellows, their log-like, fat, black skulls wrapped in pieces of dirty rags. Showing their grinning teeth like panthers, with their bellies drawn in and their necks stretched forward. Some with bayonets on their rifles. Many only armed with knives. Monsters all, in their confused hatred. Frightful their distorted, dark grimaces. Horrible their unnaturally wide-opened, burning, bloodshot eyes. Eyes that seem like terrible beings themselves. Like unearthly, hell-born beings. Eyes that seemed to run ahead of their owners, lashed, unchained, no longer to be restrained. On they came like dogs gone mad and cats spitting and yowling, with a burning lust for human blood, with a cruel dissemblance of their beastly malice. Behind them came the first wave of the attackers, in close order, a solid, rolling black wall, rising and falling, swaying and heaving, impenetrable, endless.

"Close range! Individual firing! Take careful aim!" My orders rang out sharp and clear and were correctly understood by all the men. They stood as if carved out of stone, their lips tightly pressed, the muscles of their cheeks swollen, and took aim. Just like rifle range work. The first blacks fell headlong in full course in our wire entanglements, turning somersaults like the clowns in a circus. Some of them half rose, remained hanging, jerked themselves further, crawling, gliding like snakes—cut wires—sprang over—tumbled—fell.

Nearer and nearer rolled the wall. Gaps opened and closed again. Lines halted and—rolled on again. Whrrr rratt—tenggg—sssstt—crack! Our artillery sent them its greeting! Whole groups melted away. Dismembered bodies, sticky earth, shattered rocks, were mixed in wild disorder. The black cloud halted, wavered, closed its ranks—and rolled nearer and nearer, irresistible, crushing, devastating! And the rifles were flashing all the time. A dissonant, voiceless rattle. The men still stood there and took aim. Calmly, surely, not wasting a

single shot. The stamping and snorting of thousands of panting beasts ate up the ground between us.

Now the wave was only 300 paces from our defenses—from their remnants—now only 200—100—irresistible, seething and roaring—50 paces!—"Rapid fire!" I roared, I shrieked, through the swelling cracking of the rifles. A hurricane swallowed my voice! Hell seemed let loose at a single blow, raging, storming, obliterating all understanding! Shoving and stamping, shrieking and shouting, cracking and rattling, hissing and screeching. A heavy veil hung over the wall. In this cloud pieces of earth, smoke spirals, black, red, white, yellow flashes, quivered and flared. Rattling, rapping, pounding, hammering, crackling. And the shots fell unceasingly. Clear and shrill the rifles, heavy and roaring the shells.

And now came the gruesome, inconceivable horror! A wall of lead and iron suddenly hurled itself upon the attackers and the entanglements just in front of our trenches. A deafening hammering and clattering, cracking and pounding, rattling and crackling, beat everything to earth in ear-splitting, nerve-racking clamor. Our machine guns had flanked the blacks!

Like an invisible hand they swept over the men and hurled them to earth, mangling and tearing them to pieces! As an Autumn storm roars over the fields they swept in full flood over the ranks and snuffed out life! Like hail among the ears of grain, their missiles flew and rattled and broke down the enemy's will! Singly, in files, in rows and heaps, the blacks fell. Next to each other, behind each other, on top of each other. Hurled in heaps, in mounds, in hillocks. Fresh masses charged and fell back, charged and stumbled, charged and fell. And there were always fresh forces! They seemed to spring from the very earth!

We had losses; heavy losses. Here a man suddenly put his hand to his forehead and swayed. There another sprang gurgling to one side and fell, as flat and heavy as a block of stone. S-s-s-t—it went above our heads. The French were throwing shrapnel against our trenches, hissing, cracking, and in volleys.

Hell still rages. The blacks get reinforcements. Finally the whites themselves charge, a jerky, rolling, bluish-green mass! In a powerful drive they get over the first rise in the ground. Now they have disappeared. Now they bob up, as out of a trap door. Here and there the ranks shoot forward in great leaps, the officers ahead of all, with their swords swinging high in the air, just as in the pictures! A splendid sight. Now they reach the bodies of the blacks. They halt for a few seconds, as if in horror, then on they roll over the dead, jumping, wallowing, dozens falling.

We still stand firmly in the breach. Our nerves are strained to the snapping point, gasping, bleeding, feverish! We dare not waver. "Steady, men! Steady!" We must calmly let them come as far as the wire entanglements, as the blacks did. The blacks? Where are they? Disappeared! Only they left their dead behind. The same thing will happen to the whites. We are waiting for them. The death-spewing machine guns are lying over there. They lie there and wait until their time comes. Steady, steady! They lie there and wait impatiently—but yet they are silent— Now!—No—I am raving! "Rapid fire!"—I hiss—My neighbor staggers—I only listen and wait, wait and listen, for only one thing. Something that has to come, must finally come, has to come! Great God, otherwise we are lost! Be calm, be calm! Now they will begin reaping! Now they must begin to rattle, our machine guns, our faithful rescuers—now—at once! What can they be waiting for? Why, they are there in the wires already. Hell and Satan! No man can endure that! They are hesitating too long—the enemy is almost in the trenches! Ah! At last! A rattling—a hoarse crackling — Heaven help us, what is that?

A devilish howling rises hoarsely from over there, lacerating, bestial, shrieking! The blacks, the devils! How did they reach our flank over there? That's where our machine guns are. It cannot be. There! Hell! They are carrying hand grenades, are in their rear! Heaven help us! And the whites! They are at our breastworks. Already they are in the

trenches, fighting like wild beasts. Horror makes them crazy. Help is coming to us from the left. The second company has fallen upon their flank. The French run like hunted animals. A shell bursts in their midst, catches twenty or thirty of them and throws them in the air like toys. They run still further, through the air, bowling along on their heads, gruesomely—and fall in heaps to the ground. Heads, legs, twitching bodies! The French run until back of the bodies. The rest of them are cut to pieces, or made prisoners. But now our men must come back.

We struggle for breath. Wounded men writhe around and moan and groan heavily. The trench is bathed in blood. Far more than half of the company has been slain. We are only a handful. I assemble the valiant men and distribute them among the trenches. They stand resolutely, breathing hard and gasping.

A furious rattling and buzzing and hissing calls us again to our posts. They are charging anew. Now the whites again, in front, on the side. They are on our flank! Back of them the blacks in frightful clusters. "Bring the sandbags!" The sandbags fly from hand to hand. A wall rises in the midst of the trench. The other half was overrun long ago and is a knot of struggling men. A piece of wood hits me on the shoulder—crack—I cry out! A shot lands in the midst of our ammunition—it was our last. This way with the hand grenades! We have got to smoke them out!

A roaring hurrah! Heaven help us, aid is at hand! The Fourth, and the Fifth—I know the men—and some of the First, too—all mixed up—dispersed troops rallied again. Now, up and at them! The French defend themselves furiously. They hold the trench. The dead are heaped up before their ramparts—but keep it up! A wild passion takes possession of me. My revolver and my dagger have been lost in the fighting. I seize a bottle. Hell sends it to me at the right moment! Like an animal mad with hate I rush forward. My bottle lands, crashing and splintering, on a woolly skull, with a distorted grimace. A hot shock rushes through my shoulder—a shock—a wrench—I grasp at the air—grasp something convulsively—throw myself in the air—and fall in a heap. A confused mist dances before my eyes.

Colossal War Expenses of Great Britain, Germany, and France

THE request of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law, for a supplementary credit of $250,000,000 on March 14 disclosed the fact that the total amount voted for the war by Great Britain for the year ending March 31, 1917, reached $10,000,000,000. A total of $3,000,000,000 was voted between Feb. 12, 1917, and the end of March.

Great Britain's "victory" popular loan exceeded all estimates; the total subscribed was $5,001,564,750; the total number of applicants was 5,289,000.

Germany's New War Credit

The German Reichstag voted a new credit of $3,750,000,000 early in March. In submitting the new budget the Minister of Finance, Count von Roedern, uttered some significant phrases. He said:

Germany's sincere proposal of peace has met with a refusal. Mediation from the side of the neutrals failed in consequence of the decision of our enemies. The British blockade of the German and neutral coasts, which neither as regards the means by which it is put into effect nor its extension to different classes of goods and neutral countries corresponds to the hitherto existing usages of international law, has been answered by an actual blockade by means of a weapon created by this war. For this reason there could not yet be any written regulations in international law governing this weapon. This weapon is the submarine.

He affirmed that Germany was forced into the war. In discussing the new budget he said:

New taxation proposals are submitted to you which amount for the next year to 1,250,000,000 marks and hold out the prospect of additional taxation on war profits later on. Moreover, a further war credit of an un-

precedented amount—namely, 15,000,000,000 marks—is asked for. The payment of interest on previous credits is fully provided for. The safety law which became necessary last year provides for an increase of the legal reserve from 50 to 60 per cent., but the budget brings in during the financial year no new money; therefore, an additional tax of 20 per cent. on the existing war taxation is necessary.

Count von Roedern then pointed out the great value of the coal produced in Germany and imported into Germany, which he had estimated before the war at 2,500,000,000 marks. The idea of taking over the coal mines by the State had been rejected as impossible. Germany could safely rely on her own production of coal and even on having coal for export during normal times. Coal could be taxed the more readily, since the prices at home during the war, as compared with those in foreign countries, were comparatively low. The average price in Germany, he said, was 15 to 18 marks, while Great Britain paid 20s. to 30s. per ton; Italy over 300 lire; France, in November, 125 francs to 150 francs for house coal; and North America $6 to $7; so that "an average tax of 2½ marks on coal and 80 pfennigs on lignite was not too high." Count von Roedern then dwelt on the proposed taxation of railway tickets and bills of lading. He pointed out that similar measures had already been taken in other belligerent countries. A tax of 7 per cent. would be placed on all freights and a tax of from 10 to 16 per cent. on railway tickets. He proceeded:

World's Total $75,000,000,000

The war credit voted last October is nearly exhausted. As in all belligerent countries, our war expenditure during the last few months has experienced a certain tension. Our average extraordinary expenditure during October to January amounted in all to 2,775,000,000 marks. I have reason to suppose that, as between both groups of belligerents, the proportion today is still two to one; the war expenditure of the whole world exceeds 300,000,000,000 marks, ($75,000,000,000,) and therefore not more than 100,000,000,000 marks ($25,000,000,000) fall on us and our allies, while over 200,000,000,000 marks ($50,000,000,000) fall on the Entente. The tension will not relax in the war expenditure during the next few months. The war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks is therefore asked for. Next month we must issue another loan. This exact picture, as shown by the budget, is certainly serious, but our economic life gives no reason to look into the future with less confidence than hitherto. If the German people firmly believe in a happy issue of the final struggle which, in consequence of the plan of our enemies, has become inevitable, the German people may also expect that for this reason financial consequences are also to be deduced. Against the demand of our enemies for reparation we shall be able to put the word "indemnity." I have confidence in our economic future, in the unbroken financial strength of our people, and am convinced that, in view of our rapid technical development during the war and the firm determination of all circles of productive industry, everything which the war has destroyed will be rebuilt by our common labor.

Our strength is not founded on paper, as our enemies suppose, but on the unexhausted income of the people and on the fact that we did not fall into the slavery of debt to foreign countries, as our European enemies had to do in so high a degree. Our financial strength has been proved by the increase of the deposits in the savings banks, which in 1916 again exceeded 3,000,000,000 marks, by the extraordinary increase in the deposits of the banking institutes, and by reports of 400 limited companies, which show not only increasing profits but also wise reserves. The war has proved that we are united in the will to hold out to victory. I know that after the war we shall not be united on all economic questions, but there is one thing we shall carry over into peace time—the conviction that the development and increase of our production are of equal importance to all classes of the population, and that we must work together toward reconstruction. The Federal Governments count on co-operation on these lines, especially from the Reichstag, which will prove its determination to do its share by maintaining a sound financial policy, by the impartial examination of the proposed taxes, by providing the means for the continuance of the war, and by ready support of the coming loan.

War Expenditures of France

At the end of June France will have spent during the war in round figures 83,000,000,000 francs, or more than $16,000,000,000. The amount of the short-term national bonds in circulation at the end of February was 14,500,000,000 francs.

In addition to her expenditures, France has advanced to her allies 3,875,000,000, making a total outlay since Aug. 1, 1914, of 87,000,000,000 francs. Loans made in the United States amount to 2,188,860,000 francs. The bonds placed in England will yield 5,927,128,000.

Great Britain Restricts Imports to Food and Munitions

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE announced to the House of Commons Feb. 23, 1917, that orders would be issued at once for a drastic restriction of non-essential imports, so that the full cargo space of shipping would be employed for food and munitions. He announced that minimum prices for farm products would be guaranteed over a term of years to encourage the farmer to plant every available foot of land, and that this would be supplemented later by an announcement that land owners would be forced to cultivate their land.

The Premier announced that a million tons of food luxuries and several million tons of paper, ore, and lumber would be lopped off the nation's imports. He said that the stocks of food were lower than ever before, not because of the enemy's submarine activities so much as because of the bad harvests. In the course of his address he stated that shipbuilding was increasing by special efforts, at some yards as much as 40 per cent.

The following is the royal proclamation, dated Feb. 23, 1917, relating to this announcement:

(1) As from and after the date hereof, subject as hereinafter provided, the importation into the United Kingdom of the following goods is hereby prohibited, viz.: Aerated, mineral, and table waters; agricultural machinery; antimony ware; apparel, not waterproofed; (except boots and shoes;) art, works of; baskets and basketware of bamboo; books, printed, and other printed matter, including printed posters and daily, weekly, and other periodical publications, imported otherwise than in single copies through the post; boots and shoes of leather, and material used for the manufacture thereof, not already prohibited; brandy; clocks and parts thereof; cloisonné wares; cocoa, preparations of; cocoa, raw; coffee; cotton hosiery, cotton lace and articles thereof; curios; diatomite and infusorial earth; embroidery and needlework; fancy goods, known as Paris goods; feathers, ornamental, and down; fire extinguishers; flowers, artificial; flowers, fresh; fruit, raw, of all descriptions, (except lemons and bitter oranges,) and almonds and nuts used as fruit; glass manufactures not already prohibited; gloves; hats and bonnets; hides, wet and dry; incandescent gas mantles; jute, raw; leather, dressed and undressed; linen, yarns, and manufactures of; lobsters, canned; mats and matting; mops; painters' colors and pigments; perfumery; photographic apparatus; pictures, prints, engravings, photographs, and maps; plated and gilt wares; quails, live; quebracho, hemlock, oak, and mangrove extracts; rum; salmon, canned; silk, manufactures of, not including silk yarns; skins and furs, manufactures of; Soya beans; stereoscopes; straw envelopes for bottles; straw plaiting; sugar, articles and preparations containing, used for food; (except condensed milk;) tea; tomatoes; typewriters; wine; wood and timber of all kinds, hewn, sawn, or split, planed or dressed.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared, that this prohibition shall not apply to any such goods which are imported under license given by or on behalf of the Board of Trade, and subject to the provisions and conditions of such license.

(2) As from and after the date hereof the prohibition imposed by the Prohibition of Import (paper, tobacco, furniture, woods, and stones) Proclamation, 1916, on the importation of the following goods shall be removed, and the said proclamation amended accordingly, viz.: All periodical publications exceeding 16 pages in length, imported otherwise than in single copies through the post.

Of the above articles now barred to Great Britain the exports from the United States in 1915 were $9,220,809, and $67,613,814 in 1916.

The Prime Minister's announcement also contained the following proposals:

MINIMUM PRICES TO BE GUARANTEED TO FARMERS

Wheat—60s. per qr. this year, 55s. per qr. in 1918-19, 45s. per qr. in 1919-20, 1920-21, and 1921-22.

Oats—38s. 6d. per 336 lbs. this year, 32s. per 336 lbs. in 1918-19, and 24s. per 336 lbs. in the next three years.

Potatoes—£6 per ton this year.

In case the State commandeers cereals or potatoes, the maximum prices to be fixed in consultation with the Board of Agriculture.

FARM LABORERS' WAGES

As a corollary of the guarantee of prices, a minimum wage of 25s. per week to be paid by farmers to every able-bodied man during the period of the guarantee.

The National Service machinery to be used for deciding whether a man is able-bodied.

RENTS

Farmers to be guaranteed against the raising of rents except with the consent of the Board of Agriculture.

IMPORTS TO BE PROHIBITED

Apples, tomatoes, and certain raw foods; aerated, mineral, and table waters; coffee and cocoa.

Printed posters, paperhangings, and certain kinds of foreign printed matter and periodicals.

Foreign teas.

Certain manufactured articles of luxury.

IMPORTS TO BE REDUCED

Imports of paper material to be reduced to 640,000 tons, the reduction to be distributed equally between the printing and packing trades, and the use of paper for posters, catalogues, and for Government publications to be restricted.

Imports of oranges, bananas, grapes, almonds, and nuts to be restricted to 25 per cent. of the supply of 1915.

Canned salmon imports to be cut down by 50 per cent.

Indian tea, (amount of reduction not stated.)

(A total saving of 900,000 tons to be effected on food and feeding stuffs.)

ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS, &c.

Output of beer to be reduced from the 18,000,000 barrels now allowed to 10,000,000 barrels, (to effect a saving of 600,000 tons of foodstuffs per annum.)

Imports of spirits and wines to be further reduced by 75 per cent. on the 1913 basis.

Rum to be excluded.

Imports of leather goods, boots, raw hides, and bottles to be restricted.

Timber for British Army in France to be obtained in France.

Timber for home use to be obtained at home.

Home production of iron ore to be increased.

A Deserter's Wife and Her Dilemma

IS a woman to blame if she receives her husband when she knows him to be a deserter and does not denounce him? This was the question discussed in the Paris Appeal Court in a recent case. Mme. Marcelle Veryken, a corsetmaker, aged 27 years, was surprised last July by a visit from her husband, who had deserted from the Seventy-fifth Regiment of infantry. She gave him an asylum, remained with him at the conjugal domicile, and did not denounce him. Arrested in September, the soldier's wife wrote to the examining magistrate requesting to be set at liberty. She had, she said, always lived an honorable life; her only fault was that she had kept her husband at home, and no one expected a wife to do less.

Mme. Veryken was released, but was brought up before the Correctional Chamber for complicity in desertion by concealing her husband, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. When her appeal came on for hearing the prosecution urged that in such circumstances a wife ought to abandon her home instead of remaining with a deserter, whose crime constituted a grave insult to her.

The court, however, took another view. There was no proof, it maintained, that the wife had provoked or approved of the desertion of her husband, or concealed him. The court could not reproach her with having remained at home after her husband's return, for she was only fulfilling a legal obligation. It would be excessive, continued the judgment, to blame Mme. Veryken because she did not denounce her husband. To do so would be to demand of a woman having affection for her husband a sacrifice above her power. The court, therefore, annulled the previous judgment, and acquitted Mme. Veryken.

A like indulgence was, however, denied to Mme. Desmares for a similar act. She, unfortunately, was unable to produce her marriage lines, and the case of the deserter, named Goujy, was aggravated by the fact that in 1913, when he saw the war approaching, he hid himself, changed his name and address, and remained in concealment until discovered in 1916. His companion and accomplice was sentenced to one year's imprisonment with the benefit of the First Offenders' act, and the deserter Goujy was sent to prison for five years.

A German Peace League That Failed

By John T. Wheelwright

"Territorial aggression and national abasement will pave the way for fresh war."—Address of British Labor Independents, September, 1914.

BOURRIENNE* reports Napoleon as saying in 1805: "There is not sufficient unanimity among the nations of Europe. European society must be regenerated. A superior power must control the other powers and compel them to live at peace with each other, and France is well situated for this purpose"—and thus of Germany would the German Emperor speak today. The great Corsican battled for ten years after 1805 to establish that supreme power of France in Europe, which was to insure peace on earth, but the nations to be controlled were too human to enjoy peace on such terms.

At Napoleon's downfall tired Europe rested on its arms for nearly forty years.

It is now proposed to substitute for the one "superior power" a league of States to enforce peace by mutual agreements, and President Wilson, in an address to our Senate, recently proclaimed his belief that the United States should be a party to this agreement, and that the present war should be terminated by a peace that shall stop short of conquest by either side.

At a dinner given in New York on Nov. 24 last by the League to Enforce Peace communications were received approving the principle of forming such a permanent league of nations from Aristide Briand, Premier of France; Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg of Germany, and Viscount Grey, Great Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The German Chancellor in his message said: "The first condition for evolution of international relations by way of arbitration and peaceful compromise of conflicting interests should be that no more aggressive coalitions are formed in the future. Germany will at all times be ready to enter a league for the purpose of restraining the disturbers of peace, and will honestly co-operate in the extension of every endeavor to find a practical solution, and will collaborate to make its realization possible. This all the more, if the war, as we expect and trust, shall create political conditions which do full justice to the free development of all nations, the small as well as the great nations. Then it will be possible to realize the principles of justice and free development on land, and of the freedom of the seas."

The Chancellor's message is couched in language none too clear. Can it be believed that the German Empire will co-operate in this league? As Prussia, Austria, and the other German States were once members of a "league to enforce peace" called the German Confederation, it is conceivable that the Teuton allies might, after this war, under certain circumstances, join such a league and abide by the compact.

The "Bundes act" of the German Confederation provided that in case of a difference between two States the questions at issue should be submitted to a committee of the Diet for solution. When the Diet decided a question, and made a decree, it was the duty of the Diet to appoint a corps to carry out an execution against a Federal State. The Federal army was not intended to be brought into requisition except to repel a foreign foe. By the Federal act members of the Confederation were strictly forbidden to make war on each other. In case of a State proving refractory, a summons was to be addressed to it to conform with the resolution of the Diet. Then, in case of refusal, an execution was ordered, and a State or States charged with carrying it out; but before the last forcible means were taken another summons was to be made, so as to give the State at fault another chance to avoid punishment.

War between the States was considered

*Scribner's edition. Vol. II., Page 385.

to be impossible, but this was a false assumption, as the events of 1864 proved.

Decree and Execution

The Schleswig-Holstein question became acute in 1860, when Denmark endeavored to get control of Holstein, a member of the German Confederation.

In 1864 Federal execution was ordered by the Confederate Diet against the Grand Duke Charles of Holstein to compel him to carry out Confederate decrees of 1860 and 1863, and an army was formed of the lesser States, composed of 6,000 Saxons and 6,000 Hanoverians; a further army of 5,000 Prussians and 5,000 Austrians was held in reserve, but the latter two great powers of the Confederation undertook the task.

Great Britain had encouraged Denmark to resist, but in the end she stood aside and allowed the Danes to be crushed in the war, so that Denmark, instead of gaining control of the Duchy of Holstein, lost both it and Schleswig.

Austria and Prussia came to an agreement in regard to the Duchies to the effect that Prussia was to have the administration of Schleswig and Austria that of Holstein, although the countries to be thus governed by these two powers wished to be united. Then Austria refused to consent to the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia, and appealed to the Diet and to the Middle German States to aid her in case of attack by Prussia. At the same time Prussia addressed a circular note to the German States, in which she begged them to inform her what course they would pursue supposing she were to be attacked by Austria. The majority of these States referred her to the Diet of the Confederation.

Prussia then made overtures to Austria, but the latter power refused to entertain them. The powers stepped in to try to prevent war. Austria placed the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein situation in the hands of the Diet of the Confederation, promising to abide by its decision. In this case the Diet voted a decree to accede to the demands of Austria, although her call for execution by a Federal army was contrary to the spirit and letter of the act. The vote of the States for this decree stood 9 to 6 on June 14, 1866. Prussia thereupon issued a circular note calling for a new confederation, from which Austria and Luxemburg were to be excluded, and the "six weeks' war" between Prussia and Austria ensued.

We see, then, that the elaborate machinery to avoid war failed to work successfully when the two strong members of the confederation came to a disagreement. Each was struggling for the leadership of the confederation—Austria to retain her old hegemony, and Prussia, under the subtle Bismarck, to displace her. These two powerful nations with totally irreconcilable views had to settle their differences by the sword, notwithstanding their being members of a "league to enforce peace."

In this war the "needle-gun" brought swift victory to King William and his allies, and four years later the aggrandizement of Prussia brought about its war with France. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, considered necessary for the protection of Prussia and the subjection of France, has led to the alliance of that country with Russia. Thus we find that the present catastrophe in Europe goes back lineally to the Pandora's box of the Schleswig-Holstein question.

This review of events shows that the first league to enforce peace was not happy in its results, and yet it may be that, as Prussia once accepted a constitution which provided for the submission of rival claims of Confederate States to the Confederate Diet and the promulgation of decrees and the enforcement of those decrees by Federal execution, it might, in order to bring about a stable peace between the States of Europe and Great Britain, bring itself to an adhesion to some such a league as is now planned.

The present upheaval in Europe was perhaps caused by the disturbance of the equilibrium of the Balkan States as well as by the growing military power of the German Empire and its avowed ambitions, which were curbed by the constriction of Germany within its narrow bounds. The first serious vibrations felt

in Western Europe came from the Balkan States. Now, after two years and a half of war, the control of the bridge between the Teuton allies and the Near East is being bitterly contested. If the Entente Allies should not succeed in barring this eastern extension of Germany over its wished-for vassal States of Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Turkey, the German Empire, like Prussia in the old German Confederation, would be too strong to submit a quarrel to the arbitration of a council of a league of nations. But if the Teutons fail in the Balkans, and the Entente Allies hold the "bridge," Germany might well be a tractable member of such a league, after the experience of this war. This contest on the eastern front seems the vital tug of war, and the western fighting seems now to be a necessary corollary of it.

The practical question, then, before the world is this: If a State, a member of such a league, is strong enough, or thinks it is strong enough, to stand against all the others to gain its end, will it abide by any decree made by the proposed League to Enforce Peace, even after arbitration before the league tribunal, it being understood beforehand that such a refusal would lead to the coalition of the whole world against it?

It is quite clear that before the experiences of the "world war," great nations would not have been bound by any such agreement. When the important interests of a nation are at stake, its course has almost always been selfish, but the terrible war may be teaching a lesson even to that nation whose strict adherence to a league would be the only guarantee of its success.

It seems fairly clear, then, that rather than to attempt what may be impossible, that is, the humiliation of Germany, an effort should be made, after a check to the Teutons in the east, to make a peace which should give all the countries their aspirations—the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, a recognition of Germany's necessity for expansion, and an outlet for Russia to the Mediterranean, and provide for the restoration and indemnification of ruined small countries; Great Britain has all she wishes today, and only desires to be left alone.

The unstable equilibrium of Europe must be cured before a stable foundation for peace—or for a peace league—can be laid. Communities under alien rule, races governed by other races, religions ruled by other religions, countries shut off from their natural development, countries forced into unnatural expansion, are never content. It is only by minds convinced of these premises that a sound peace can be made.

Jerusalem

By O. C. A. CHILD

Again the Briton nears the ancient gates!
The city of the Holy Sepulchre
Sits in its Eastern calm and dumbly waits
The coming of the legions from afar.

They're dust a thousand years, the knightly train
That followed Richard's leopard-blazoned shield
Down the long road that valor pointed plain—
The path of honor to the stricken field.

Now men as bold as they, their sires' sons,
Toil through the sands where centuries ago
Their forebears fought—awake with roaring guns
The dead who heard crusading trumpets blow.

Perchance the ghost of grim old Saladin
A scimitar across their path may fling,
Yet shall one wave them onward till they win—
The wraith of England's Lion-hearted King!

At the Western Fighting Fronts

By Frank H. Simonds

Frank H. Simonds, associate editor of The New York Tribune, visited the battlefields in France and had personal interviews with the British and French Premiers and military chiefs in February, 1917. He presented his conclusions in a series of articles, parts of which, by special agreement, are herewith presented in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *Mr. Simonds's judgment on the situation in Europe is highly regarded in well-informed circles.*

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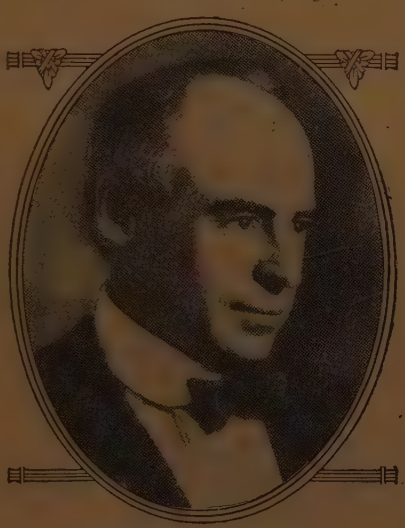
BEFORE I went to the British front and talked with the British commanders I shared the view of most uninformed observers from afar that the main purpose of British strategy and tactics alike was to pierce the German lines, to force the Germans out of France by some swift, complete stroke—I believed that this was a possible thing.

But I doubt if any British General of authority really believes or expects this sort of outcome to the war at the present time. Rather the prevailing notion is summed up in Grant's memorable words—and the British Army expects to fight the present campaign out on the existing lines if it takes all Summer or several Summers. Indeed, I was struck with the emphasis Sir William Robertson laid on the parallel of the civil war when I talked with him in London later.



FRANK H. SIMONDS

Here is about the point of view of the British Army in France:

"Today we have more guns and more amnunition than the Germans. We are pounding them day and night as they once pounded us. The weakening in their morale is slowly but surely growing, as is demonstrated by the number of desertions that are taking place and the growing readiness of units to surrender.

"We are pounding without ceasing, and the results of the pounding prove not that the German troops in front of us are about to collapse, not that the German lines are about to break up like a frozen river with the Spring thaw, but that some day this process of weakening will have serious consequences. It may be that the Germans will avoid these consequences by gradual retirement, but such gradual retirement shakes the morale of the soldier and of the nation. It may be that the Germans will hold on as Lee did before Richmond until the last, and thus court disaster, such disaster as came to Lee. But these things are in the future.

"As to piercing the German lines, given the present style of war, given the magnificent organization of the German lines, given their mechanical resources, notably machine guns, this is a long task. And the main thing is not to pierce lines, but to kill Germans and to wear out the German armies. It makes relatively little difference whether this is done on the line of the Somme or on the line of Cambrai, or even at the French frontier, from Hirson to Lille, behind which is again the line of the Scheldt and the Meuse—the best line of all. Each time the German shortens his line he reduces the number needed to hold it and the strain upon his resources.

"The parallel is, after all, not the football field, but the prizering. We shall only defeat Germany by exhausting her;

we shall only win by a knockout; and the knockout may come in one corner of the ring or the other.

"Two years ago we were holding our lines by rifle fire against high explosives. In the second week in May, 1915, Field Marshal French was compelled to attack at Festubert to aid the French and take the pressure off the Canadians in the Ypres salient. He had ammunition for forty minutes of bombardment, and that was all. Then the infantry had to attack, and it cost 8,000 casualties. We had neither machine guns, trench mortars, nor any of the instruments Germany had been accumulating for years. German aircraft were supreme in our sector.

"But today we have more guns and better guns than the Germans. We fire four shells to the Germans' one, and in the battle of the Somme not a German aircraft 'came over' for days on end. Their artillery shot in the dark; ours was informed by our aviators. At the beginning of the battle of the Somme we had terrific losses because it was a new experience and a new army. A brigade attacking at one point lost 1,900 killed, 1,800 wounded, and brought back 300 men. The other day, in one of the last attacks, another brigade lost 1,400 men, and, in addition to burying 900 Germans, brought back 1,800 prisoners.

"Night and day we pound the Germans. Their artillery does not reply much of the time. We raid their trenches, and they seldom react. We take an ever-increasing number of prisoners. We see ever-increasing signs of wearing out. Do not misunderstand—the Germans are still very strong. The new units arrive, each soldier carrying his extra pair of shoes. They are well fed and well led; they will be to the last.

If there is desertion and surrender in some units, others fight as well as ever and there is no 'Kamerad' business with them." * * *

No Victory This Year

I do not believe the British Army in France expects to win the war this year. I do not believe that the Generals are thinking in terms of a day, a month, or a year. What seems to be the feeling is that after two years and a half of war there has been fashioned a British Army which is still gaining in knowledge and strength, but already has a proved superiority over its foe in morale, in material, and in the things that may be measured by the slow but sure retrogression of the Germans before them. For nearly two years the British Army hung on, now it is advancing; it escaped annihiliation, it is experiencing success.

One of the questions I asked all the Generals with whom I talked was as to the possibility of a German offensive at some point on the British front. All agreed that it was possible; some expected it. A push at the Ypres salient, the worst position on the whole front, was frequently suggested. General Malleterre in Paris quite strongly argued that the Germans would make this attack. I think that there is a considerable expectation in London that it will come, and I find this view repeated in later dispatches commenting upon the German retirement about Bapaume.

But such an offensive carries no real peril to the mind of the British Army in France, which is chiefly interested to know if the Germans will bring out some new device, some new weapon like "poison gas," and endeavor by using it to open a gap in the British front such as was opened at Ypres just two years ago next month and offered the Germans one of the golden chances of the whole war.

Troops in Fine Condition

Of the physical condition of the British Army it is impossible to speak too highly. I was in France in the zero weather of January. Every morning I rode out along the roads and camps, and never have I seen so many soldiers, or soldiers looking so young and strong and fit. It semed as if all the eastward leading valleys of France were swarming with British, Canadian, and Australian troops pushing onward to the front; it seemed an endless and inexhaustible flood, while behind, each little village had new reservoirs of khaki-clad Tommies. * * *

From the British Army in France, with which I stayed a week, I brought away the feeling of confidence and of intelli-

gent optimism. It has the appearance of an army which has undertaken a contract, not with a time-limit clause, not with a fixed hour or place of completion. It has undertaken a contract to dispose of the German military problem, of that part of the German Army assigned to it to deal with. It feels that it is doing the work, it recognizes that the way is still difficult and the time may yet be long. It expects new German attacks and it envisages the possibility of local German successes, but it has only one possible apprehension: it looks not to the front and the Germans for its main peril, but to England and the man behind the lines—if he can hold, the end is assured and the fate of the "Hun" is sealed. And this is the feeling of the French Army quite as well. The soldier sees victory, unless his civilian fellow-citizen weakens—and of this the signs are few in England, as in France.

I can perhaps sum up my impression of the British Army in France by saying it recalls all that I have heard and read of the armies of the North in 1864. It is a volunteer army in the main; its officers are men proved by the test of two yars and a half of war. Its men, volunteers though they are, are no longer raw or green. Haig, Horne, Rawlinson, Gough, Allenby, Plumer—these Generals commanding armies have survived the test of battle elimination.

As an army the British force has been battered, driven, it has been defeated and it has been repulsed. Its experiences recall those of the Army of the Potomac from the Peninsula to Gettysburg—but, like the Army of the Potomac, it has found itself, it has measured itself against a foe ready and trained and equipped as Lee's army was not. And it is advancing. The Tommy in the trench more clearly than any General or military writer sees and weighs the evidence of German weakening. Hence his supreme confidence. Hence for him the German peace proposal was the plea of the beaten.

The nearer you get to the German line the more serene the spirit of the British seems.

The Battlefield of the Somme

Over an area perhaps of ten miles by twenty, of the battlefield on the Somme, the whole face of the earth has been changed, the heart of hills has been blown out; you look up the slope of a considerable hill, you climb with difficulty up its rounding slope, and suddenly you gaze down into a chasm, a volcano's crater; all the interior of the hill has been blown out by a mine; the hillside is an open shell; an ocean liner could be concealed in the crater.

Coming out of Albert along the road so many thousands of men have followed to death one approaches the field of actual fighting with little real warning. Albert itself is a shelled, half-destroyed town. The tower of its church, with a statute of the Virgin suspended in a prostrate position across the tower, has become a thing familiar to all who have read of the battle. When it falls, so the people of the region believe, peace will come. But Albert is only a shelled town; many of its houses stand, most of them retain their walls and many their roofs.

But a mile the other side of Albert, traveling toward Péronne, one comes suddenly out upon the most terrible and bewildering scene of desolation it is possible to imagine. From the upper layer of the earth there has been swept away not alone the trees, the sod, the outer covering, but the very depth of the lower strata has been churned up and scattered about. Of a sudden in the midst of the landscape of Picardy, with smiling valleys and pleasant woodlands, there is the image of the Sahara, of something more than the Saraha, of the fields above Pompeii or Messina, down which have flowed the streams of lava which not only engulf but endure.

Only Skeletons of Hills

Turning off the main road one leaves the car and climbs heavily up a hillside.

Along this hillside ran the first line of German trenches, but now there are neither trenches nor semblances of trenches. This hill and all the surrounding hills are worked by shell fire until they resemble nothing so much as the pictures of the surface of the moon, familiar to all who recall the geographies of their youth. The flesh of the hill has been swept away; only the skeleton remains.

Occasionally, where the slope of the hill is undulating, the suggestion of a German dugout remains, perhaps a dugout overwhelmed by the first deluge of fire and still holding in its unexplored depths the scores of Germans who inhabitated it when the avalanche arrived. All over the hillside, too, is the litter of war, unexploded shells, the fragments of bombs, the débris of earlier and later camps. Always, too, wherever there is a bit of level ground are graves, endless graves, graves placed without order and without system—the graves dug by men pressed with the need to get forward, compelled to lay aside all regard for the ceremony of inhumation.

From the hill of Mametz one looks westward beyond the battlefield. Across a little ravine the opposite slope rises, still but little scarred. The frontier of desolation is exactly marked; it is as plain to the eye as if it were indicated upon a map. But looking westward over miles and miles, there is nothing but the wild scene of desolation. The surface of hill and valley has been swept away; it is as if the outer and the inner strata of the earth had in some fashion changed places. It is destruction suggesting that of Sodom and Gomorrah—a destruction deliberately designed to make impossible forever the return of men to their old fields.

I do not know any way that one can give any slight hint of the desolation of the battlefield of the Somme. There it lies, ten miles deep, one shore touching the furnace which is still burning up and destroying the surface of the earth and all animate and inanimate things thereon. At the other shore there begins sharply the countryside of France, and between the two shores is an infernal region in which at least a million and a half of men, British, German, and French, have been killed or wounded. Perhaps half a million men lie buried in the shattered folds and turns of the scarred hillsides or in the flats beside the little brooks.

Mametz Swept Off the Earth

Sometimes in the Sunday supplements scientists or alleged scientists used to write articles describing the time when the earth would begin to dry up, when flames from inside the narrow crust would burst forth. What they sought to describe the artillery of the last great war has illustrated on the slopes of the Picardy hillsides.

Standing still on the slopes of the Mametz hill, on the slopes toward the north and east, one looks out upon the sites of many villages. At your feet was Mametz, but of Mametz there is not a stone, not a fragment. It has not been buried; it has been literally blown from the face of the earth; it has dissolved in dust, and the dust has been swept away. Here was a well-built little French town, with its solid houses of plaster and stone, old houses enduring from other centuries. It had the usual church, the familiar place, the fountain, all the slight but permanent details of a French village, and now there is just nothing.

And what is true of Mametz is true of Montauban; it is true of Fricourt; it is true of I do not know how many more villages. They are gone, and sometimes the hills upon which they stood are gone. On the map you will see marked many little bits of woodland, the usual communal grove or the inevitable clump of trees surrounding the frequent châteaus. But the woods are gone.

Woods Obliterated Near Verdun

I saw the same thing at Verdun, when I visited Fort de Vaux before I went to the Somme. There half a dozen of the woods that have filled the battle reports have vanished—Bois de Laufée, Chenois, Capitre—they are gone, and there are left neither stumps nor stump holes; the ground out of which they grew has been worked into a mass of holes, huge cavities

in which men and animals have disappeared and been drowned.

This new artillery fire does not wreck; it does not even pause with obliteration; it alters the very surface and the subsurface; it raises new hills and it destroys old elevations.

And when the armies are gone and the war ends, (for even this war must end some time,) it is interesting, if tragic, to think of what will be the emotions of all the little people who inhabited these regions, people who, faithful to the French love for the land, will return to their old homes. And of their old homes they will find not even a fragment; the fields that they cultivated and that their fathers cultivated will have disappeared; the subsurface will still be honeycombed by the corridors of mines or the molelike burrows of the dugouts.

I do not think one can get any conception of the real terror of this war who has not seen the country of the Somme or of Verdun, who has not seen the fashion in which this war, like a malignant war spirit, has not alone destroyed all that there was of homes of human habitation and of the fields of human effort, but has swept the earth with fire and sown it with salt, as if in the determination that there should never again be life, that men should not exist or fruit and foods grow in the fields over which it had passed.

Yet it is not alone the sense of destruction that one feels at the Somme. Indeed, I think the sense of human industry, of enormous effort of innumerable men at their tragic task of war, even passes the impression of desolation. Take one of the large anthills that one sometimes sees in a country field, draw a rake deeply through its curved summit, and watch the myriad of ants come swarming up and begin what seems a mad and frantic outburst of industry, and you will have some faint suggestion of what the battlefield of the Somme is like.

Industry Amid Ruin

For, in spite of the desolation, there is no lack of population, there is no lack of human activity. Indeed, looking down upon any section of the field, it suggests pictures that one sees of some great engineering operation, the removal of a mountain, the transformation of some square miles of the surface of the earth, a labor like that of Panama. For grid-ironed amid all the waste are railroad tracks, the bottom of every valley is carpeted with rails, and the noise of the distant artillery is deadened by the shrill whistles of engines as they drag cars up toward the front—toward the railhead—the "dump" of the military argot.

And beside the railroads are highways, the white, even, and splendid highways of France. They alone have survived the ruin, as the stones of the Appian Way have outlived the centuries and the onrush of other barbarians. And along these highways flow the most amazing streams of mankind that are conceivable, and not alone men but motors and horses; the voice of the Missouri mule challenges the passage of the "tank" and the donkey of the pack train alike.

Up these roads, following their artillery, surrounding their rolling kitchens, the men of Australia and of Canada move between those of Scotland and of England. And the roads are crowded day and night, like the roads that lead to the Polo Grounds when a ball game is scheduled. And on the shell-swept hillsides every sort of shanty and barrack affords temporary resting place for the mender of highways or police of the rear. It is as if the flower and pick of British imperial manhood had suddenly sought a dwelling place in the desert.

And the impression is bewildering beyond all else I have ever seen. Here are some square miles of the earth's surface which have been swept and torn and wrecked by shell, by the fury of the weapons invented by man, and the men who have done these things with the maddest of all energy, with the most terrible of all machines, have now come forward to restore to human use what they have just destroyed. First they have created a wilderness, and worse than a wilderness, and then they have fared forward into the wilderness, bringing with them all the machinery they could devise, not to repair all the injuries they have wrought, but such of these injuries as

are hampering their purpose—which purpose is to get forward swiftly and turn still more miles of France into the same centre of desolation.

Scene of Lasting Destruction

I do not know how any one can quite describe this battlefield of the Somme so that the man who lives in peace on this side of the Atlantic can understand it or grasp something of the supreme insanity and the supreme intelligence which are both unmistakable there. I am sure that centuries from now men and women will go to this place to see the surviving evidences of the storm that blighted it a year ago. I have never seen anything that approached the terribleness of the sight, save about Verdun.

Yet an engineer, a man interested in the moving of mountains or the transformation of valleys to human ends, would look down also upon these fields today and see an order, an organization, a development of human genius and human system, which would take him completely and command his admiration. The saddest and most completely wasted corner of a valley may conceal a terminal station that would make an operating railroad man jealous. A New York policeman, a traffic man, used to the problems of Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, might shrink from the task of separating and ordering the stream that flows through what was once the main street of Montauban and is now a white road in the midst of powdered ashes.

And like the forest fires of the North, destruction advances, steadily, surely. The road below the hill at Mametz passes Montauban, Guillemont, Ginchy, it reaches Combles, it arrives at Sailly-Saillisel, which is now the extreme front, but tomorrow the flames will pass Sailly-Saillisel. And when the storm has passed, then the railroad and the highway will push forward, more men will come with tools and with machinery, and they will reclaim to their own purposes this land that has been deluged with steel, torn by mines, watered by the blood of thousands and thousands of men coming from the uttermost parts of the earth and exhausting their resources, first of destruction and then of reconstruction.

Last Summer we used to wonder why the British advance was so slow. I do not think one wonders when one clambers with difficulty up the steep slopes of one hill and sees beyond this hill after hill, valley after valley; not great hills, but sharp and steep hills, all now like to nothing so much as the deserted nest of hornets, along whose slopes there may still be traced in places the cuttings of the trenches and tangles of barbed wire.

"Tank" a Symbol of Fury

Beyond Mametz, at Trones Wood, my guide showed me a "tank," disabled and lying beside the road. Oddly enough, it seemed to me the only really appropriate thing in the whole accursed region roundabout. It seemed animal rather than mechanical, like a prehistoric animal, and it was not difficult to imagine that all the scene of desolation that extended on every side was the work of this animal, of many animals such as this; that there was still going forward the war of some prehistoric age between man and this scaled creature, and that in its fury, its dying fury—for this "tank" was dead—it had torn up the Trones Wood, lashed about itself and overturned trees and rooted them up.

One more detail. All this field of contrasting waste and reconstruction is well within reach of German shell fire. Now and again the storm begins and the caravans of men and animals slowly extend, draw out into thin groups, and go on. It never stops by day or by night, this steady, even flow of human life toward the extreme front at which annihilation becomes absolute, at an arbitrary frontier of sandbags.

The centre of the storm has passed, but the storm area includes all of the torn and wrecked country, and always there is to be heard, not distant, the steady drumming of heavy artillery; the hills are shaken almost every moment by the tremendous explosions, and the intermittent cannonade rises to the magnitude of an earthquake again and again.

A year ago I visited the field of the Marne. Here there was nothing of de-

struction visible that might not have been the work of the men and the machines that fought Napoleon on the same ground a century before. On the battlefield of Champagne, of 1915, as I have said, the effect of shell fire was patent but temporary; the walls of houses stood and the fields can be plowed and planted when the trenches are filled and the barbed wire removed. But at the Somme there is nothing more terrifying in all the terrible things that one sees than the mutilation of the surface of the earth itself, the permanent destruction of the hills, and the lasting scarring of the hillsides, sown as they are with the shattered fragments of half a million of human beings and condemned to eternal sterility. Surely the Somme must be the last word in war.

America as Viewed by the Allies

Mr. Simonds, in discussing the effect of the break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany and the probable entrance of this country into the war, says:

I found no belief in Britain that it would be possible for America to organize, equip, and transport armies to the European front in time to contribute to the decision, although the British Prime Minister expressed the conviction that thousands of American volunteers would flock to the allied cause and serve either in British or French armies under the American flag, but commanded—as to higher officers—by the British or the French Army chiefs.

What the British felt was possible was that America would be able, by seizing German shipping in American ports, to contribute to mitigating the severity of the German submarine blockade, and, by giving the Allies credit, simplify and accelerate the financing of the war. Some slight help in the shape of convoys for merchant ships sailing under the American flag, but carrying munitions and foodstuffs, was also suggested.

But in the main I think London has few illusions as to the material benefits to flow from American participation in the war, and there is a profound suspicion that in some way or other a method will be found by the President to avoid coming in—that is, effectively.

The simple truth is that the British have put aside almost all the illusions that they had in the earlier period of the war. They do not expect to starve the Germans to death, however much discomfort and privation their blockade may cause. They no longer expect that Germans will rise against their own Government and welcome their enemies as liberators, nor do they longer pin any faith to the old ideas of Anglo-Saxon solidarity, however pleasant to them is the sympathy and support of their American friends.

England—Britain, the empire—expects to win the war by fighting, by killing Germans on the western battle front. She is making her preparations not for one but for several years of war. If Russia or Italy, or even heroic France, whose contribution and devotion find only praise and admiration, are able to contribute much or little, so much the better; if America joins and contributes, still better. But these things will be as they may be—the main thing is for Britain to prepare to do all that Britain can.

The French Viewpoint

I do not believe that any one can go to France, despite all there is of suffering and of sorrow, and not feel that the will of the nation remains unshaken and that, though the loss of blood has been great, the strength of will remains unbroken. Confidence in victory there is, too. France expects to win, but beneath all is the grim realization that to submit now, to accept a German peace, is but to escape destruction for a little and to bind the nation to eternal slavery to the ideas and the ideals which are abhorrent to all Frenchmen and destructive of all that France means in the world or has meant.

Always Frenchmen, talking of America

and American views, speaking of President Wilson and his course, come back to the same point. To them it is incomprehensible that any democratic nation, any civilized nation, can fail to perceive the fact of this war, can fail to perceive the impossibility of making peace, not with Germans as Germans, but with the German race, so long as it clings to those doctrines which have brought so much of horror and shame into France and swept away so much of what was beautiful in man and in art.

The Germans persist in the notion that the French people desire peace and the French politicians compel war. I think the opposite is the truth. I think it is the politicians who are the sole pacifists, those who do profess pacifism, and I think this is due to their failure to understand the will and the determination of those whom they represent. A peace Government, a peace Ministry, could not live; no French politicians dare openly to talk of peace, save those who do not count and cannot gain or lose by their words.

When I was in Paris the city was suffering from the worst Winter since the siege. Coal was practically unobtainable and the suffering was great; there was a sense of suffering about that one does not think of in Paris, and yet through it all there was no outward evidence of any weakening of will, there were no disorders of the sort that one hears as taking place in German cities; life is not easy in France, it is not pleasant, the sufferings that the war brings mount day by day, and the end of the increase is not in sight.

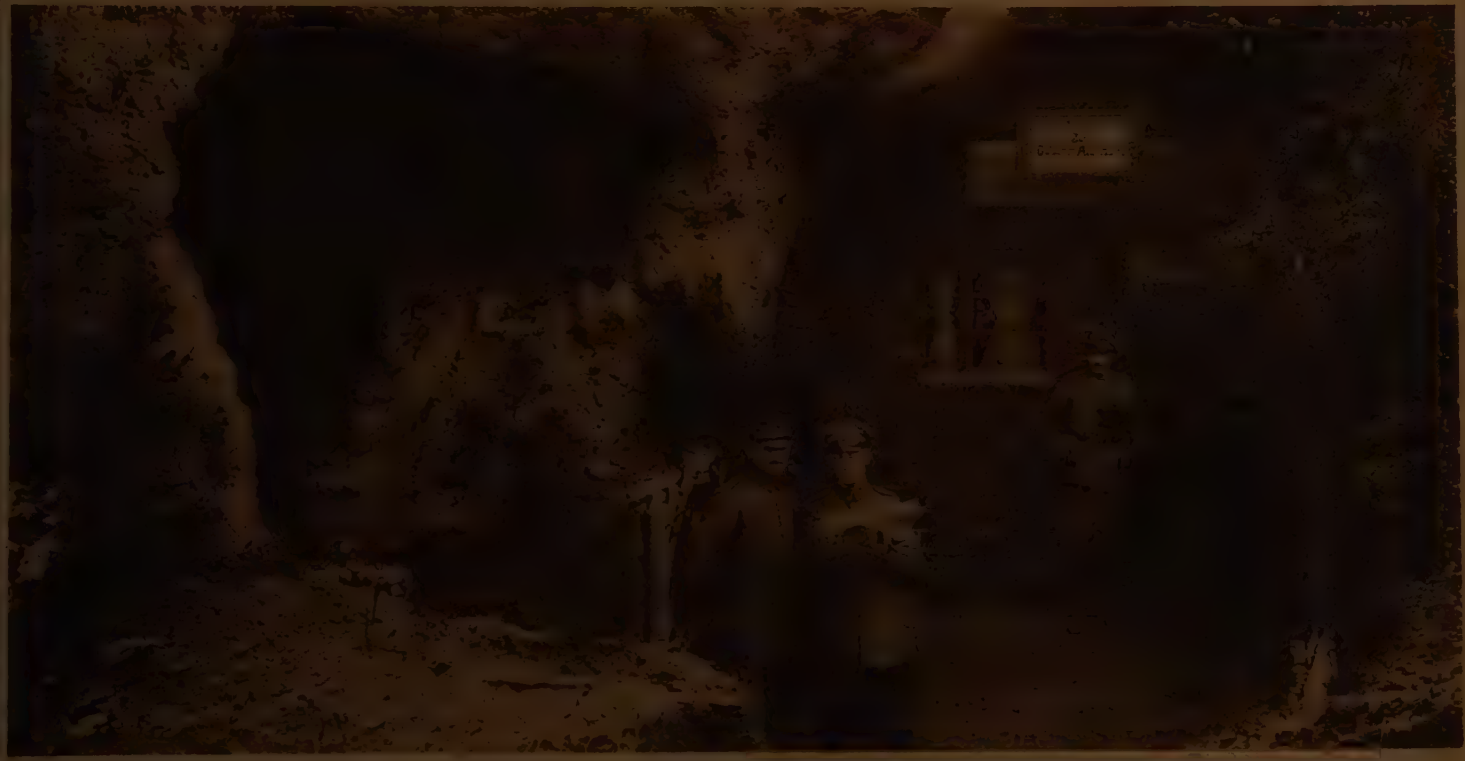
Yet I do not think that any one who loved the French would talk to them long of peace. I do not think any but an incredibly stupid man, or a German, would find evidence of the breaking of French spirit or the decay of French resolution.

Returning to France after a year, one could not help feeling the extension of sadness, the intensification of the strain. France is suffering and she is bleeding, but there has been no change in French spirit or the French conception of the ultimate issues of the war. It remains a battle between civilization and barbarism, and it remains a battle which must have a decision, and a decision which will insure the safety of France. All else means permanent ruin, the end of France. France, French men and French women are struggling with an unclean but powerful beast; they are struggling with a beast which will destroy them and their children, as it has devoured some and outraged more, unless they are able to destroy it, and no suffering, no agony, can make peace possible save death itself until the victory is won, because any other peace is death. This, I think, is the French view, and this is why for France the war will go on beyond this year, if necessary.

LAYING DEFENSIVE MINES AROUND NEW YORK HARBOR

In Addition to New Fortifications and a Steel Net at the Narrows, a Mine Field Has Been Planned by the Coast Defense Artillery

UNDERGROUND QUARTERS OF A GERMAN OFFICER



This Elaborate and Cozy "Dugout" Is the Military Home of an Ingenious German Officer Back of the Firing Lines

(International Film Service)

The "Liberators" of Poland

Horrors of the Teutonic Invasion, as Attested by Russian Official Records

Eugene Griselle, General Secretary of the French Catholic Committee of Foreign Missions, contributes to La Revue Hebdomedaire the subjoined account of events attending the Prussian and Austrian occupation of Poland. His materials are drawn from Colonel A. S. Rezanoff's "German Atrocities on the Russian Front," summarizing the results of an official inquiry by the Russian Government. In each case the source is given in full in the original.

[*This matter is published without verification by the editor, and is presented as an ex parte contribution.*—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

THE château of A. Budny was visited by two Austrian officers, Count Zitchy and Baron Sardas. They began by ordering a copious meal, and, while it was being prepared, they made a tour through the château, during which they stole shamelessly. Baron Sardas, without the smallest hesitation picked up from a table a valuable gold watch, with chain and charms, and, when M. Budny protested, drew a revolver and threatened to shoot him. Count Zitchy, carrying a small traveling bag in his hand, gathered up rare bibelots as "keepsakes." From the stable the two officers chose six thoroughbred horses, of a total value of 50,000 rubles, saying that they "requisitioned" them. The visit of these two Austrian "aristocrats" cost M. Budny something over 80,000 rubles.

The Austrians, when retreating, set fire to the villages and savagely shot down the pacific inhabitants. Among prisoners taken by the Russians was a Captain Schmidt, who made himself famous as an incendiary of defenseless villages, a destroyer of churches and shrines. * * *

A Russian officer testified: "I saw with my own eyes the savagery and insane cruelty of the Austrians, running from house to house, to burn a village and destroy, in the midst of so much suffering, whatever had miraculously escaped our artillery fire. The town of Iuzefov, on the Vistula, was burned to the ground. * * * At Iurov the Teutonic fury manifested itself with peculiar violence. After setting fire to the village at four points, the Germans began to fire on all who tried to save anything from the flames. The hapless inhabitants who escaped from the burning houses were equally greeted with rifle fire. A few families hid in the cellars; others in potato pits. As soon as they discovered this, the Germans threw straw into the pits and set fire to it. The maddened refugees, when they tried to climb out, were met with bullet and bayonet. In the cellars forty-two bodies, slain in this horrible way, were counted. The Germans killed an old man named Bazarnik by firing four salvos at him, the first being aimed at his feet, the second at his loins, the third at his breast, the fourth at his head. These salvos were fired at intervals, intentionally lengthened." * * *

In the villages of Sonta and Veprie-Czero the Austrians assaulted the women. In the village of Sumin, according to the deposition of the parish priest of Ternovatka, a woman who resisted was murdered; her ears and breasts were cut off. * * *

The "woman tax" was reduced to system by the Austrians. The officers coldly ordered so many women to be brought to one or another detachment of their troops. Those who resisted were shot. * * *

The Deputy, Makonietchni, who visited the Lublin district, testified that the violations of women were innumerable; the most monstrous and incredible outrages were inflicted on them, many of them having their breasts cut off. * * * The Austrians, literally drunk with fury, threw the unfortunate inhabitants into the burning houses. There were numerous cases where soldiers impaled children on their bayonets and then threw them into the flames. * * *

The manager of an estate on the outskirts of Lovicz testified: "The Teutons

came to us toward evening, at least seventy in number. They put their horses in the stables, the sheds, and the cow houses, driving out the cows. Then they came into the house, crying: 'Give us supper!' 'Give us wine!' We killed poultry and I opened the cellar. Meanwhile, the officers wanderdd from room to room, with drawn swords, slashing at everything, portraits, porcelains, the grand piano.

"But the worst came later. When supper was over, the officers, three in number, who had drunk six bottles of wine, were completely drunk. 'Bring us women!' they cried. The soldiers rushed to fulfill their orders. I had my wife and a little girl of 12; the mechanician who lived in the house had a young wife; he had been married only that Summer. The poor creatures were seized. Terrorized, broken down, I could not move. The mechanician's wife struggled to escape, crying to him: 'Save me from dishonor!' He dashed toward her, but a dragoon cut him over the head with his sabre. She died during the night. They brought the two women and the little girl into the officers' room. The little girl was found dead in the morning. * * *

An eyewitness records a monstrous piece of cruelty which he saw in the village of Kilniki, in the district of Vershbolovo, in the Government of Suvalki: The inhabitants led me to the hut of a Polish peasant, aged 56, Ossip Binderovitch by name. The miserable wretch was lying on a mattress, torn by convulsions of agony. His daughters, without a word, led me close to the body, which was beginning to stiffen, and with their fingers opened his mouth. I shuddered with horror; in place of the tongue there was a gaping wound. A few minutes later Binderovitch died under my eyes. His daughters told me the Germans had torn his tongue out because he had refused to show them the direction in which the Cossack scouts had retreated from the village. * * *

The prior of the famous Polish Monastery of Czenstochovo has testified to the thefts of the Germans. Thousands of pounds of silver and gold, the offerings of pilgrims to the shrine, a great quantity of pearls from the halo of the famous image of the Virgin, among others a costly pearl given by the Chancellor, Prince Lubomisrki; the giant ruby taken from the haft of a dagger captured by Jan Sobieski under the walls of Vienna, an emerald weighing more than forty karats, given by an unknown pilgrim in 1812, were carried away. * * * When the German officers, installed in the monastery after the expulsion of the monks, had emptied the wine cellars, they "requisitioned" the women of the town. The razzia was carried out under atrocious conditions. [The details here are so abominable that it is impossible to translate them.—Ed.] * * * Soon there was not a house in which were not heard foul German oaths; in the streets the conduct of the Germans was revolting. * * * There was not a house in Czenstochovo that had not some infamy to lament. * * *

By evening, more than fifteen hundred had been arrested, men and women. All were declared prisoners of war and sent to Germany. * * * In the village of Topaltcha, the soldiers of the Apostolic Emperor, Francis Joseph, established their hospital in the church, which was found littered with excrement. The church vessels were gone. * * * On the altar the soldiers had drunk, eaten, and played cards. In the sacristy, all objects of value were stolen. The fonts were turned into urinals. * * *

Michlachevski, an employe of the Countess Branitzka, testified: With a considerable group of Poles, I was moved from town to town in Germany, working at the supply of provisions for the troops, in the slaughterhouses, at the burial of soldiers, digging trenches. Finally, we were dressed in military uniforms and sent to fight against the French at Lunéville. * * *

S. F. Koninski testified: The Germans brought a large body of civilian prisoners to Silesia, drilled them, and sent them to Belgium and France, where they were put on the firing line. * * *

Ordeals of the Wounded

Extraordinary Phases and Episodes Described by Medical Experts

I.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from a report made by Professor Ludovico Isnardi to the Royal Academy of Medicine of Turin, Italy. Professor Isnardi has been Director of the Military Reserve Hospital at Vercelli since the beginning of the war.]

THERE is a sort of suppurating wound produced by the so-called wounds by explosion, with orifice of ample exit, funnel-shaped and especially dangerous when found in the thigh and leg. In these wounds for the most part the skeleton is affected.

It is easy to understand how in these cases the wounds become infected, if one thinks of the difficult places in which our war is being carried on. Some wounded have been lowered with ropes from the rocks. Many with serious wounds are compelled to go on foot over long tracts of most laborious road. One soldier fell at fifty meters from the enemy's trenches with fracture of the femur near the base of the thigh and with a wound on the internal side as large as a hand; all alone he bound the sick leg tightly to the well one with his belt, then slid down the slope of a hill, and for five hours crawled on hands and feet until he reached his own camp.

The inflammation of these wounds is impressive. From the orifices issue black blood, pus, and sometimes gas; the intermuscular spaces are invaded by the pus, the whole joint is discolored and much swollen; high fever, and in the first nights delirium. One condition only is favorable, the extent of the cutaneous opening.

I ought to say parenthetically that, in spite of everything, in general our wounded soldiers on arrival at the hospital with the clinical history which accompanies them, the dressings perfected, the fractured joints immobilized, often with plaster on which is written clearly the diagnosis and the facts, attest a calm, an order, a solid scientific preparation in our field physicians which are truly admirable.

II.

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from a recent article in Revue de Chirurgie, Paris, by André Chalier and Roger Glénard. These two men made a military hospital out of a Summer hotel in the high valley of the Moselle, near one of the most frequented passes of the Vosges.]

The wounded were brought to us from the firing line, distant some 20 to 25 kilometers, in French, English, or American automobiles. They came to us either directly or after having passed through a division ambulance located in front of us, in relay fashion. We have received many wounded barely a few hours after they were put hors de combat, but the majority have come to us quite late, after one or several days of waiting, the delay being accounted for by the difficulties encountered in picking them up and by the length of the transport in the mountainous regions where our soldiers were fighting.

Thus, for example, an infantryman receives a ball in the chest at 3 P. M. He loses blood by the mouth, and, very much oppressed, does 300 meters on foot in order to gain the relief station; in traversing this distance he has to rest himself three times. He remains at the relief station until 9 P. M., then the stretcher bearers carry him for two hours, until he reaches a shelter for sappers, where he rests for three hours, and continues to spit much blood. The next day, at 2 A. M., he is placed on a mule, which carries him for three hours across the mountain, only to put him down by the edge of the road at 5 A. M. There a cart picks him up at 7 A. M., and puts him down at 10 A. M. at a point where finally horse-drawn vehicles arrive, which conduct him to the division ambulance.

Another infantryman, wounded at 10

A. M., also in the chest, at first remains there, where an individual dressing is applied for him. At 7 P. M. he leaves on foot and walks in the darkness until midnight; then he stretches himself out on the ground in a bit of woods and sleeps, covered by the beautiful stars. At the first trace of dawn he begins to walk again, and reaches the relay of stretcher bearers. These take him at 5 A. M., and at 8 A. M. they place him in a vehicle which bears him to the ambulance of the first line. He remains there some hours, and is finally brought to us in an automobile; he reaches us at 10 P. M., or thirty-six hours after receiving his wound.

Quite recently, in an action where a surrounded company was delivered only at the end of four days, certain wounded, their dressings done only in the most summary manner, were obliged to remain all this time on the ground.

In general, we have kept our wounded the least time possible, so as to reserve the largest number of places in our hospital ready for emergency use. However, as far as major wounds are concerned, particularly those of the extremities, we have made it a point not to discharge them before the seventh or eighth day after the time of wounding, for it is during this first week that ordinarily the worst infectious accidents supervene if they are to occur. Likewise, we have kept at least two weeks the cases of trephining, of amputation, of serious wounds of the chest, of the abdomen, and of the joints.

III.

[Translated from España Médica, Madrid, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The following episode was overheard in the corridor of a hospital and was told by a Spaniard who enlisted in the French Army and was wounded:

"The good Lalane, the merriest comrade of the region, has made an ugly death. Toward evening we had repulsed an attack of the 'boches'; we had leaped out of the trench, which was turned upside down by the artillery; then we had regained our posts. Seventeen men were missing, and among these was Lalane. When the cannonading and the fusillade had ceased we heard the usual tormenting cries of our wounded, fallen on the ground between our trench and that of the enemy. 'Help, mercy, mamma!' pleaded the poor wretches.

"Uselessly we tried to aid them. Our self-denial cost us two men, because the enemies made a terrible fire every time that we repeated the attempt.

"At the dawn of day the cries had stopped; only one of our men continued to shriek tremendously. We recognized the voice of Lalane, who was roaring with pain and with anger. The unfortunate man was the prey of delirium; he pretended that nasty rats were gnawing him and that he could not free himself from them. Two days and three nights the torture of our unfortunate friend lasted. They were two days and three nights during which we did not sleep in the trench. We were obsessed. Little Cazan cried like a baby.

"In the end there was silence, which said clearly that Lalane was dead. There was a sigh of relief for all. 'Poor devil!' I proposed by all means to go after the corpse of our friend as soon as a favorable chance presented itself, in order to prevent it from being torn up by a flock of ravens roosting in the grove near by. The chance did not keep us waiting long; the thickest sort of a morning fog permitted Cazan to betake himself to the spot and to tie a small rope to one of his feet; pulling and pulling, we succeeded in dragging him along up to the trench. A cry of horror leaped from our throats! The eyes, empty; the nose, the ears, the lips, gnawed; all the body stripped, torn asunder, devoured—the bones could be seen here and there. Of his clothes there remained intact only his leather belt and shoes. The unhappy man had a slight wound in the spine, which had paralyzed and immobilized him; hence he could not defend himself against the trench rats, which had devoured him alive!"

At this point the narrator was interrupted by the protests of his comrades, who wished to sleep. That night I slept badly; I dreamed of struggling with all the monsters of the Apocalypse.

A Darkened Church in the War Zone

An Irish Officer's Word Picture

AT a certain point at the front there is a village where the troops come from time to time to rest, and there the church each evening is crowded with the soldiers. Lights of a brilliant kind are not allowed in this village, as it is so near the line, and it is urgent at night to give no sign which might make the place a target for the long-range guns of the enemy. Therefore the church is never lighted in the evening, and it is by the flames of a few candles alone on the altar of Our Lady of Dolores that the rosary is recited.

It is a strange scene in this church at night. Entering it, all is dark save for the few fluttering candles on the altar before which the priest kneels to say the prayers. It is only when the men join in that one becomes aware that the church is really full, and it is solemn and appealing beyond words to describe when up from the darkness rise the great chords from hundreds of voices in the prayers. The darkness seems to add impressiveness to the prayers, and from the outside are heard the rumble and roar of the guns which, not so very far away, are dealing out death and agony to the comrades of the men who pray. Sometimes the church is momentarily illuminated by the flashes of the guns and the windows are lighted up as though by lightning.

The writer of these lines has seen many an impressive spectacle of large congregations at prayer in great and spacious churches in many lands, but nothing more truly touching, impressive, and moving has ever been witnessed than the darkened church behind the lines, thronged with troops fervently invoking the intercession of the Mother of God under almost the very shadow of the wings of the Angel of Death! In France and Belgium the Catholic troops are fortunate in having at hand so many churches of their own faith, and this makes it easier for the devoted chaplains to get their flocks together. For so many days the battalions are in the trenches, and for so many days in the comparative safety of the camps in the little villages somewhere back from the firing line. The day and night before a battalion goes to the trenches the chaplains are busy in the churches, for the men throng to confession, and it is a wonderful and most faith-inspiring sight to see them in hundreds approaching the altar before marching off to danger, and in many cases to death itself.

When the turn in the trenches is over and the men resume their rosary in the darkened church in the evenings there are always some absent ones who were there the week before. For this very reason, perhaps, because of the comrades who will never kneel by their side again, the men pray all the more fervently and with ever-increasing earnestness say, "May the souls of the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace!"

While some of the chaplains attend the men who are resting in the back villages, others follow the men into the line, and there, in some ruined house close by or in a shelter or dugout in the trench itself, they are always at hand to minister to the suffering and the dying. Who can measure the consolation they bring, or who can describe the comfort and happiness of the soldier whose eyes, before they close forever, rest upon the face of the priest of his own faith? If the priest in peace is the ever-sought comforter of the afflicted and dying, how much more so is the priest in time of war and in the battle line! The writer has met at the front many chaplains, and the dominant feeling of one and all is thankfulness that they were able to go out with the men and share their lot.

Of all the actors in the great tragedy of the war none stand out more heroically than the chaplains, none fill a greater place in what has come to be called the theatre of war. No wonder so many of

them have received decorations, and no wonder the men highly value the presence and the consolation and the encouragement of the "padre," as the officers call the minister of religion. To the Catholic soldiers, however, the priest remains "father," and it is good to see them smile as he approaches and to hear the sound ring of the old faith in their voices as they reply to his salutation and address him always as "father." Mass has been said in the very trenches, and the writer has attended mass in many a ruined church and many a shell-wrecked shelter. And ever and always the men are the same, devoted and earnest, and the more wretched their surroundings the more eager they are.

Nothing is more noticeable than the way the Catholic soldier holds by his beads. The writer has seen men who were killed in the line. Their little personal belongings are carefully collected by comrades and safely kept to be sent home, but the rosary when found in the pocket is often, usually indeed, reverently placed round the dead man's neck before he is wrapped in his blanket for burial. "I put his beads about his neck, Sir," is the report often given by the stretcher bearer to the chaplain or other officer, as a man is given to the grave. How many Catholic soldiers lie in their lonely graves today in the war zone with their beads about their necks! How very, very many! And so, indeed, one feels sure would they wish to be buried.

The Great Work of the Belgian Relief Commission

THE breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany threatened to interrupt, if not entirely end, the valuable work of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, which has become equally well known by its initials, "C. R. B." When the German invasion cut off the 80 per cent. of Belgium's food imported from over the seas, nearly ten million people, including those in the invaded part of France, were in danger of starving to death. Something had to be done to help the Belgians, and somebody had to do it.

The emergency produced the man, Herbert C. Hoover, an American mining engineer and business organizer resident in London, and the head of industrial undertakings employing 125,000 men. Mr. Hoover marshaled a small legion of fellow-Americans—business men, sanitary experts, doctors, social workers—who as unpaid volunteers set about the great task of feeding the people of Belgium and Northern France. Today the C. R. B., which Mr. Hoover and his colleagues have built up, is a great institution, recognized by all Governments, receiving contributions from all parts of the earth, with its own ships in every great port, and in the eyes of the Belgians and French who receive their daily bread through its agency a monument of what Americans can do in social organization and business efficiency, for Americans have furnished the entire personnel of the commission from the beginning.

The initial negotiations with the various belligerent Governments in 1914 were conducted on behalf of the commission by the American Ambassadors and Ministers in London, Brussels, and Berlin. Mr. Hoover, early recognizing the possibility that the United States might become involved in the war, obtained the patronage of the Spanish and Dutch Ambassadors and Ministers in London, Berlin, and Brussels, and at every crisis which has threatened America in the war the commission has had the support of the Spanish and Dutch diplomats, who have been ready, if necessary, to find a new staff to replace the American personnel. The commission is a distinct organization from the Belgian National

Committee, through and with which it works in Belgium itself. Its functions are those of direction, supervision, and all matters that have to be dealt with outside Belgium. In the occupied territories it has the help of thousands of Belgian and French workers, many of them women.

The commission does not depend upon any one of its American members for leadership, since, as Mr. Hoover says, any one of them could at any time take charge and carry on the work. "Honnold, Poland, Gregory, Brown, Kellogg, Lucey, White, Hunsiker, Connet, Young, and many others who at various periods have given of their great ability and experience in administration could do it." At the same time it is admitted that the commission would never have been so successful if Belgium had not already had in existence a well-developed communal system. The base of the commission's organization is a committee in every commune, or municipality. The communal committees consist of representatives of the trade unions, the communal authorities, the medical profession, and the business or professional class. Through their knowledge of everybody in their communes and of local conditions the committees are able to estimate exactly the extent of the relief required.

"You can have no idea what a great blessing it has been in Belgium and Northern France to have the small and intimate divisions which exist under the communal system," says Mr. Hoover. "It is the whole unit of life and a political entity much more developed than in America. It has been not only the basis of our relief organization, but the salvation of the people." Altogether there are 4,000 communal committees, which are linked up in larger groups under district and provincial committees, which in turn come under the Belgian National Committee.

Up to date the commission has spent $250,000,000, most of which has been provided by the British and French Governments. The remainder has come from the Belgians and French themselves, and from contributions sent from all parts of the world, including Madagascar, remote places in China, the Solomon Islands, Greenland, Liberia, and Tasmania. Tasmania, the smallest of the States of the Australian Commonwealth, has the honor of heading the per capita contributions, with $6.53 subscribed for every inhabitant.

When Mr. Hoover and his fellow-Americans began the work of saving Belgium from starvation, they made their first appeal to the people of the United States. They considered that they were working on behalf of America in the name of humanity, and they felt that they were in this way writing "a page of true Americanism in Europe." But the American response to the appeal for contributions has thus far been sadly disappointing. It has amounted to only $9,000,000, less than 9 cents per capita, while Canada has contributed 28 cents, Australia $1.25, and New Zealand $1.98. The miners of Johannesburg, South Africa, gave 10 per cent. of their wages, which was added to by a similar amount from the owners of the mines.

During his stay in America in the early part of 1917, Mr. Hoover more than once expressed himself on the subject of his own country's niggardliness, pointing out at the same time that the chief profits made out of providing food for Belgium had gone into American pockets. Out of the $250,000,000 spent by the C. R. B., $150,000,000 had been used in the United States to purchase supplies, and on these orders America had made a war profit of at least $30,000,000. Yet in two years the American people had contributed only $9,000,000. On these facts Mr. Hoover based this indictment of his fellow-countrymen:

> Thousands of contributions have come to us from devoted people all over the United States, but the truth is that, with the exception of a few large gifts, American contributions have been little rills of charity of the poor toward the poor. Everywhere abroad America has been getting the credit for keeping alight the lamp of humanity, but what are the facts? America's contributions have been pitifully inadequate, and, do not forget it, other peoples have begun to take stock of us. We have been getting all the credit. Have we deserved it? We lay claim to idealism, to devotion to duty, and to great benevolence; but now the acid test is being

applied to us. This has a wider import than mere figures. Time and time again when the door to Belgium threatened to close we have defended its portals by the assertion that this was an American enterprise, that the sensibilities of the American people would be wounded beyond measure, would be outraged, if this work were interfered with. Our moral strength has been based upon this assertion. I believe it is true, but it is difficult in the face of the figures to carry conviction, and in the last six or eight months time and again we have felt our influence slip from under us.

The result of the war will be that America will be rich, prosperous, wealthy, and will have made untold millions out of the woe and swelter of Europe. The justification of any rich man in the community is his trusteeship to the community for his wealth. The justification of America to the world-community today is her trusteeship to the world-community for the property which she holds. There is growing up and there has grown up in Europe a note of bitterness which will seriously affect our whole relations with Europe for years to come. The only amelioration to this bitterness possible is for this country to properly assume its burden toward the helpless in Europe.

Speaking at Washington, D. C., on Feb. 17, Mr. Hoover said it made him feel ashamed when he heard Belgian children expressing their gratitude by singing "The Star-Spangled Banner," and he knew that the food they were eating had not been paid for by Americans.

The commission's requirements have grown to between $18,000,000 and $19,000,000 a month. Of this amount the Allied Governments are contributing $14,000,000, leaving between four and five million dollars a month to be raised by public charity. The Belgians resent bitterly the very suggestion of charity, and have continued to borrow heavily with British and French support. Nevertheless, they have had to leave 3,000,000 of their people, who are totally destitute, as well as 1,250,000 adolescent children, to depend upon the commission's efforts. Mr. Hoover's mission during his visit to America included a plan to get the United States to undertake the provision of $1,250,000 a month for the wants of the 1,250,000 adolescent children. The commission has had to cope with an alarming increase in tuberculosis and other diseases among adolescents, caused by the lower power of resistance consequent upon inadequate diet. A dollar a month for each one of these children is needed to stop the gradual degeneration of the youth of Belgium.

One of the first noteworthy results of Mr. Hoover's criticism was that the Rocky Mountain Club of New York, whose members are mostly men interested in mining enterprises, decided to turn over to the commission the $500,000 which they had raised for a new clubhouse costing $1,000,000, and voted that every one of their 1,200 members should go to work to get contributions. In other directions Mr. Hoover made his presence felt, and there was an improvement in American subscriptions to the funds of the commission.

The statement that the Germans have taken food intended for the Belgians was disposed of by Mr. Hoover in a speech in New York City on Feb. 13. "We are satisfied," he said, "that the German Army has never eaten one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the food provided. The Allied Governments never would have supplied us with $200,000,000 if we were supplying the German Army. If the Germans had absorbed any considerable quantity of this food, the population of Belgium would not be alive today."

When the break came between the United States and Germany, it was stated that the feeding of the people of Belgium and Northern France would go on, because the C. R. B. had become a unique international society, supported by contributions from both belligerents and neutrals, and represented by American citizens in the occupied territories. If America became involved in the war, the citizens of some other neutral country, such as Spain or Holland, would carry on the work.

Immunity from blockade measures for the commission's steamers was secured by Mr. Hoover after negotiation with Germany and Great Britain. At the outbreak of the war foodstuffs were not contraband, and the commission was free to transport its supplies in neutral ships to Holland. But sufficient neutral ships could not be obtained, and belligerent vessels had also to be chartered. The German Government agreed to consider immune from attack all ships flying the

flag of the commission and carrying passes from the German Ambassadors at the neutral capitals. The Captains of the commission's ships were pledged not to engage in belligerent practices, and the commission not to send anything but food and clothing for the Belgian population.

When Great Britain declared foodstuffs contraband, the commission's ships were exempted from the Order in Council. It was provided that they should be specially marked with the letters "C. R. B." At the beginning of the submarine warfare around the British Isles in February, 1915, the German Government agreed that the commission's steamers should go through the war zone immune from attack.

On President Wilson's announcement of the diplomatic break, the commission ordered all its ships in America, Argentina, India, and Europe to remain in port till further notice. But fifteen ships were either in or approaching the war zone, and could not be reached by wireless. Two of them were sunk. It was said that the German Government would no longer respect the commission's flag unless the ships took a course entirely to the north of the newly established war zone on their way to Holland. The German Government gave assurances that it had no intention of interfering with the work of feeding the civil populations of Belgium and Northern France.

Despite the diplomatic break, the commission decided at first not to withdraw its representatives from Belgium, but on Feb. 12, after a German order had been issued for all Americans to withdraw from the occupied territories, leaving in Brussels only a few of their representatives, headed by Brand Whitlock, the American Minister to Belgium, the commission notified the German authorities that the Americans would cease to participate in the relief work in Belgium and Northern France. However, after a conference on Feb. 15 between the German Civil Governor of Brussels, the American and Spanish Ministers, and representatives of the commission and the Belgian National Committee, permission was given by the German authorities for the commission to continue its work, and it was decided not to withdraw. The German action in ordering Americans to leave the occupied territories was so promptly reversed that the continuity of the work was not interrupted.

In regard to immunity from attack by submarines, it was announced on Feb. 24 that the sailing of the commission's ships had been resumed as the result of arrangements with the British and German Governments whereby a route between North American ports and Rotterdam had been agreed upon. Meanwhile, however, many of the commission's vessels had accumulated in British ports, and were held there. Concerning these Sir Maurice de Bunsen, British Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement on March 5:

In declaring the war zone, Germany explicitly canceled all her safe conducts, giving only a few hours for the relief ships then in United Kingdom ports to clear for Rotterdam. It was impossible to get them away in time. It was also impossible to communicate with the ships on the high seas, as they were not provided with wireless.

Since then the Germans have alleged that they accorded to these and to other neutral ships a further period of grace. Nobody ever heard of this until the Germans announced that the period had expired. All that the commission or the world knew was that the Germans had opened their submarine campaign by sinking two Belgian relief ships.

There has thus been a steady accumulation of relief ships in the United Kingdom ports. Their cargoes have been deteriorating, valuable anchorages have been taken up, and the whole of this tonnage, which urgently is required to take additional relief cargoes from American ports, has been held in suspense for a month.

The commission immediately opened negotiations with the Germans through the Spanish, Dutch, and Swiss Governments, and the Entente Governments strongly supported their representations. The only reply which the Germans vouchsafed regarding the ships in the ports of the United Kingdom is that they will reserve any question as to the giving of guarantees for such ships until they have received a detailed list of their names and of the reports where they now are. This request was received virtually simultaneously with the sinking of Dutch liners in the English Channel.

His Majesty's Government have replied that, in view of that occurrence, to give any such information to the Germans before the latter have guaranteed absolute immunity to all these ships, would be to lay them open

to attack and invite treachery. In view of the evident intention of Germany to hold up this tonnage for the longest possible period, and in view of the urgent need of these ships to take further cargoes to the starving populations in Belgium and Northern France, his Majesty's Government have agreed with the commission to discharge these cargoes in the United Kingdom and provide storage for them until the Germans either have given the necessary guarantees to relief ships from the United Kingdom ports passing Rotterdam or have shown even more clearly than at present that they do not intend to give such guarantees.

Meanwhile a regular supply of foodstuffs for Belgium and Northern France will go on in ships passing under German safe conducts from American ports to Rotterdam. The position therefore is as follows: His Majesty's Government have respected and will respect property of the commission in these cargoes. All that they have done is to provide storage room for foodstuffs which the Germans are apparently anxious to hinder reaching Belgium and Northern France.

On the other hand, the Germans already twice have broken their safe conducts and destroyed property of the commission. By this act of faithlessness they have struck one blow at the work of relief. They now invite his Majesty's Government to assist them in destroying more relief ships by informing them where the ships are and consequently how they can best be attacked when the ships set sail. To satisfy the German demands would be to become accomplices in their crimes.

Secret Journalism in Belgium

Story of La Libre Belgique

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, the secret newspaper whose tenacity of life exasperates the German authorities in the occupied provinces of Belgium, recently celebrated the second anniversary of its birth. At the end of January, 1915, appeared the first number of this unique organ, which describes itself as "regularly irregular," and which states under its title that its office is in an "automobile cellar." Naturally, this indomitable organ of patriotic propaganda, which circulates mysteriously in every Belgian town under the German yoke, celebrated the anniversary by coming out yet again and evading the frantic efforts of Baron von Bissing's police to suppress it.

La Libre Belgique (Free Belgium) is irrepressible. The Germans have arrested numerous persons suspected of being connected with it, but they have never succeeded in preventing or even retarding its publication. Neither the promise of a large reward for any one who will betray it, nor the threat of heavier punishments, nor yet the implacable attempt to hunt down all who carry or read the paper—nothing has been able to ruin the audacious enterprise. In its first issue of last December, when the forced deportation of civilians was in full swing, La Libre Belgique published on its front page an article depicting this modern slavery in its most odious light, concluding with these words:

"Belgians, do you desire that when our brave soldiers return from the front they shall say to you, 'You dug the trenches which we had to fight for'? Take flight, or, if you cannot do that, resist; if necessary, even die, but die free!"

Baron von Bissing, the Governor General, finds the little sheet in his mail every week, and he will probably be the only person after the war, says a writer in the Paris Temps, "to possess a complete file of this publication, which mocks the German Emperor in the midst of Prussian terrorism, and which, in spite of all the censors, calls a cat a cat, Bethmann Hollweg a liar, and William II. a knave."

The only result obtained by the oppressor is an extraordinary development of clandestine printing in the occupied districts. The success of La Libre Belgique has caused other journals to spring up, edited by no one knows who, printed no one knows where, circulated no one knows by what means. There exists in downtrodden Belgium a Weekly Review of the French Press which has passed its sixtieth number and which reproduces for Belgian readers the chief articles in the Paris newspapers and magazines;

there is Le Motus, a satirical sheet, full of a biting, something cruel, irony; there is Patrie! which competes with La Libre Belgique—for there is competition even there—and indulges in the perilous luxury of reproducing the most striking cartoons of Louis Raemaekers, notably the famous "En Route to Calais," which shows the corpses of German soldiers floating in the flood of the inundated region along the Yser.

How do these newspapers live? How can they get together their "copy"? How do they get their type set, or make the plates for their pictures, or procure the necessary paper, or recruit their salesmen, or deliver the printed copies to their subscribers? There is a series of complex problems, when one recalls that the German authorities have thousands of spies at their command, that every house is watched, and that a man cannot move from one town to another without a special permit from the "kommandatur." And yet all this is accomplished regularly; hundreds of patriotic persons risk prison and deportation every week to devote themselves to this task. It is their way of fighting the Germans on the ground where these pretend to be absolute masters.

Later, when everything can be told, the story of the adventures of clandestine newspapers in the occupied regions will constitute one of the most curious chapters in the history of the war. The Germans will be astonished at the simplicity of the means used to circumvent them. The Belgian, a protester by nature, with rare tenacity in anything he undertakes, at once bold in conception and prudent in execution, was admirably fitted for a struggle of this sort. The writer above quoted remarks that the Germans understand nothing of the Belgian temperament, and do not even suspect the rivalries and complicities which are always to be found alike in Flanders and in Wallonia, for the most incredible tasks that involve circumventing the police. No letter can enter Belgium or leave it without passing under the eyes of the German censors, and yet at Brussels, at Antwerp, at Liége, the people know exactly what the Paris papers of four or five days ago contained. La Libre Belgique in June, 1916, reproduced in extenso a speech by M. Briand that had appeared in Le Temps on May 19. At no moment since the beginning of the German occupation have the leading French papers ceased to circulate in Belgium. There is a well-known system which consists in obtaining for two or three francs the regular reading of this or that journal for half an hour. Another form of "subscription" is more curious, and more expensive: every day one receives two or three mimeographed sheets summing up the news and reproducing the essential passages from the latest Paris and London papers. What sort of an organization handles this service? Nobody knows; the Belgians themselves do not know. They read and reread the sheets, fixing the details in the memory, then carefully burn them. When the Germans afterward wish to impose on them with a false version of events, they have the laugh on their oppressors, for even in the remotest and smallest towns the people know the truth.

"The rapidity with which the news circulates in the invaded regions," says a French writer, "has been one of the essential factors in maintaining the admirable morale of the Belgian people. The clandestine press, with its disconcerting phenomena, has kept the population in touch with the outer world and played an important rôle in the nation's passive resistance to its oppressors. These little leaves, printed no matter how, in the chance of the hour, have demonstrated the fallibility of Prussian terrorism, for they sum up for a whole people its passion of patriotism and its inflexible will not to die."

Serbia and the War's Beginning

By Woislav M. Petrovitch

Former attaché of the Royal Serbian Legation at the Court of St. James's; author of "Serbia: Her People, History, and Aspirations."

THE defeat of the Sultan's forces by the Balkan allies in 1912-13 had been a tremendous blow to Austria-Hungary and especially to Germany, whose officers had reorganized and trained the Ottoman Army, and who, for the success of her schemes of expansion in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, depended on her ascendency in Constantinople. The utter débâcle of Bulgaria, inflicted upon her by the Serbians in the memorable battle of the Bregalnitsa, in July of 1913, the Greek occupation of Saloniki, and the rise in power and prestige of Serbia, the friend of Russia and the apostle of the Jugoslav, or Southern Slav, emancipation, constituted for the powers north of the Danube a still greater catastrophe. The high road to Saloniki, by the valleys of the Serbian rivers, Morava and the Vardar, was definitely closed to Austria, and Germany was cut off from Turkey, whose army was to act in conjunction with the Teutonic hosts in the event of a European war.

WOISLAV M. PETROVITCH

Only prompt action could retrieve such a miscarrying of the Austro-German plans, and it is not surprising to hear that as early as the Summer of 1913 the Dual Monarchy was bent on declaring war on Serbia, and endeavored to secure the support of Italy. As this help was not forthcoming, action was deferred for the moment, and a huge army bill was promulgated in Germany to redress the balance of power and make ready for any eventuality.

Such was the position when, on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his consort were murdered in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. "There are many mysterious features about that tragedy. His death certainly did not serve any Southern Slav interests, for, however great and dangerous his ambitions, he is known to have been quite out of sympathy with the short-sighted policy of repression which had hitherto found favor in Vienna and in Pesth, where, for various reasons, he had many enemies in extremely influential quarters. The absence of all the most elementary precautions for his safety during the visit to Serajevo, though, according to the Austrians themselves, the whole of Bosnia was honeycombed with sedition, is an awkward fact which has not hitherto been explained."*

On the morrow of the crime the Austro-Hungarian press started a violent campaign against Serbia, openly putting upon the Serbian Government the responsibility for the outrage. It availed nothing to point out that a country still bleeding from the wounds of two desperate wars, and whose most urgent need was a period of quiet and of internal consolidation, could not have chosen so unfavorable a moment to involve itself in new difficulties with a powerful neighbor; still less was considered the fact that the young miscreants

*Sir Valentine Chirol, "Serbia and the Serbs," Oxford, 1914.

were Austrian subjects, and that "Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia are a seething pot which needs no stirring from the outside;* the Viennese press set itself deliberately to spread the idea that the misdeed had been organized in and by official Serbia. Although the Bosnian Serbs, who constitute the bulk of the population of that province, are always referred to in Austria by such names as "die Bosniaken" or "die Orthodoxen aus Bosnian," the assassins were referred to invariably as "Serben," and in such a manner as to create the impression that they were Serbs from the Kingdom of Serbia.

On July 3, when the remains of the Archduke and his consort were brought from Serajevo to Vienna, the Serbian flag was very properly half-masted at the Serbian Legation in Vienna; noisy demonstrations took place in front of the legation, and the incident was referred to the next day under the heading: "Provocation by the Serbian Minister."

The "Case" Against Serbia

In the meantime a "case" against Serbia, resting upon a secret investigation in the prison of Serajevo, was in course of preparation; it had been intrusted to Austria's professional forger, Count Forgach, notorious especially by the Friedjung trial, who now fittingly occupied the post of permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, and who, in the early days of July, provided the Hungarian correspondence bureau with a plentiful supply of falsehoods. On July 3 the following communication was issued to the press:

The inquiries made up to the present prove conclusively that the outrage is the work of a conspiracy. Besides the two perpetrators, a considerable number of persons have been arrested, mostly young men, who are also, like the perpetrators, proved to have been employed by the Belgrade Narodna Odbrana (National Defense) in order to commit the outrage, and who were supplied in Belgrade with bombs and revolvers.

The Foreign Office in Vienna, however, probably realized that zeal was outrunning discretion, for on the same date, late at night, the newspapers received the following request:

We beg the editor not to publish the report relating to the Serajevo outrage, which appeared in our evening's bulletin.

From this moment profound silence fell upon the inquiry at Serajevo and upon the proceedings at the Foreign Office. The attempt to trace the crime to any responsible quarters in Serbia was evidently beyond the power of even Count Forgach. Count Berchtold discontinued the usual weekly receptions at the Ballplatz; he refused to discuss the Serajevo outrage with the representatives of foreign countries, or, if discussion did arise, care was taken to dispel all apprehension and suspicion that Austria-Hungary was meditating any serious action against Serbia. Petrograd was assured that the step to be taken at Belgrade would be of a conciliatory character; the French Ambassador was told that only such demands would be put forward as Serbia would be able to accept without difficulty. The press campaign, nevertheless, continued unabated and took its tone from the utterance of the inspired Neue Freie Presse: "We have to settle matters with Serbia by war * * * and if we must come to war later, then it is better to see the matter through now."

On July 20, 1914, Mr. Jovanovitch, then Serbian Minister in Vienna, ciphered to Mr. Pashitch, the Premier:

It is very difficult, almost impossible, to discover here anything positive as to the real intentions of Austro-Hungary. The mot d'ordre is to maintain absolute secrecy about everything that is being done. Judging by the articles in our newspapers, Belgrade is taking an optimistic view of the question pending with Austria-Hungary. There is, however, no place for optimism. That which is chiefly to be feared and is highly probable is that Austria is preparing for war against Serbia. The general conviction that prevails here is that it would be nothing less than suicide if Austria-Hungary once more failed to take advantage of the opportunity to act against Serbia. It is believed that the two opportunities previously missed—annexation of Bosnia and the Balkan war—have been extremely harmful to Austria-Hungary. In addition to this, there is the still more deeply rooted opinion that Serbia, after her two wars, is completely exhausted, and that a war against Serbia would in fact merely

*R. W. Seaton-Watson, "The War and Democracy," London, 1915.

mean a military expedition to be concluded by a speedy occupation. It is also believed that such a war could be brought to an end before Europe could intervene.

The Austrian Note

It was at 6 P. M. on July 23 that the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade handed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the note embodying the demands of Austria, and insisting on a reply within forty-eight hours.

The Serbian Government was charged with fomenting a revolutionary propaganda having for its object the detachment of part of the territories of Austria-Hungary from the monarchy. It was asserted, though no proof was given, and dossier communicated, that the Serajevo assassinations were planned and the murderers equipped in Belgrade.

The following demands were included in the note:

The Royal Serbian Government will publish in the Journal Officiel of July 26, and as an army order, a condemnation of the anti-Austrian propaganda and of all officers and officials who have taken part in it.

The Royal Serbian Government will undertake besides:

1. To suppress all publications inciting to hatred or contempt of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the tendency of which is directed against that power's territorial integrity.

2. To dissolve immediately the Narodna Odbrana and all other societies or affiliations which foster an anti-Austrian propaganda.

3. To eliminate without delay from the Serbian schools any members of the staffs or vehicles of instruction with anti-Austrian tendencies.

4. To remove from the army and the civil service a number of officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda, whose names will be communicated by the Austrian Government.

5. To accept the collaboration in Serbia of agents appointed by the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the suppression of the subversive movement.

6. To institute a judicial inquiry with regard to the accomplices to the plot of June 28, residing in Serbian territory; Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in this investigation.

7. To arrest at once Major Tankositch and Milan Ciganovitch, both of whom are implicated in the assassination.

8. To prevent the illicit trade in arms and explosives across the frontier, and to punish those who assisted the murderers to cross the frontier.

9. To furnish explanations regarding the hostile and unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian functionaries at home and abroad since the outrage of June 28.

10. To notify the Austro-Hungarian Government without delay that the measures enumerated above have been duly carried out.

A reply is expected at the latest on Saturday, July 25, at 6 P. M.

So secret had the contents of the note been kept from the representatives of the powers—except the German Ambassador Tschirschky, who was understood to have co-operated in drafting it—that when its contents were published on the 24th all of them were dumfounded. The French and British Ambassadors and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires held the view that the step taken by Austria-Hungary must be considered not as a note but as an ultimatum. They expressed indignation at its form, its contents, and the time limit, and they also declared it to be inacceptable.

It was not intended to be accepted, and all Vienna went wild with jubilation at the certainty of war, a short war and a merry one, or rather an "execution,"* to be rushed to a termination before the powers of the Entente had time to decide on a course of action; for Austria-Hungary had been assured by Herr von Tschirschky that the conflict would be localized, that Germany would keep the ring and that Russia must remain passive.

It was indeed a fact that neither Serbia nor Russia wanted war, and before the expiration of the time limit Serbia handed in a reply to the note, in which she exceeded all expectations in the direction of conciliation. The Serbian Government unreservedly accepted all the demands of Austria-Hungary, except Nos. 5 and 6, and promised to revise those articles of the Constitution (e. g., Article 22 on the liberty of the press) which stood in the way of these demands.

With regard to Nos. 5 and 6, further explanations were requested; the participation in the inquiries and investigations of Austrian functionaries could only be accepted in so far as it should

*On July 25, in a conversation with the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Herr von Jagow said that what Vienna intended against Serbia was not a war, but an "execution."

conform with international equity and with the maintenance of friendly relations as between State and State.

Furthermore, if the manner of carrying out the different clauses enumerated above were not entirely satisfactory to Austria-Hungary, the Serbian Government was ready to refer any point either to The Hague Tribunal or the powers who had taken a part in the settlement of March 21, 1909.

Declaration of War

A conciliatory answer was neither expected nor wanted, however; that very evening the reply was rejected and the Austrian Minister instructed to leave Belgrade; on the 28th Austria declared war on Serbia.

Within the next two days Austria awoke to the startling fact that Russia was beginning to move. In spite of the German Ambassador's assurances that the Czar would not and could not fight, he had decided to intervene! A bully likes a fight best when his opponent is much smaller than himself; at this appearance of a full-grown adversary Vienna pulled a very long face, and on July 21 the Ballplatz suddenly consented to eliminate from the ultimatum those demands which involved a violation of the sovereignty of Serbia, to discuss certain others, and, in short, to reopen the question. It was too late. Germany, having jockeyed Austria into a position from which there was no escape, declared war on Russia the next day.

The "Punitive Expeditions"

When on the evening of July 25 the Crown Prince Alexander, acting as Prince Regent, signed the order for mobilization, Serbia was as entirely unprepared for war in every respect, save actual experience of warfare, as any country that has ever been summoned to take the field in self-defense. Little or none of the recent wastage had as yet been made good. The orders placed abroad for cannon, rifles, ammunition, clothing, and stores had not yet been carried out; heavy guns, automobiles, flying machines were lacking. During the campaign which followed, it frequently happened that a regiment went into the firing line with one rifle for every two men, those who were unarmed taking both the place and the weapons of those who fell.

The declaration of war on the 28th was followed by a desultory bombardment of the unfortified Serbian capital from batteries on the opposite shore and monitors on the river. This, however, was the only action taken during the first few days, and Austria's failure to strike while Belgrade lay defenseless and open to easy occupation is significant testimony to her alarm at the European situation and anxiety to compromise.

It was impossible for the Serbian armies to line the Austro-Serbian frontier, which extends to 340 miles, especially as in Summer the Save and the Drina are easily forded at numerous points. Voyvoda (Field Marshal) Putnik therefore fell back upon the traditional lines of defense, and, while the Government withdrew from Belgrade to Nish, he grouped the main armies in the Shumadija on the line Palanka-Arandjelovats-Lazarevts, whence they could rapidly move either north or west. Strong detachments were posted at Valyevo and Uzhitse, and outposts stationed at every important point on the frontier, after which all the General Staff could do was to wait till the enemy's plan of invasion materialized.

The First Invasion

At the beginning of August, Belgrade, Semendria, and Gradishte were subjected to vigorous bombardment, and a number of attempts to cross the Danube were made and repulsed with heavy losses, one Austrian regiment having been practically wiped out. The Serbian staff knew, however, that several army corps were stationed in Bosnia, and refused to be misled by these feints on the Danube. Attempts followed to cross the Drina at Lubovia and Ratsha, and the Save at Shabats, and these were looked upon as more significant. Desultory fighting round places as far apart as Obrenovats and Vishegrad continued until Aug. 12, when the first penetration of Austrian troops into Serbia was signaled from

Losnitsa. At that town and at Leshnitsa the Thirteenth Army Corps effected a crossing, while on the same day the Fourth Army Corps crossed the Save to the north of Shabats, and other troops the Drina at Zvornik and Lubovia. By the 14th, over a front of about one hundred miles, six great columns had crossed the rivers and were converging on Valyevo.

The great bulk of the invaders had entered by the valley of the Jadar; the Third Serbian Army and part of the Second Army now advanced with all possible speed to meet them; meanwhile the remainder of the Second Army was ordered to block the advance from Shabats. The Austrian plan was obviously to isolate and overwhelm the Second and Third Serbian Armies in the wedge of land between the Save, the Drina, and the Jadar; this object once attained, the road to Valyevo and Kraguyevats lay open, and Serbia was at the mercy of the invader.

On the 14th the Austrians were brought to a temporary halt by the Serbian detachments retreating from Losnitsa, who dug themselves in across the Jadar Valley at Jarebitsa, and gave the main armies time to hasten westward by forced marches; but the first real shock of battle came on the 16th when the Austrian column of almost 80,000 men, advancing from Leshnitsa to the north of the Tzer Mountains, was heavily defeated and routed at Belikamen, two regiments having been annihilated. Pursuing their advantage, the Serbians drove in a wedge between the Austrian forces advancing from Shabats and those operating south of the Tzer Mountains along the Jadar. From this moment the Shabats and the Jadar campaign became distinct operations.

At the same time, south of the Tzer, a violent and indecisive action had taken place, and the Serbians were at length compelled to evacuate Jarebitsa on finding their left wing threatened by a force advancing, in hitherto unsuspected strength, from Krupani. The retirement was completed by the morning of the 17th.

On Aug. 18 the Crown Prince Alexander, having thrown the Austrians back upon Shabats and brought up reinforcements south of the Tzer, deployed his army on a front of thirty-five miles, extending from Leshnitsa to the neighborhood of Lubovia. Inspired with memories of Kumanovo and Prilip, the Serbians gradually forced their way westward, along the Tzer and Iverak ranges, and down each bank of the Jadar, throwing the enemy back upon Leshnitsa and Losnitsa.

Aug. 19 was the decisive day of the struggle; the Austrians gave way at every point; their retreat along the valleys was shelled by the Serbian guns advancing along the intervening heights, and gradually converted into a rout, in which rifle and bayonet completed the work of the guns. By the 23d the Serbian armies, after taking quantities of prisoners and artillery, had hurled what was left of the Austrians back across the Drina. Thus ended the five days' engagement which will be known as the battle of the Jadar.

In the meantime strong Serbian forces had crossed the Dobrava Valley and advanced on Shabats, round which the Austrians had fortified a wide circle. Violent fighting took place on the 21st and 22d, on which day the Serbian troops worked their way round to the western approaches of the town. They tightened their cordon on the 23d, and during the night brought up siege artillery. When the bombardment had begun on the morning of the 24th, it was discovered that the Austrians had decamped, after murdering in cold blood fifty-eight prisoners from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Serbian Regiments, whose bodies were found piled up in three rows in a private house. By 4 P. M. the Serbians had reached the banks of the Save, and the first invasion of Serbia was at an end. The Austrians' explanation of their retreat, after the "successful accomplishment" of their incursion into the enemy's territory, on account of "more important operations at other points," is still fresh in public memory.

As a result of their attempt to "execute" Serbia, the Austrians had lost 8,000 dead, 4,000 prisoners, and about

AVIATION CAMP OF THE ALLIED ARMIES AT SALONIKI

The Curious Effect of the Circular Tents Is Accentuated by the Rings of Flower Beds

(Official French Photograph)

JERUSALEM, THREATENED WITH CAPTURE BY A BRITISH ARMY

The British Expedition From Egypt Has Driven the Turks Back as Far as Jerusalem. The View Here Given Is Looking Toward the Mount of Olives

30,000 wounded; forty-six cannon, thirty machine guns, and 140 ammunition wagons, besides an enormous mass of stores and transport. The Serbian troops had lost 3,000 dead and 15,000 wounded.

Treatment of Civilians

"Toward such a population there is room for no humanity or generosity."

As for the civilians of the districts invaded, they were treated with a disregard of every law of civilized warfare, and a fiendish refinement of cruelty and malice, probably without parallel in modern history. The instructions issued to the Austrian troops, in the form of leaflets, began with the words: "You are going into a hostile country, the population of which is animated by fanatical hatred, and in which murder is rife in all classes of society. * * * Toward such a population there is room for no feeling of humanity or generosity." The procedure adopted was, on entering any town or village, to shoot out of hand either the Mayor or a number of selected inhabitants, (amounting to fifty at Leshnitsa,) in order to "inspire terror"; to secure hostages among those that remained, and to take prisoners and remove to Austria the youths under military age, "in order that King Peter might remain without soldiers for some years."

At the same time the troops were given to understand that the campaign was an execution, and that they might not only loot and burn and ruin, but murder, violate and torture at will, "because these people were Serbians." The pent-up hatred and natural instinct of the Magyar found expression in deeds which could not, without offense, be described here; as a mild example we may cite the case of a man who in the village of Dvorska was tied to a mill-wheel; knifing him as he was whirled round was then engaged in by the soldiers as a game of skill.

Extortion of money from a woman by the threat to kill her babe was common, and generally followed by the murder of both; wanton mutilation was commoner still; all this during the invasion. The record of the Austrian retreat is probably one of the blackest chapters in the history of mankind; whole families were burned alive, or systematically bayonetted and laid out in rows by the roadside; the treatment of the female population can only be hinted at; in their case the final act of murder must be looked on as a crowning mercy.

In the track of the army that fell back on Losnitsa followed a small group of doctors, officials, and engineers of Serbian, Dutch, and Swiss nationality, who reported circumstantially, and photographed, what they found. A day will come when the indictment thus constituted must be met by the Magyar race at the bar of public opinion.

It was not to be expected that Austria would accept as definite the blow inflicted on her military prestige at the battle of the Jadar. Having made good the losses in men and equipment, the enemy returned to the attack in September, and made a fresh attempt to invade the Matshva district and to occupy the left bank of the Jadar.

They were brought to an early halt, and again flung back across the Drina and the Save, retaining possession only of some of the heights of the Gutshevo and Boranya Mountains, with the territory to the immediate west, and of a small tract of land in the Matshva plain which was commanded by the guns of the river monitors. For six weeks they were held in these positions by the Serbian armies, who defended a line of close on a hundred miles of trenches with a totally inadequate force and supplies, and under a strain which no troops could long endure.

The Second Invasion

By the beginning of November a retirement to a shorter and stronger line of defense became imperative, and the staff decided to move right back to the Kolubara River. The Austrians immediately advanced in overwhelming numbers, and five columns totaling 250 battalions of infantry with their artillery and cavalry streamed into the north-western territory. After fierce fighting they gained command of the Suvobor Mountains, the key to the whole district; this catastrophe made it impossible to

hold the Kolubara line, Belgrade was evacuated, and preparations were made to abandon, if need be, Kraguyevats and the arsenal. By the end of November the Austrians had extended on a line reaching from Tshavtshak to Belgrade, and were preparing to swing round, with the Suvobor Mountains as a pivot, on the Mladenovats to the northeast, and toward Kraguyevats to the southeast, an enveloping movement which must have ended in the capture of the whole Serbian Army.

The weak resistance hitherto opposed to the Austrian invasion was not due, however, to lack of stamina or a deterioration of morale among the Serbian troops, fatigued and worn though they certainly were. Retreat was made imperative by an almost total lack of ammunition, either for rifles or for the artillery. The bulk of the Serbian field

ordnance is of French manufacture, and the French were themselves too hard pressed to make regular delivery of these. Whole batteries of guns were reduced to six rounds apiece, which were held in reserve against an extreme emergency. At the same time the retreat was in part deliberate and carefully planned, for when later Voyvoda Putnik was asked how he had effected the crushing defeat of the Austro-Hungarian troops, he answered laconically: "All my strategy consisted in placing between the enemy's fighting line and their impedimenta the Serbian national mud."

By the end of November new guns and large supplies of ammunition from the British ordnance factories had been landed and were being conveyed into Serbia with all possible dispatch. At some points of the line of battle the position was almost desperate, and it may not be without interest to repeat here an incident which occurred at this time and which was related to the present writer by King Peter's cousin, Price Alexis Karageorgevitch, on the occasion of the latter's recent visit to London. The aged ruler of Serbia mounted his charger and rode up to the trenches, where his brave peasants crouched with bayonets fixed to empty rifles, and exclaimed: "My dear brothers, you have sworn allegiance to your country and to your King: from this latter oath I release you. You are at liberty to return to your homes; your aged King has come to take your place, for you must be more than worn out." With these words he dashed forward, his drawn sword in his right hand and a Browning pistol in his left. His peasants followed with a cheer and made a bayonet charge which caused a panic in the enemy's lines.

The Austrian Debacle

In the meantime the long-expected ammunition had arrived, and on Dec. 3, to the Austrians' amazement, the whole of their front was subjected to a sudden and violent offensive. On the 4th Suvobor was stormed, the Austrian centre was pierced, and the right wing scattered in headlong flight along the road to Valyevo. By the 7th the Serbians were back on a line extending from Lazarevats to Valyevo, and thence to Uzhitse, and the enemy fleeing toward the Drina, which they crossed in disorder two days later.

The Austrians' right clung to their positions for a few days to the north and west of Maldenovats, and on the 7th and 8th made determined efforts to break through. They were repulsed with fearful losses and compelled to give ground, though they fought with the greatest obstinacy at every step of their retreat; on the 12th they were compelled to fall back upon Belgrade. The heights to the south of the capital had been fortified with extensive earthworks and gun emplacements and formed positions of great strength, but the Austrian troops were by now too demoralized to hold them and gave way on the 14th. They were still fleeing across the Save when, on the morning of the 15th, some Serbian batteries unlimbered on the surrounding heights and shelled the pontoon bridge, rendering further escape impossible.

The Austrians left behind them over 40,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, with the transport and stores of a vast army.

So extraordinary was the Serbian rally, and so overwhelming the catastrophe that had befallen the Austrian arms, that for some days Europe refused to credit the news from Belgrade. As its full import was grasped, the Allies also realized their indebtedness to their Balkan ally; nor, we may well believe, will it, on the day of reckoning, be forgotten.

Crucifixion of a People

Almost a whole year passed in relative quiet; the Austro-Hungarians had obviously enough of their chastising of Serbia. Count Tisza, then Prime Minister of the Monarchy, declared that the Hapsburg forces were "not a match" for the Serbian experienced warriors. Simultaneously with his admission the oldest and most patriotic German newspaper, Die Vossische Zeitung, in its editorial columns, suggested that a separate peace should be made with Serbia, guaranteeing the absolute integrity of

her kingdom and granting her, as compensation, the "nobody's land" of Albania, from which its comical 'mpret had fled long since.

But Serbia continued her preparations for an eventual new foe, who, on the east and south of the kingdom, was sharpening his sword and fortifying his frontiers. The credulous Sir Edward Grey and his "wait and see" colleague were too deaf to the voice of the Serbian sage, Mr. Pashitch, who, in early June, 1915, informed the British Government that Prince Bülow had brought to Sofia a draft of the Treaty of Alliance and a military convention between the Central Powers and the Kingdom of Bulgaria.

What Mr. Pashitch required was a sanction, on the part of the Allies, of Serbia's timely action against isolated Bulgaria, in order to prevent the latter's intervention at a moment when the troops of King Peter would be too busily engaged in resisting a fresh attempt from the north. But the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs was still nursing the hope that a Balkan league could be renewed. This futile course of action—or, to be less incorrect, inaction—gave ample opportunity for Bulgaria to make good the wastage suffered in her disaster in the battle of Bregalnitsa in July of the previous year. According to her well-established tradition she awaited the moment when the fourth punitive expedition—this time composed chiefly of the best German Imperial Armies and of what was still left of the Austro-Hungarian forces—under the ingenious leadership of General Mackensen, penetrated far into the desolated Serbian land, to stab in the back the heroically resisting Serbian armies.

It is impossible to ascertain at this juncture the exact strength of the Teutonic forces advancing through Serbia. Certain writers assert that the Serbian armies—or what was still left of them—were outnumbered as ten to one by the combined forces of General Mackensen and those of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria. The Serbians fought desperately on both fronts, and, while the army officers were renewing their oath at Stalatch (in Central Serbia) either to stop the invaders or to perish to the last man, suddenly came from France and Great Britain, not the long expected and officially promised help, but the wise advice: "Sauve qui peut!" The advice was good indeed, for, had the Serbians not followed it, they would have lost not only their land but also every one of their men. And after almost three years of continuous triumph of the Serbian arms over the Turks, the treacherous Bulgarians and the Babel-like Austro-Hungarian "punitive expeditions," a proud people, not a defeated army, had to retreat! But where? Surely not to Greece, Serbia's ally!

Horrors of the Exodus

Before the general exodus of the Serbian people had begun, the German Imperial Government, in chivalrous recognition of Serbian bravery, offered to the Nish Government a comparatively liberal peace, by which, so we are informed, the integrity of the Serbian territory was guaranteed. Moreover, if the Serbian armies would only simulate a resistance, but in truth leave a free passage to Salonki for the combined Austro-German forces, not only Albania but also so much of the Serbian-populated provinces in Austria-Hungary would be yielded as the dignity of the Dual Monarchy would permit. Although the Serbian Government had no specific treaties of alliance with either of the Entente Powers—the only one that had been concluded being that with Greece—and despite the imminent cataclysm which threatened from all the cardinal points, the Serbian Skupshtina, after a spirited and memorable speech delivered by Mr. Pashitch in which he accentuated that "it were better to die in beauty than to live in shame," unanimously decided to offer a stubborn resistance to the invaders, while the noncombatants were ordered to retreat through the rocky fastnesses of Albania to Durazzo, where British ships waited to transport them further.

More than one volume could be written on the horrors of that exodus, which stands unique in the history of mankind. The scenes from Dante's "Inferno" are but pallid shadows in comparison with

those in which a nation of hard-striving and honest soil-tillers played in reality to the amusement of the powers of darkness. Tens of thousands were dying in silence on the roadsides, afflicted by diseases, utter exhaustion, and hunger. The improvised graves gave up their dwellers, and corpses of domestic animals in a strange conjunction were intermingled with those of fathers and mothers of families, peasants and Senators, beggars and the wealthiest members of an old society. The bitter frost prevented the survivors from digging out the roots of young firs and pines, the only vegetation yet possible in the desolate Albanian mountains, and many were found frozen in the act of securing that last remnant of food. The exhausted women, once happy maidens, brides or mothers, either staggered, with bound-up eyes, over the narrow trails, on both sides of which yawned bottomless gulfs, or, in utter exhaustion, crawled on their knees, clutching convulsively at the rocks with their still rosy nails. Now and then one could see a mother standing knee-deep in snow, erect as a statue, pressing to her bosom a sleeping babe, and fixing with her glassy eye every passer-by; and if some one, who had still a remnant of compassion or was not as yet maddened with his own fate, warned her to move, he would discover that she had long been dead. Or a volunteer, crouching on one knee and clutching his rifle, ready to fire at enemy or friend, would remain in that position until some Arnaout, puzzled by the irony, should come to him, and, cutting the weapon out of his frozen fingers, thrust the body back to its icy grave.

Such was the soundless death of a once happy people.

The Serbian State may eventually be restored, but there will be no Serbians to people it again. They have not been "punished"; that is what one does to naughty children; but one of the oldest Slav races has been exterminated—crucified—never to be resurrected.

The Torpedoing of the Westminster

The British Admiralty has published the following note:

The degree of savagery to which the Germans have attained in their submarine policy of sinking merchant ships at sight would appear to have reached its climax in the sinking of the British steamship Westminster, proceeding in ballast from Torre Annunziata to Port Said.

On Dec. 14 this vessel was attacked by a German submarine without warning, when 180 miles from the nearest land, and was struck by two torpedoes in quick succession, which killed four men. She sank in four minutes.

This ruthless disregard of the rules of international law was followed by a deliberate attempt to murder the survivors. The officers and crew, while effecting their escape from the sinking ship in boats, were shelled by the submarine at a range of 3,000 yards. The master and chief engineer were killed outright, and their boat sunk. The second and third engineers and three of the crew were not picked up, and are presumed to have been drowned.

Great Britain, together with all other civilized nations, regards the sinking without warning of merchant ships with detestation, but seeing the avowed policy of the German Government, and the refusal to consider the protests of neutrals, it is recognized that mere protests are unavailing.

The Captain of the German submarine must, however, have been satisfied with the effectiveness of his two torpedoes, and yet he proceeded to carry out in cold blood an act of murder which cannot possibly be justified by any urgency of war, and can only be regarded in the eyes of the world as a further proof of the degradation of German honor.

The Sufferings of Neutral Greece

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

Greek-American Journalist

GREECE neutral—why? Is not Turkey fighting, and Bulgaria, too, and is not the warfare of these two traditional enemies a sufficient inducement for the Hellenic people to join forces with those who battle to reduce German and Austrian power, Turkish barbarism, and Bulgarian greed, to a state in which they will no more be dangerous to mankind? What does Greece expect at the close of the war, when, in case of Entente victory, she will find herself without friends, while, should Germany win, Turkey and Bulgaria will crush every hope of a greater Hellas?

These questions and many others are persistently asked by the friends of Greece, who cannot explain an attitude condemned from every side as treacherous, faithless, cowardly, ungrateful, and generally out of keeping with the best traditions of the Greek people.

Greece has vainly tried to defend her course to the world. She has been prevented from so doing by a number of causes, chief of which is the denial of free speech and free intercourse with the outside world. In addition to that, Greece, besides giving explanations to the world at large, is forced to defend her actions even against a turbulent minority at home, which, notwithstanding the general Greek desire for peace, has persistently labored for war while the inducements offered therefor are continually lessening.

This minority is known both in and out of Greece as the Venizelist Party; and this party is first, last, and always a one-man party, existing only by the activity and the strength of its leader, Eleutherios K. Venizelos. This leader, however, has been clever enough to tie up his followers to the fortunes of the Entente, thus monopolizing for himself and his party the sympathies and goodwill with which all Greece follows the struggle of Great Britain and France.

Between the average Greek, however, and the regular Venizelist this difference exists: the former does not push his affection for the Entente to the extent of going to war for it; and this attitude is due to fear that Greece, by entering the European war, would be destroyed, as Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were destroyed. In other words, we of Greece love the Entente, but not to the extent of committing suicide, especially when it is apparent that our sacrifice would not in the least affect the fortunes of the European war.

The Venizelist Greek, on the other hand, is loud in his sympathies for the Entente, and, besides that, he wants rather to commit suicide at the side of Great Britain and France than emerge living and disgraced from the great struggle.

Error of the Venizelists

Since the beginning of the war Venizelos has aligned himself with the Entente Powers and assumed the leadership of the so-called war party. He thought at that time—and in his opinion he had a large majority of people agreeing with him—that the European war would end shortly in an overwhelming victory of the Entente, and insisted that Greece ought to enter the struggle and secure those advantages which would be denied her if she stood out of the fray; contrary to this view, all the Greek military factors, including King Constantine and the Hellenic General Staff, were convinced that the war would last longer than any politician imagined; that the bloody game was being played on too large a scale to allow small participants any chance of success. Events subsequently justified this latter view against the Venizelos idealism. One after the other, all the little nationalities entering the war were knocked out in a few rounds; Greece succeeded in preserving her life despite tremendous pressure

brought to bear by Venizelos and the Entente Governments, and it is on that account that she has had to suffer, in addition to other indignities, an internal revolution in Saloniki and a rigorous blockade, which has continued since Dec. 1 of last year.

And yet the sufferings of Greece are the result of circumstances rather than of her mistakes. Could a little country like Greece do anything to affect the final result of the European war? The question is one to be answered with a smile by those who have an intimate knowledge of what the European conflict means. Yet the belligerent coalitions actually seem to have assumed that the side which had the assistance of Greece would be the victor in the gigantic conflict. Only under this assumption can we justify the intensity of the activity of both the Entente and the Teuton allies in Athens, which activity is responsible for all the troubles of Greece in the last months.

To go back over the history of the elapsed twelvemonth would be to repeat those things which are known to almost every reader of the daily press. The period may be recapitulated by saying that Greece was united in a policy of neutrality up to March, 1915, when Venizelos came out as the champion of immediate participation in the Dardanelles campaign. King Constantine and the Greek General Staff rejected his advice on grounds of military inexpediency, and subsequent events justified them. Venizelos resigned, but at the same time declared that should Greece enter the war at that time she was to secure important territorial concessions in Asia Minor; provided, however, she offered Greek Eastern Macedonia to Bulgaria.

The Gounaris Ministry, assuming power after Venizelos resigned, offered to cooperate with the Entente forces, but he asked, as a sine qua non condition, a written guarantee from the Entente to the effect that Greek territorial integrity on the Balkan Peninsula would be safeguarded against any covetous attack from Bulgaria at the time when the Greek troops would be fighting overseas in Asia Minor. This guarantee the Entente could not give, as it was trying to secure Bulgarian intervention also at the expense of Greece.

Following the dissolution of the Greek Chamber, an election was held on May 31, (June 13,) 1915, in which Venizelos won 180 seats out of a total of 316. The Entente hailed that result as a victory of the Greek war party; but Venizelos had avoided the issue in his campaign, and the people, although expressing their confidence in him, did not vote for war.

The Treaty with Serbia

In the first days of October, 1915, the great Teuton drive against Serbia began, and almost simultaneously Bulgaria attacked the Serbs from the rear; Venizelos, working on the assumption that the treaty with Serbia obliged Greece to attack Bulgaria, ordered a general mobilization of the Greek forces, a measure approved by the King, who wanted to forestall a possible attack from Bulgaria. King Constantine and the majority of the Greek people knew that the Serbian treaty was Balkan in its character, and was contracted at a time when the possibility of a European conflict did not enter the minds of at least the Greek delegates who signed it.

Greece was willing to stand by Serbia had she been attacked by a Balkan State; but Serbia was attacked by Germany, Austria, and Turkey, as well as Bulgaria; and meantime she was assisted in her struggle by such powerful allies as Russia, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Nevertheless, the Greek military command had good reason to expect an irresistible Teuton avalanche in the Balkans; it knew beforehand that the Serbian campaign was doomed, and also knew that if Greece attacked the Central Empires a small addition to the Teuton and Bulgar forces would crush her as surely and as effectively as they did Belgium and Serbia.

That King Constantine and the Greek military chiefs were right in their calculations is shown from this simple fact: In October, 1915, Germany had not suffered the losses of the Verdun campaign, which started in February, 1916; she had not suffered the losses of the Galician

campaign under General Brusiloff, which started later in May of the same year, and she had not suffered the losses incidental to the Anglo-French offensive on the Somme, which took place late in the Summer of last year. Now, the German losses in the Verdun, Galicia, and Somme campaigns must have been above one million men, if we take the lowest estimate of both sides. Yet, notwithstanding these losses, Germany was able to crush Rumania in three months. Does any one imagine that had Greece entered the war before Germany lost that million men, she could have saved herself from destruction?

But when we speak of Greek destruction we also have to face this naïve objection: Greece is an island kingdom, and Great Britain rules the seas. Undoubtedly this is true to a certain extent; but Greece has two million Greek population in Asia Minor, and has another three million Greeks in the lands which would have been invaded, not by the Germans and Austrians, but by the Bulgars and the Turks, who would have made a short job of the extermination of Hellenism in the peninsula and in Asia Minor. The fate of the Armenians points clearly enough to what the Greeks in Asia Minor could expect at the hands of the Turk; and as for Bulgarian sympathy toward the Greek, the less said the better.

All this goes to show that Greece was right when she followed the advice of her King to stay out of the war, and to adopt a program of "safety first."

Venizelos Evaded Issue

Venizelos resigned a second time in the same year, when his advice for intervention was rejected. And as no Government in Greece is constitutional without a Parliamentary majority behind it, the King ordered a new election to be held on Dec. 6-19, 1916, in order to have the people decide for war or peace. Venizelos in this instance not only dodged the issue put squarely before him, but in addition stayed away from the polls with his whole party, and gave proof of an untimely weakness when he clamored that the entire population was with him in a program of immediate entrance into war. When one takes into account that in December, 1915, the German and Bulgar armies had cleared Serbia of the Serbian troops, one can easily infer the actual extent of the alleged Greek belligerency on which the Venizelist program was based.

From October, 1915, to June, 1916, Greece, although neutral and benevolent to the Entente, suffered all the trials of a belligerent country.

Venizelos just before his first resignation in March, 1915, had offered the Entente the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos to be used as naval bases against the Dardanelles; following the landing of the Anglo-French troops in Saloniki, which was effected through an invitation by Venizelos, and in violation of Article 99 of the Hellenic Constitution, General Sarrail took over the Greek forts of Karabournou in Saloniki, and about the same time a French fleet secured possession of Corfu, where the broken and sick Serbian Army gathered to reorganize. Railway communication between Saloniki and Eastern Macedonia was severed following the blowing up of the great Demir Hissar Bridge by the Allies, and the Dova Tepé fort on the Bulgarian border passed under allied control shortly afterward; then naval bases were established by the Entente in the islands of Milo and Castellorizo, and the Teuton Consuls in Saloniki, instead of being ordered away, were arrested by the French forces. Subsequently the allied control was extended to the islands of Chios, Mitylene, Zante, Cefallonia, Crete, and Thassos.

Under suspicion that Greece was sending food to Bulgaria, the whole country was put under a rigid control as far as imports of foodstuffs were concerned, and the people experienced the first taste of a blockade when the wheat and coal ships from America to Piraeus began to be detained for days and weeks in the allied ports of Gibraltar, Algiers, and Malta.

Surrender of Fort Rupel

In the first days of June, 1916, a mixed German-Bulgarian force appeared before the Greek fort of Rupel in Eastern Macedonia and demanded immediate

possession. Had Greece decided to attack the invaders she would have proved, first, that her neutrality was one-sided, and in the second place she would have had to enter the war, not only against Bulgaria, but against the entire combination of the Teuton Powers. In the face of such a contingency Greece, wishing above all to remain neutral, turned over the fort and withdrew her troops.

The Allies, once more disappointed in their hopes to see Greece enter the war, immediately declared martial law all over Macedonia, placed an embargo on Greek shipping, and presented the ultimatum of June 21 with the following demands:

1. Immediate resignation of the Skouloudis Government, which, after Zaimis, took Venizelos's place following the latter's resignation in October, 1915.
2. Appointment of a new Government of a nonpolitical and nonpartisan character.
3. Immediate demobilization of the army.
4. Dissolution of the Chamber, and the holding of a general election, immediately following general demobilization.
5. Substitution of certain police officials suspected of anti-Entente leanings.

King Constantine forthwith complied with the demands of the Entente. Thus the Skouloudis Ministry resigned, Zaïmis again came to power, the army was demobilized in record time, and the police officials were succeeded by others who were acceptable to the Entente.

Greece was getting ready to hold the general election, in accordance with the last demand of the ultimatum, when Venizelos, apprehending disaster at the polls, induced the Entente to hold back its ultimate demand.

This happened because the Greek Army, when demobilized, became the strongest anti-Venizelist factor, and through the organization known as the Reservist League threatened to make any Venizelos victory in the election impossible.

In their eagerness to shift Greek attention to other matters, and with the assurance that Rumania and Italy were to declare war on Germany, the Allies started on their great Balkan offensive in the last days of August, 1916; in order to try once more to get Greece on their side the troops of General Sarrail left the entire East Macedonian frontier unprotected, and when the few Greek troops stationed there attacked the Bulgarian invader, and a number of sanguinary clashes ensued, it was affirmed positively in every Entente capital that Greece was getting in. In order to make Greek participation sure, the Entente dispatched a fleet to Piraeus, had the Teuton Ministers arrested, and took over the Greek fleet in order "to protect it."

The Venizelos Revolt

Greece once more refused to enter the war of destruction. And it was thus that Venizelos, despairing of coming into power as a war leader, or as chief of the Parliamentary majority, left Athens, and after a short cruise in the Aegean, touching Crete and Mitylene, settled down at Saloniki and established his so-called "Provisional Government." His was assumed to be a patriotic movement directed against the Bulgar invader, and for that reason succeeded in having immediately the support of a large number of patriotic Greeks, eager to fight the Bulgar; when, however, these people assembled in Saloniki, they received the impression that the Provisional Government was nothing else than an organized plot of Venizelos to drive King Constantine out of Greece and become himself the dictator of the country. This accomplished, Venizelos thought, there would be no difficulty in having the entire Greek people thrown into the war on the side of the Entente.

Venizelos claimed that he had the Greek people with him, and that the moment he became master in Athens Greece would take the field against the Teutons. The Entente believed the Cretan politician, and gave him every assistance in order that he might succeed in his effort. The Ionian Bank was ordered to place at the disposal of the "Provisional Government", an amount of funds approximating $5,000,000; a number of officers were assigned to train the Venizelist volunteers, and numerous emissaries to the Entente capitals and other cities were sent to preach the gospel of Venizelism against Constantine, the neutralist King. Venizelos counted on fifty thousand

Greeks leaving the United States to place themselves in his army, and on substantial financial support from those who would not volunteer to serve with the troops.

In order to arm his troops Venizelos suggested that the Entente force the Athens Government to turn over its artillery and ammunition to the revolutionists; of course the arms would be used apparently against the Bulgar foe, and as Greece was not willing to fight, the Entente ought to secure those guns and hand them to the Venizelos men.

The Clash in Athens

The Entente with the usual eagerness acceded to the Venizelos demand, and through Admiral Fournet, commanding the allied fleet in Greek waters, demanded peremptorily that the Hellenic Government hand over its arms to the allied forces. The Royal Government, having information that the arms thus demanded were to be used against the established Hellenic régime, refused to comply with the Admiral's ultimatum, and when on Dec. 1 an allied force landed in Athens to take possession of the arms by force, the Greek troops in the capital offered a most stubborn resistance, succeeded in isolating Admiral Fournet, and almost made him a prisoner. They finally drove the invader out, after inflicting and suffering serious losses in the encounter.

It then became apparent that the Venizelist element in Athens had everything ready for a revolution to overthrow the Government and the King, and to establish the rule of the "Provisional Government" in the capital of Greece. The Venizelists were well armed for this purpose, and counted chiefly on the support that the allied troops would afford them in engaging the Greek troops. When Admiral du Fournet became aware that the entire population of Athens was for the King and against Venizelos, he immediately withdrew, and subsequently was punished by his Government.

It was following this "treacherous assault" on the Entente troops by the Greek Army that a new ultimatum was presented to Greece, asking reparation and the transfer of the Greek military forces to the Peloponnesus; in addition the demand for the handing over of the weapons was again repeated. Greece complied with all the other desires of the Entente, but refused to hand over the guns. Thereupon the Entente established a new blockade, which is continuing still.

During well-nigh four months not a single ship was allowed to take any food to Greece; immense misery, starvation, sickness, and a diversity of epidemics have ensued; in vain the Royal Government protested against this inhuman treatment, which is costing scores of lives daily. Every Greek steamer has suspended sailings, and Greece is completely cut off from communication with the outside world.

Venizelos Movement a Failure

Venizelos at the same time is unable to go ahead with his movement. After having spent the $5,000,000 given him by the Entente he has scarcely succeeded in assembling in Saloniki more than 5,000 volunteers; he is today despised by the majority of the Greek people; he is considered as the man who has split his country in two at a time when Hellas ought to present a united front. The Venizelos movement is a failure, and is maintained simply because it has behind it the prestige and the support of the Entente. Tomorrow, should the Entente abandon Saloniki, Venizelos would have to flee for his life.

What profit, therefore, do the Allies expect from a man and a party which cannot count on the sympathy of the majority of the Greek people?

This blockade, this misery, this suffering, of the Greek nation were expected to strengthen the Venizelist movement; but Greece starving and dying will not follow him. The Venizelos movement has ceased to thrill the nation. The Venizelist emissaries in Europe and America may continue their efforts, but neither a volunteer nor a dollar will be lured to Saloniki.

Greece has ceased to be a factor in the European war. Venizelos has ceased to be the powerful leader who could wrest his country from the King of the Hellenes. The Entente were deceived, and

are today pushing the Hellenic people into the arms of their traditional enemies. And the question arises: Is it Venizelos or Greece that the Allies care for? If it is the former, then let them continue the tactics which alienate them from the Greek people. But if it is the latter, then for God's sake don't push that country's sufferings and despair any further. Because the Greek people have done no harm to any one, and history will place the plight of Greece beside that of martyred Belgium when the hour of reckoning comes; and it would be a pity to besmirch the noble struggle of the Allies with such a record of brutality and inhumanity as the Entente is today guilty of in Greece.

King Constantine's Statement of the Wrongs of Greece

KING CONSTANTINE of Greece gave The Associated Press correspondent at Athens a detailed statement on Jan. 14, in which he said that it had been impossible to get the truth about Greece into the newspapers of the Entente countries. After citing false reports in the French press regarding the events of the attempted Venizelos revolution on Dec. 1 and 2, 1916, the King continued:

After all, all we ask is fair play. But it seems almost hopeless to try to get the truth out of Greece to the rest of the world under present circumstances. We have been sorely tried these last two years and we don't pretend to have always been angels under the constant irritation of the ever-increasing allied control of every little thing in our own private life—letters, telegrams, police, everything. Why, do you know that my sister-in-law, Princess Alice of Battenberg, was only permitted to receive a telegram of Christmas greetings from her mother in England by courtesy of the British Legation here?

Moreover, by taking an active hand in our own internal politics, England and France especially have succeeded in alienating an admiration, a sympathy, and a devotion toward them on the part of the Greek people that, at the beginning of the war, was virtually a unanimous tradition. I am a soldier myself and I know nothing about politics, but it seems to me that when you start with almost the whole of a country passionately in your favor and end with it almost unanimously against you, you haven't succeeded very well. And I quite understand how those responsible for such a result seek to excuse themselves by exaggerating the difficulties they have had to contend with in Greece—by talking about Greek treachery and the immense sinister organization of German propaganda that has foiled them at every turn, and so on.

The only trouble with that is that they make us pay for the errors of their policy. The people of Greece are paying for them now in suffering and death from exposure and hunger, while France and England starve us out because they have made the mistake of assuming that their man Venizelos could deliver the Greek Army and the Greek people to the Entente Powers whenever they wanted to use Greece for their advantage, regardless of the interests of Greece as an independent nation.

There are just two things about our desperate struggle to save ourselves from destruction that I am going to ask The Associate Press to try to make clear to the people of America. The rest will have to come out some day—all the blockades and censorships in the world cannot keep the truth down forever. Understand, I am not presuming to sit in judgment on the Entente Powers. I appreciate that they have got other things to think about besides Greece. What I say is meant to help them do justice to themselves and to us, a small nation.

The first point is this: We have two problems on our hands here in Greece—an internal one and an external one. The Entente Powers have made the fundamental mistake of considering them both as one. They said to themselves: "Venizelos is the strongest man in Greece and he is heart and soul with us. He can deliver the Greeks whenever he wants to. Let us back Venizelos, therefore, and when we need the Greek Army he will turn it over to us."

Well, they were wrong, as I think you have seen for yourself since you have been here. Venizelos was perhaps the strongest man in Greece, as they thought. But the moment he tried to turn over the Greek Army to the Entente, as if we were a lot of mercenaries, he became the weakest man in Greece and the most despised. For in Greece no man delivers the Greeks. They decide their own destinies as a free people, and not England, France, and Russia together can change

them, neither by force of arms nor by starvation. And they have tried both. As for Venizelos himself—you had a man once in your country, a very great man, who had even been Vice President of the United States, who planned to split the country in two and set himself up as a ruler in the part he separated from the rest. I refer to Aaron Burr. But he only plotted to do a thing which he never accomplished. Venizelos, with the assistance of the allied powers—and he never could have done it without them—has succeeded for the time being in the same kind of a seditious enterprise. You called Aaron Burr a traitor. Well, that's what the Greek people call Venizelos.

The impression has been spread broadcast that Venizelos stands in Greece for liberalism and his opponents for absolutism and militarism. It is just the other way around. Venizelos stands for whatever suits his own personal book. His idea of government is an absolute dictatorship—a sort of Mexican government, I take it. When he was Premier he broke every man who dared to disagree with him in his own party. He never sought to express the will of the people; he imposed his will on the people. The Greek people will not stand that. They demand a constitutional Government in which there is room for two parties—Liberals and Conservatives—each with a definite program, as in the United States or England or any other civilized country, not a personal Government, where the only party division is into Venizelists and anti-Venizelists.

The other thing I wanted to say is about the effect of the so-called German propaganda in Greece. The Entente Powers seem to have adopted the attitude that everybody who is not willing to fight on their side must be a pro-German. Nothing could be falser in respect of Greece. The present resentment against the Allies in Greece—and there is a good deal of it, especially since the blockade—is due to the Allies themselves and not to any German propaganda. The proof of it is that when the so-called German propaganda was at its height there was little or no hostility in Greece toward the Allies. It has only been since the diplomatic representatives of all the Central Empires and everybody else whom the Anglo-French secret police indicated as inimical to the Entente have been expelled from Greece, and any German propaganda rendered virtually impossible, that there has grown up any popular feeling against the Entente.

Part of this is due to the Entente's identification of its greater cause with the personal ambitions of Venizelos, but a great deal has also been due to the very unfortunate handling of the allied control in Greece. When you write a personal letter of no possible international significance to a friend or relative here in Athens, and post it in Athens, and it is held a week, opened, and half its contents blacked out, it makes you pretty cross—not because it is unspeakable tyranny in a free country at peace with all the world, but because it is so silly. For, after all, if you want to plot with a man living in the same town you don't write him a letter. You put on your hat and go to see him. Half the people in Greece have been continually exasperated by just this sort of unintelligent control, which has irritated the Greek people beyond any telling. But to say that they are pro-Germans because they dislike having their private letters opened or their homes entered without any legal authority whatsoever is childish. It's a vicious circle. The Entente takes exceptionally severe measures because it alleges the Greeks are pro-German. The Greeks very naturally resent the measures thus taken, as would the Americans or anybody else. The Entente then turns around and says: "You see, that proves that the Greeks are pro-German, as we suspected."

The fact of the matter is that there is even now less pro-German feeling in Greece than in the United States, Holland, or any of the Scandinavian countries. And there is far less anti-Entente propaganda in Greece even now than there is anti-Hellenic propaganda in England, France, and Russia. The whole feeling of the Greek people toward the Entente Powers today is one of sorrow and disillusionment. They had heard so much of this "war for the defense of little nations" that it had been a very great shock to them to be treated, as they feel, very badly, even cruelly, for no reason and to nobody's profit. And more than anything else, after all the Greek Government and Greek people have done to help the Entente Powers since the very outbreak of the war, they deeply resent being called pro-German because they have not been willing to see their own country destroyed as Serbia and Rumania have been destroyed.

I have done everything I could to dissipate the mistrust of the powers, I have given every possible assurance and guarantee. Many of the military measures that have been demanded I myself suggested with a view to tranquilizing the Allies, and myself voluntarily offered to execute. My army, which any soldier knows could never conceivably have constituted a danger to the allied forces in Macedonia, has been virtually put in jail in the Peloponnesus. My people have been disarmed, and are today powerless, even against revolution, and they know from bitter experience that revolution is a possibility so long as the Entente Powers continue to finance the openly declared revolutionary party of Venizelos. There isn't enough food left in Greece to last a fortnight. Not the Belgians themselves under German rule have been rendered more helpless than are we in Greece today.

Isn't it, therefore, time calmly to look at conditions in Greece as they are, to give over a policy dictated by panic, and to display a little of that high quality of faith which alone is the foundation of friendship?

The Story of Saloniki

By James B. Macdonald

NINETY years ago, when the Hellenes were fruitlessly fighting for their independence, George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, induced France and Russia to join his country in freeing them. The allied fleet destroyed that of Egypt at Navarino, and Greece again became a political entity in 1832 under the protection of Britain, France, and Russia.

The guaranteeing powers agreed to assist the new kingdom financially, to contribute toward the maintenance of a sovereign in suitable state, and that whatever ruler was chosen should not be a member of the British, French, or Russian royal familes. They also agreed that none of the contracting powers should send troops into Greece without the consent of the other guarantors.

Otto, the first King—a son of King Louis I. of Bavaria—was deposed by a national assembly, following a military revolt in 1862. A plebiscite of the people elected Prince Alfred of Great Britain, better known as the Duke of Edinburgh, but the British Government refused to sanction it as being contrary to the agreement with their co-guarantors. The throne was next offered to the Earl of Derby, grandfather of the present War Minister, but declined by him. The British Government then suggested the Danish Prince, William George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, and this nomination was approved by a National Assembly and ratified by the guaranteeing powers.

The new sovereign, George I., was the father of the present King Constantine. As a special mark of good-will, Britain ceded Corfu and the other Ionian Islands to Greece. In 1864 the King accepted a new democratic Constitution drawn up by the National Assembly, and this is the one still in force.

Meanwhile, the relationship between the guaranteeing powers and their ward had not always been harmonious, and coercive measures have had to be resorted to on several occasions. A French army occupied Greece during the Crimean war to prevent the Greeks from making war on Turkey and threatening the allied communications. Toward the close of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 the Hellenes invaded Thessaly, but their claim of territory was set aside in the Treaty of San Stefano. At the instance of Lord Salisbury, two Greek delegates were permitted to address the Berlin Conference, and they obtained a rectification of the frontier.

In 1893 Greece defaulted in her national obligations, and four years later entered upon an unprovoked and aggressive war against Turkey. The Greek Army, under Crown Prince Constantine, was decisively beaten, and the capital lay at the mercy of the victorious Turks when the King telegraphed to the Czar to save Greece. The Czar made personal representations to the Sultan, and peace was arranged. Greece agreed to pay about $15,000,000 for her escapade.

Smarting from disappointment, the military forces in 1909 set aside all constitutional government and substituted the Military League. They expelled Crown Prince Constantine and his brother from the army and threatened the Crown itself. Later the army and navy quarreled, and Venizelos, who at this time came into prominence, persuaded the Military League to dissolve and permit the re-establishment of constitutional government.

In 1912-13 came the first and second Balkan wars, the assassination of King George at Saloniki, and the crowning of King Constantine.

A French military mission had reorganized the Greek Army and equipped it with the latest pattern mountain guns and light howitzers.

In the first war the Bulgars broke the main Turkish resistance at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas, the Serbians

REGION OF ALLIED OPERATIONS IN MACEDONIA.

broke their western armies at Kumanova and Monastir, and King Constantine, after the fight at Yanitza, had a walk-over to Saloniki, where the demoralized Turks surrendered without resistance.

In the second war the Bulgarian objective was to seize Saloniki and to destroy the Greek and Serbian Armies in detail. King Constantine, with a superior Greek Army, fought his first real battle between Saloniki and Seres, and, after a struggle of five days, forced the Bulgars to retire. The King pursued the enemy energetically to the Rhodope Mountains, where the Bulgarians counter-attacked and enveloped both his wings, but the timely intervention of the Rumanians compelled the Bulgars to seek an armistice. This alone saved Constantine's army from discomfiture. The war closed with the Greek Army unbeaten and its morale good.

The Repudiated Treaty

Upon the outbreak of the great war the Serbian Army repulsed the Austrian incursion, and in the following year decisively routed the second army of invasion. During the Summer the attitude of Bulgaria had been uncertain and suspicious, and the Greek Government decided it was time to arm. Greece mobilized on Sept. 24, 1915, and three weeks later Bulgaria declared war on Serbia.

Both Greece and Serbia at the close of the second Balkan war expected that Bulgaria would sooner or later seek revenge, and to insure against this contingency they entered into a secret treaty providing that each would assist the other. Serbia, being attacked in the rear by Bulgaria while confronting Austria-Hungary, called on the Hellenes to assist

them in terms of their mutual agreement. The Venizelos Government acknowledged the obligation and proceeded to fulfill it.

As in duty bound, the Greek Government represented the situation to the three great powers who were guaranteeing the independence of Greece. It so happened that these powers were also allied to Serbia and engaged at the moment in war with the Teutonic States.

The Greek Government stated *inter alia:* that they desired to assist Serbia; that their resources were insufficient to make their intervention effective, as they could muster only 200,000 first-line troops with adequate reserves, and that if Britain and France would assist them with an additional 150,000 men they would take the field against Bulgaria. The western powers agreed, and the matter was arranged. Thirteen thousand Anglo-French troops landed at Saloniki on Oct. 6, 1915, as a first installment, whereupon the political situation changed at Athens.

King Constantine rightly diagnosed the political situation: that the drive eastward through the Balkans to Turkey was the Alpha and Omega of the war so far as his brother-in-law the German Emperor was concerned; that the Austrians were taking the same road, bent upon seizing Albania and Saloniki, and that the invasion of Belgium, France, and Russia was merely side play to engage and hold off the opponents to this eastern adventure. He also inferred that the Asquith Government had mistaken the real political direction of the war. The Teutons were opportunists—gamblers, if you will—in the west, but their heart was in the east.

Constantine erred, however, in supposing that the western powers did not appreciate the political importance of holding Saloniki and Valona (or Avlona) until the end of the war, and that they had no other means of countering the drive to the east than by a major campaign in the Balkans or at the Dardanelles. He concluded that there might be profit for himself in favoring his brother-in-law's ambition and danger to himself in opposing it. King Constantine thereupon reconsidered his previous concurrence in the pourparlers of his Government with the guaranteeing powers, decided that Greece, in the circumstances of a general European war, was not bound by the treaty with Serbia, and accordingly dismissed Venizelos. The latter obtained the suffrage of the electors with an increased majority, but was again dismissed by his sovereign. Since then the King has reigned as an absolute monarch, and his present Ministry professes to be nothing more than the mouthpiece of the King and the army.

New Greece and the Islands have risen in revolt under Venizelos, who has established a Provisional Government at Saloniki, while Old Greece supports the King at Athens. The situation resembles that in England before the civil war in the reign of Charles I. The guaranteeing powers, however, have asserted their authority, have curbed the power of the King, and will no doubt restore the Constitution at a more convenient period.

All the Greeks believe that Constantine is a great military genius, and, while one party would gladly accept him as a constitutional monarch, the other hails him as the successor of Alexander the Great—above all laws, for "himself he is the State." Venizelos, however, reminds Constantine that his father was elected of the people, and that his own title as King is no better than that of his father. Briefly, one party favors the autocracy of Alexander the Great and believes it has found his successor in Constantine, while the other perfers the democracy of the ancient Greek republics, but associated with the hereditary prestige of a constitutional sovereign.

Bulgaria's Military Strength

The population of Bulgaria, according to the census of 1906, comprised: Bulgaria proper, 2,853,704; Eastern Rumelia, 1,174,535; total, 4,028,239. Allowing for territory and extra population gained through the Balkan wars, natural increase of population, and war losses in 1912-13, the pre-war total may be set down as under 5,000,000.

Carried away by the Teutonic successes

in Poland, the British reverse at the Dardanelles, and their own ambition to attain the abortive terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, the Bulgars embarked upon the world war in the belief that it would be a brief one once they threw their weight in the scales. They immediately mobilized every available man down to the youngest class and enrolled about 750,000 men, leaving the women and old men to work the farms. It was essential to their success that the war be brief, because only about 35,000 youths mature every year, and they had no other reserves.

Their attack on the Serbian rear attained its object and made possible the Austrian advance under General von Mackensen. So far their losses had not been great, because their strength had not been tested out in a pitched battle with a well-equipped foe. They had, moreover, proved themselves good fighting material, and were well-backed up by heavy artillery lent by their northern allies.

The Retreat from Serbia

Meanwhile, at Saloniki, the French had landed a division under General Sarrail, the renowned defender of Verdun, and the British had disembarked the heroic remnants of the Tenth Irish Division under Sir Bryan Mahon, who had led the flying column to the relief of Mafeking during the Boer war. There was no Commander in Chief to co-ordinate the movements of the allied forces, who now moved up country, where the French took station on the left around Krivolak and the British on the right around Doiran. General Sarrail endeavored to extend his left flank to get in touch with some 5,000 Serbians who were retreating from Uskub, and were at the moment holding the Babuna Pass, north of Prilip. Owing to the weakness of his force he did not succeed, although his manoeuvre diverted the attention of the Bulgars and enabled the Serbians to escape into Albania.

The allied commanders themselves now had to think about retreating, but were hampered by the Greeks in their rear wrecking trains and endeavoring to prevent stores and ammunition reaching the allied forces from the base at Saloniki. The Government at Athens announced that if the Anglo-French army came back into Greek territory they would intern it. The protecting powers responded with an ultimatum threatening to blockade Greece, whereupon Athens gave way with a bad grace.

In November, 1915, large allied reinforcements arrived at Saloniki, but were not sent up country, partly owing to the threatening attitude of the Greek Army and partly because a retreat from the front had already been decided on. They consisted of one French corps, and two British corps—of which two divisions were veterans from the old regular standing army.

General Sarrail retreated to Ghevgeli with small loss and saved his stores, but on Dec. 7, 1915, he was attacked in force and retired without advising his colleague on the right of his change of position. The British on the right still held their ground in ignorance of the French withdrawal, and were suddenly overwhelmed by a Bulgarian army several times their number. They were only saved from annihilation through the Bulgars not venturing to follow them into Greek territory. The Tenth Irish and a portion of the Twenty-second British Division in support were lost for days in the mountain mists, and some of the sentries were frozen to death in the hills.

The Allies fell back on Saloniki with the Greek Army all around them, truculent and obstructive, and with the Greek guns trained upon the allied camp.

Fortified Camp at Saloniki

General Sarrail was appointed Commander in Chief and instructed to fortify Saloniki, while the guaranteeing powers compelled the Greek King to withdraw his main army from Macedonia and retire it to Old Greece, or the kingdom as it existed prior to the Balkan war of 1912. General Mahon was given a high command in Egypt, and afterward succeeded General Maxwell in command of the troops in Ireland, he himself being an Irishman. General Milne of the Royal Artillery was appointed to the vacancy.

The position at the base was still highly unsatisfactory, mainly due to the Greek King having appointed pro-German sympathizers to all the chief posts throughout Greece. This organization became a network of spying and reporting in the German interest. The inadequate transportation service was further depleted by Greek officials sending railway cars across the frontier to the Bulgarians, until the British blew up the Demir-Hissar bridge in February and so stopped it.

In Saloniki itself the Greek division stationed there claimed the best landing facilities for themselves, and permitted Fort Kara-Burram to be used as a base of supplies for German submarines. When the position became intolerable, General Sarrail deported the enemy Consuls and ousted the Greek garrison from the fort and quay.

The military considerations which dictated the holding of Saloniki were not less important than the political. They are comparable to those which determined the Duke of Wellington to establish the succession of impregnable lines at Torres-Vedras to cover the Port of Lisbon during his operations in the Peninsula in 1809. These not only provided him with a safe retreat, but kept open his entry into the Peninsula until such time as his army could be suitably augmented, and had the additional merit of lying across the enemys' line of action. So with Sarrail at Saloniki. He found that nature had provided him with such a camp, and that, with little alteration, it could be made impregnable against assault by the whole Bulgarian Army of 750,000.

Sarrail's garrison now consisted of three French and five British divisions, with supplementary detachments—in all about 170,000 troops; but the great camp in Egypt was only three days distant and could be drawn upon for assistance if required. When General de Castelnau arrived at Christmas, 1915, from headquarters in France, he was eminently satisfied with the position at Saloniki.

Extending the Lines

The Royal Engineers and the Génie Français were directed to prepare for an extension of the lines beyond the intrenched camp, as at that time there were only two roads available—one to Monastir and the other to Seres. Since then they have constructed over 5,000 miles of new roadways, besides building railways and improving the landing facilities at the port.

INNER DEFENSES OF SALONIKI

The outposts were then advanced about thirty miles, to just within the Greek frontier, from Karasuli to Kilindir. The British occupied the right with three divisions, the French the left with two divisions, and the remaining three divisions held Saloniki and the line of communications. The Greeks still had 12,000 troops in Saloniki and 38,000 in Eastern Macedonia, as well as other troops in Western Macedonia.

The major portion of the Serbian Army arrived in April and May, 1916, after leaving a division behind at Corfu. It consisted of 110,000 young hardy veterans, the survival of the fittest in the retreat through Albania; but they had still to be armed, equipped, and reorganized.

The Bulgars held the Midji Mountains on the west and the Belashitza Mountains on the east. They had encroached on the Monastir plain to within a short distance of Florina, then held by the French, and at the Vardar Pass they

had again come within Greek territory. Otherwise they adhered to their own frontier. This line was held by six Bulgarian divisions of 30,000 men each, under General Teodoroff, to whose command some German gunners and engineers were attached.

In Western Macedonia the Greeks were undisturbed. In Albania the Italians had occupied Valona (or Avlona) as a precautionary measure shortly after Austria entered the Balkan area. Their strong force at Valona, however, was not in touch with Sarrail's army at Saloniki until after the capture of Monastir.

The prompt action of the Italians in seizing Valona defeated one of the political objects Austria had in initiating the war, and the Anglo-French occupation of Saloniki completed the discomfiture of the Dual Kingdom.

The Bulgars Invade Greece

Satisfactory assurances having apparently been obtained by the Teutonic powers from the Greek King, the Bulgarian forces crossed the frontier on May 26, 1916. A German officer led the vanguard and demanded the surrender of Fort Rupel, the Hellenic key to the Struma River Pass. When the commander refused he was requested to telephone Athens, and, on doing so, was directed by the War Office to yield up the fort. The same procedure followed with the other forts guarding the passes into Eastern Macedonia.

The Central Powers were now in possession of all the strategic sites of value without Saloniki. The Greek Government had refused to permit the powers who were protectors of their kingdom to occupy these vantage points and so prevent such a dénouement.

General Sarrail immediately proclaimed martial law in Saloniki, seized all the means of communication, and expelled the Greek civil authorities. The British, on the right, left their intrenched lines and advanced to the Struma, while the Bulgars dug themselves in on the further bank.

King Constantine adopted the well-understood Levantine attitude of simulating compliance, but was hampered by his own evanescent Government creations. Early in September, 1916, the whole Greek army corps in Eastern Macedonia declined to accept passage to Old Greece and voluntarily surrendered to the Germans with all their artillery and the stores which Sarrail had sent to them by motor transport from Saloniki.

This placed the seaport of Kavalla, the inland towns of Drama and Seres, and the Oriental railway from Greece to Constantinople in the hands of the Bulgarians. It also enabled them to bring in Turkish troops from Adrianople.

The protecting powers thereupon seized the Island of Thasos, which dominates Kavalla.

The Summer of 1916

Coincident with the arrival of the Serbian Army at Saloniki, the enemy had been reinforced by two Bulgarian divisions, or 60,000 troops. The military position now was that the Anglo-French army had about 120,000 rifles, 500 field guns, and some 200 heavy guns. The Serbians were being rearmed with about 80,000 rifles, and their organization had been taken in hand, as their primitive formations were unsuited for co-ordination with their allies. Their guns and horses had not yet come to hand. Until the Serbians were ready, Sarrail was unable to move, because the Bulgars were possessed of 150,000 rifles and 700 guns, including heavy artillery.

Throughout the Summer the British troops holding the line on the Struma marshes were afflicted with malarial fever, and half their number were on the sick list. The Bulgars were not so affected because, besides being acclimatized, their local knowledge of climatic conditions had warned them to keep to the higher ground which they were already in possession of.

The equipment of the British force, while admirable for defending the intrenched camp at Saloniki, was unsuited for taking the offensive in mountain warfare in a country where there were no cart roads. Pack mules must replace their motor transport and light railways, and mountain guns take the place of their garrison artillery.

The Asquith Government had their eyes on the great battle on the Somme, and, after their misadventures at the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia, were not sympathetic to a vigorous prosecution of the war in the East. For this they were later turned out of office. Contrary to press reports, there was no serious intention at this time of attempting to cut the Balkan railway.

The political object of foiling Austria had been attained by occupying Saloniki and Valona in force.

In August two more divisions arrived to reinforce the Bulgarian Army, and the latter now attacked the Serbians, whom Sarrail had placed on the left wing. The Serbs yielded Florina at the first onslaught and fell back behind Lake Ostrova, where they checked the Bulgar advance. Here they were strengthened on their extreme left by the arrival of a division of Russian infantry, together with French troops, who had been set free from the right wing by the timely arrival of Italian troops. The latter were inset in the British lines between Lake Doiran and Lake Butkova, or, in other words, at the base of the Belashitza Mountains. The Italians were better equipped for the hill fighting than the British, and this determined the task assigned to them.

Until the Bulgars are driven out of the Belashitza Mountains the railway to Seres cannot be used. With a view to the coming offensive, General Milne took over the greater part of the allied centre in addition to holding the right wing.

Autumn Campaign of 1916

If the Entente General Staff contemplated an attack on the Sophia-Adrianople railway at the moment when Rumania entered the war, then it seems clear from subsequent events that neither Sarrail's force nor the Rumanian Army was designed to play the leading rôle. The only other striking force available was the Russian strategic reserve, but we know now that the Russians were not prepared for a move in this direction at that time. The inference, therefore, is that the press correspondents misinterpreted the situation.

REGION COVERED IN THE CAPTURE OF MONASTIR

The Autumn campaign opened with Sarrail's army aligned in the following disposition:

On the right wing, three British divisions held the line of the Struma and the Italians held the base of the Belashitza Mountains. In the centre, the Vardar front was held by two British divisions on the east side of the river and by French forces on the west side. On the left wing, the second Serbian army held the line of the Nidji Mountains, and their first army, supplemented by French and Russian detachments, held the country on either side of Lake Ostrova. The position of the Entente army was concentric, with its communications arranged accordingly.

The Bulgarian Army, augmented by

Austrian, German, and Turkish troops, was strung out along the hills in concave formation, and suffered from the absence of lateral communications.

Both sides in the early Autumn were jockeying for position, with the Bulgars uncertain whether the attack would come from the British on the right or from the French on the left. On Sept. 11, 1916, the British forded the Struma on a wide front, and during the next few days carried several villages. Simultaneously, artillery preparation commenced on the Vardar front. Sept. 29 and 30 the attack was renewed in force on the Struma front. These, however, were only feints while the mass of the French artillery and troops engaged the enemy's right.

The Capture of Monastir

The real fighting took place on Sarrail's left wing, and this was quite a brilliant affair, in which the Serbians gained great honor.

The plain of Monastir is the dry bed of an ancient lake and one of the few level stretches in this war theatre. It lies in a north and south direction and, therefore, appeared to General Sarrail an inviting entrance to outflank and turn all the Bulgar positions west of the Vardar. The Bulgarian flank was secure on that wing because the terrain was impossible. The eastern side of the valley is also protected by hills, but of a less formidable nature, and round this mountain mass the Cerna River bends back on its own course.

The Bulgars had constructed a series of intrenchments across the southern entrance of the valley near the town of Kenali and stretching from the eastern mountains to those on the west. Between these lines and the Serbian front at Lake Ostrova lay a ridge of hills culminating in the high peak of Kaymakchalan. They were situated astride Sarrail's line of advance and were held in by force by the enemy.

On Sept. 14 the Serbian outposts were heavily reinforced and counterattacked the Bulgars opposed to them. Meantime, a Franco-Russian column was outflanking the western end of the ridge, and next day the Serbian advance captured the main position with thirty-two field and heavy guns. The Bulgars fought a rear-guard action at the River Brod, but failed to hold their pursuers, and on the 18th the French and Serbians entered Florina.

On the 19th the Serbs carried by assault the high peak of Kaymakchalan and repelled successive counterattacks to recover it during the next week. Another fortnight passed in carrying forward the railway, bringing up the heavy guns and accumulating a sufficiency of shells. On Oct. 14 and 15 a frontal assault on the Kenali lines failed.

General Sarrail now changed his tactics and directed the artillery against the positions on the eastern hills. The next month was occupied by the French artillery and Serbian infantry in clearing ridge after ridge from which they enfiladed the Kenali lines, and, in cooperation with a Franco-Russian frontal assault, compelled the Bulgars to evacuate them on Nov. 14. The latter were unable to make a further stand in front of Monastir, and on Nov. 19 General Sarrail's troops entered the city.

[*For a Greek view of the acts of Greece see Page* 148]

British Operations at Saloniki

Official Report of General Milne

[See Map on Page 156]

SINCE the conference at Rome the situation in Macedonia has been radically changed. The weakness of General Sarrail's position lay in the fact that neither England nor France felt free to send from the critical western front the large reinforcements of men which the situation north of Saloniki called for. Italy had the men, but was unwilling to send them and to incur the heavy additional expense of maintaining them in Macedonia. The conference at Rome, in which Premier Lloyd George was the dominant figure, overcame that reluctance, probably promising Italy parts of the Turkish Empire that had been earlier assigned tentatively to Greece and guaranteeing the cost of the new expedition. The result has been immediate and of the highest importance. Rome dispatches indicate that Italy has sent, or is sending, a force of not less than 300,000 men; that these troops, to avoid the danger of submarines, are being dispatched, not to Saloniki, but to Avlona, which is within forty miles of the Italian coast; and, finally, these Italian forces have not only built an excellent highway through the Albanian mountains but have already joined forces with General Sarrail's right wing at Monastir. All these facts indicate early activity in the Macedonian sector.

This glimpse of present conditions will serve to introduce the following report of General G. F. Milne, commanding the British Saloniki Army in Macedonia, on last Summer's operations in that sector. His report, submitted to the British War Office early in December, 1916, covered the army's operations from May 9 to Oct. 8. The official text of the report is here reproduced, with a few minor omissions:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations carried out by the British Saloniki army since I asumed command on May 9, in accordance with instructions received from the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

On that date the greater part of the army was concentrated within the fortified lines of Saloniki, extending from Stavros on the east to near the Galiko River on the west; a mixed force, consisting of a mounted brigade and a division, had been pushed forward to the north of Kukush in order to support the French Army which had advanced and was watching the right bank of the Struma River and the northern frontier of Greece. Further moves in this direction were contemplated, but, in order to keep the army concentrated, I entered into an agreement with General Sarrail by which the British forces should become responsible for that portion of the allied front which covered Saloniki from the east and northeast. By this arrangement a definite and independent area was allotted to the army under my command. On June 8 the troops commenced to occupy advanced positions along the right bank of the River Struma and its tributary, the River Butkova, from Lake Tachinos to Lozista village. By the end of July, on the demobilization of the Greek Army, this occupation had extended to the sea at Chai Aghizi. Along the whole front the construction of a line of resistance was begun; work on trenches, entanglements, bridgeheads, and supporting points was commenced; for administrative purposes the reconstruction of the Saloniki-Seres road was undertaken and the cutting of wagon tracks through the mountainous country was pushed forward.

On July 20, in accordance with the policy laid down in my instructions, and in order to release French troops for employment elsewhere, I began to take over the line south and west of Lake Doiran, and commenced preparations for a joint offensive on this front. This move was completed by Aug. 2, and on the 10th of that month an offensive was commenced against the Bulgarian defenses south of the line Doiran-Hill 535. The French captured Hills 227 and La Tortue, while the British occupied in succession those features of the main 535 ridge now known as Kidney Hill and Horseshoe Hill, and, pushing forward, established a series of advanced posts on the line Doldzeli-Reselli. The capture of Horseshoe Hill was successfully carried out on the night of Aug. 17-18 by the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry at the point of the bayonet in the face of stubborn opposition. The enemy's counterattacks were repulsed with heavy loss.

As a result of these operations it became possible to shorten considerably the allied

line between Doiran Lake and the River Vardar, and on Aug. 29, in agreement with General Sarrail, I extended my front as far as the left bank of that river so as to set free more troops for his offensive operations. This relief was completed by Aug. 31, the position then held extending from Hill 420 to the Vardar River just north of Smol. In the Struma Valley a French mounted detachment was at the same time pushed forward to Seres.

Bulgarian Invasion of Macedonia

On Aug. 17 the Bulgarians, who, at the end of May, had entered Greek territory by the Struma Valley and moved down as far as Demir Hissar, continued their advance into Greek Macedonia. Columns of all arms advanced from seven different points, between Sarisaban, on the Mesta, and Demir Hissar. The four eastern columns converged on the country about Drama and Kavala, while the remainder moved southward on to the line of the Struma from Demir Hissar toward Orfano. On Aug. 19 a mounted brigade with one battery carried out a strong reconnoissance, and found the enemy in some force on the line Prosenik-Barakli Djuma; on the following day, after being reinforced by a battalion, this brigade again advanced in conjunction with the French detachment. These attacking troops, after encountering the enemy in force on the line Kalendra-Prosenik-Haznatar, withdrew after dark to the right bank of the Struma. The French detachment was subsequently placed under the orders of the General Officer Commanding British troops on this front, and received instructions to co-operate in the defense of the river line.

On Aug. 21 the railway bridge near Angista Station was demolished by a detachment from the Neohori garrison, and three days later two road bridges over the Angista River were destroyed. Both these operations were well carried out by yeomanry, engineers, and cyclists in the face of hostile opposition.

The Bulgarians continued their advance into Eastern Macedonia unopposed by the Greek garrison, and it was estimated that by the end of August the enemy's forces, extending from Demir Hissar southward in the Seres sector of the Struma front, comprised the complete Seventh Bulgarian Division, with two or three regiments of the Eleventh Macedonian Division, which had moved eastward from their positions on the Beles Mountain to act as a reserve to the Seventh Division, and at the same time to occupy the defenses from Vetrina-Pujovo northward. Opposite the Lower Struma was a brigade of the Second Division, with a brigade of the Tenth Division, in occupation of the coast and the zone of country between Orfano and the Drama-Kavala road. This brigade of the Tenth Division was supported by another brigade in the Drama-Kavala area. As a result of this advance and of a similar move in the west General Sarrail decided to intrust to the British Army the task of maintaining the greater portion of the right and centre of the allied line.

Struma Crossed in Six Places

On Sept. 10 detachments crossed the river above Lake Tachinos at five places between Bajraktar Mah and Dragos, while a sixth detachment crossed lower down at Neohori. The villages of Oraoman and Kato Gudeli were occupied, and the Northumberland Fusiliers gallantly captured Nevolien, taking thirty prisoners and driving the enemy out of the village. The latter lost heavily during their retirement and in their subsequent counterattack. They also suffered severely from our artillery fire in attempting to follow our prearranged movements to regain the right bank of the river.

On the 15th similar operations were undertaken, six small columns crossing the river between Lake Tachinos and Orljak bridge. The villages of Kato Gudeli, Dzami Mah, Agomah, and Komarjan were burned and twenty-seven prisoners were taken. The enemy's counterattacks completely broke down under the accurate fire of our guns on the right bank of the river. On the 23d a similar scheme was put into action, but a sudden rise of three feet in the Struma interfered with the bridging operations. Nevertheless, the enemy's trenches at Yenimah were captured, fourteen prisoners taken, and three other villages raided. Considerable help was given on each occasion by the French detachment under Colonel Bescoins, and much information was obtained which proved to be of considerable value during subsequent operations.

On the Doiran-River Vardar front there remained as before the whole of the Bulgarian Ninth Division, less one regiment; a brigade of the Second Division, and at least two-thirds of the German 101st Division, which had intrenched the salient north of Machukovo on the usual German system. To assist the general offensive by the Allies I ordered this salient to be attacked at the same time as the allied operations in the Florina area commenced. With this object in view the whole of the enemy's intrenched position was subjected to a heavy bombardment from Sept. 11 to 13, the southwest corner of the salient known as the Piton des Mitrailleuses being specially selected for destruction. The enemy's position was occupied during the night 13th-14th, after a skillfully planned and gallant assault, in which the King's Liverpool Regiment and Lancashire Fusiliers specially distinguished themselves. Over 200 Germans were killed in the work, chiefly by bombing, and seventy-one prisoners were brought in. During the 14th the enemy concentrated from three directions a very heavy artillery fire, and delivered several counterattacks, which were for the most part broken up under the fire of our guns. Some of the enemy, however, succeeded in forcing an entrance into the work, and severe fighting followed. As hostile reinforcements were increasing in

numbers, and as the rocky nature of the ground rendered rapid consolidation difficult, the troops were withdrawn in the evening to their original line, the object of the attack having been accomplished. This withdrawal was conducted with little loss, thanks to the very effective fire of the artillery. During the bombardment and subsequent counter-attack the enemy's losses must have been considerable. On the same front on the night of the 20th-21st, after bombarding the hostile positions on the Crête des Tentes, a strong detachment raided and bombed the trenches and dugouts, retiring quickly with little loss. A similar raid was carried out northeast of Doldzeli.

In addition to these operations and raids, constant combats took place between patrols, many prisoners being captured, and several bombing raids were carried out by the Royal Flying Corps.

Holding the Bulgarians

In order further to assist the progress of our allies toward Monastir by maintaining such a continuous offensive as would insure no transference of Bulgarian troops from the Struma front to the west, I now issued instructions for operations on a more extensive scale than those already reported. In accordance with these the General Officer Commanding on that front commenced operations by seizing and holding certain villages on the left bank of the river with a view to enlarging the bridgehead opposite Orljak, whence he would be in a position to threaten a further movement either on Seres or on Demir Hissar. The high ground on the right bank of the river enabled full use to be made of our superiority in artillery, which contributed greatly to the success of these operations. The river itself formed a potential danger, owing to the rapidity with which its waters rise after heavy rain in the mountains, but by the night of Sept. 29 sufficient bridges had been constructed by the Royal Engineers for the passage of all arms. During the night of Sept. 29-30 the attacking infantry crossed below Orljak bridge and formed up on the left bank.

At dawn on the following morning the Gloucesters and the Cameron Highlanders advanced under cover of an artillery bombardment, and by 8 A. M. had seized the village of Karadjakoi Bala. Shortly after the occupation of the village the enemy opened a heavy and accurate artillery fire, but the remaining two battalions of the brigade, the Royal Scots and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, though suffering severely from enfilade fire, pushed on against Karadjakoi Zir. By 5:30 P. M. that village also was occupied, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the enemy. Attempts to bring forward hostile reinforcements were frustrated during the day by our artillery, but during the night the Bulgarians launched several strong counterattacks, which were repulsed with heavy loss.

During the following night determined counterattacks of the enemy were again repulsed, and by the evening of Oct. 2 the position had been fully consolidated. Preparations were at once made to extend the position by the capture of Yenikoi, an important village on the main Seres road. This operation was successfully carried out by an infantry brigade, composed of the Royal Munster and Royal Dublin Fusiliers, on the morning of Oct. 3, after bombardment by our artillery. By 7 A. M. the village was in our hands. During the day the enemy launched three heavy counterattacks. The first two were stopped by artillery fire, which caused severe loss. At 4 P. M. the village, the ground in the rear, and the bridges were subjected to an unexpectedly heavy bombardment from several heavy batteries which had hitherto not disclosed their positions. Following on the bombardment was the heaviest counterattack of the day, six or seven battalions advancing from the direction of Homondos, Kalendra, and Topalova with a view to enveloping our positions. This attack was carried forward with great determination, and some detachments succeeded in entering the northern portion of Yenikoi, where hard fighting continued all night, until fresh reinforcements succeeded in clearing out such enemy as survived. During the following day the consolidation of our new line was continued under artillery fire. On the 5th, after a bombardment, the village of Nevolien was occupied, the Bulgarian garrison retiring on the approach of our infantry. By the following evening the front extended from Komarjan on the right via Yenikoi to Elisan on the left. On the 7th a strong reconnoissance by mounted troops located the enemy on the Demir Hissar-Seres railway, with advanced posts approximately on the line of the Belica stream and a strong garrison in Barakli Djuma. On Oct. 8 our troops had reached the line Agomah-Homondos-Elisan-Ormanli, with the mounted troops on the line Kispeki-Kalendra. The enemy's casualties during these few days were heavy, over 1,500 corpses being counted in the immediate front of the captured localities. Three hundred and seventy-five prisoners and three machine guns were taken.

I consider that the success of these operations was due to the skill and decision with which they were conducted by Lieut. Gen. C. J. Briggs, C. B., and to the excellent co-operation of all arms, which was greatly assisted by the exceptional facilities for observation of artillery fire. The Royal Flying Corps, in spite of the difficulties which they had to overcome and the great strain on their resources, rendered valuable assistance. Armored motor cars were used with effect. * * *

On the enforcement of martial law the management of the three lines of railway radiating from Saloniki had to be undertaken by the Allies; one line, the Junction-Saloniki-

Constantinople, is now entirely administered by the British Army; this, together with the additional railway traffic involved by the arrival of the Serbian Army, as well as the Russian and Italian troops, has thrown a considerable strain on the railway directorate, which, however, has successfully risen to the occasion and has worked harmoniously and smoothly with the French military and Greek civil officials.

Medical Services and Malaria

I desire specially to acknowledge the excellent work rendered by Surgeon Gen. H. R. Whitehead, C. B., and all ranks of the medical services under his command during a period in which sickness was prevalent. All branches of the Royal Army Medical Corps and the Canadian Army Medical Corps deserve the greatest commendation and have fully maintained their high traditions of efficiency.

The medical services have been called upon to face problems of great difficulty. It can be easily realized that in a climate varying from severe cold to intense damp heat, and in a mountainous country deficient in water, poorly supplied with roads, without local resources, and where dysentery and malaria are rife, the duties and responsibilities of these services must necessarily be heavy. Experiments as to the most efficacious types of mountain ambulance transport had been conducted in the Winter and Spring, and as a result travois, mule litters, and cacolets now form integral portions of each field ambulance.

During the same period exhaustive measures were taken for an anti-malarial campaign. Officers with special knowledge were appointed to supervise anti-malarial work; swampy areas were drained and the defensive lines then held carefully surveyed with a view to only the most healthy portions being held. Although malaria has still been the prevailing disease, yet I feel certain that these careful precautionary measures have been greatly instrumental in lessening its intensity. The move to the valley of the Struma in June tested all the preparations made and severely tried the medical resources. The area occupied was found to be highly malarious, the heat intense and damp, and the single road from the base long, hilly, and of uneven surface. The organization of this line of evacuation and the arrangement of halting places and refilling points was, however, successfully undertaken. * * *

On the declaration of martial law at Saloniki on June 3, certain administrative functions had necessarily to be taken over from the Greeks by the Allies; among these was the control of the customs, which is now administered by a Greek director working under the supervision of a commission composed of British and French officers directed by French Headquarters. The administration of this important office has been conducted with discretion and common sense.

"The Mad Dog of Europe"

T. P. O'Connor, writing in The London Chronicle a few days after the breaking of America's diplomatic relations with Germany, offered this striking parable:

A mad dog rushes into the streets early in the morning when few people are about. Most of the citizens are still in bed. For horrible moments it has full and unchecked run; it bites here, there, everywhere. It catches the early postman and chambermaid and jumps at the baby in arms until the whole town is at last aroused and, pellmell, everybody rushes after the mad dog until at last its brains are dashed out by truncheon or rifle and the unclean and wicked thing lies on the ground with the poisonous foam still oozing from its dead and impotent lips.

This is a parable. It sums up and symbolizes to my imagination the story of Germany in this war. For years, as Lloyd George puts it in one of his great passages, she plotted to murder Europe in her sleep. Meantime she prepared herself for the devil's work by poisoning her mind and the mind of all her peoples with the devil's gospel that might alone constituted right; that war was not merely the means but the end; that the human conscience, free will, and the existence of nations should lie at the mercy of the biggest battalions and the best machine guns, and when the appropriate time was supposed to have come she burst on sleeping and unarmed Europe, foaming at the mouth with the fury of madness.

At first the mad dog was able to bite and to infect everybody and everywhere until at last the whole world woke up to the universal peril, and today the whole world, or almost the whole world, is in full pursuit of the noxious beast and its end is near at hand. America has come in to give the coup de grace—for it is quite certain America's intervention is the coup de grace.

Blame for the Dardanelles Failure

The Report of the Special Commission Headed by Lord Cromer

THERE was issued in London, March 8, 1917, a comprehensive report by the special commission appointed by Parliament to investigate the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign. The report is an ad interim one, dealing exclusively with the origin and inception of the attack on the Dardanelles. It is signed by the late Lord Cromer, who was Chairman of the commission; Andrew Fisher, representing Australia; Thomas McKenzie, representing New Zealand; Sir Frederick Cawley, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; James A. Clyde, Lord Advocate; Stephen L. Gwynn, Nationalist Member of the House of Commons; Rear Admiral Sir William H. May, Field Marshal Baron Nicholson, and Justice Pickford.

There were two minority reports—a dissent by Andrew Fisher, Australian High Commissioner, on one of the findings, and by Thomas McKenzie, New Zealand High Commissioner, on the same; and a separate report by Walter Roch, Liberal Member of the House of Commons from Pembrokeshire.

The signing of the report was the last act performed by Lord Cromer; his death followed a few days later. There has been some discussion as to why a document revealing the inner history of an ill-fated campaign should be published by the Government in time of war, and it is charged that it was done for political effect to discredit the Asquith Administration; in fact, in the discussion in the House of Parliament a few days after it was made public, the findings of the commission were quoted as a direct reflection on the Asquith Cabinet. Some influential English newspapers have gone so far as to demand proceedings against Asquith and other members of the Cabinet responsible for the campaign.

The report is remarkable for its candor. It blames in frank terms the late Earl Kitchener, Secretary of War; Winston Spencer Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Fisher, then First Sea Lord; Prime Minister Asquith, and other members of the War Council.

Kitchener a Dominant Force

The report begins with a general synopsis of the organization of the War Cabinet calling attention to the fact that the management in November, 1914, devolved upon a War Council of the Cabinet, consisting of Premier Asquith, Earl Kitchener, and Mr. Churchill, with Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Marquis of Crewe, then heads of the Foreign, Treasury, and India Offices, participating, but with comparatively inactive advisory functions. Sea Lords Fisher and Wilson were with Mr. Churchill, and Chief of Staff General Murray with Earl Kitchener, theoretically as technical advisers, but in practice, according to the report, usually playing silent parts. The commission was "struck with the atmosphere of vagueness and want of precision which seems to have characterized the proceedings of the War Council."

Mr. Churchill testified that Mr. Asquith and Earl Kitchener "settled matters," although he had the same authority. The commission thought his view was overmodest. The Cabinet as a body placed all responsibility on the council, sometimes requesting that it was not to be told of occurrences on the ground that the fewer who knew of them the better.

Earl Kitchener's dominating influence pervades the testimony. The commission says he would not impart full information of his plans, even to the War Council. His action in holding troops back for three weeks without consulting the Admiralty greatly compromised the probability of success. Mr. Churchill de-

scribed him as "all powerful, imperturbable, and reserved," adding, "he dominated absolutely our councils at this time. The belief that he had plans deeper and wider than any we could see silenced misgivings."

The report discusses the political aspects of the campaign, saying it was also designed to influence Bulgaria and Italy, then neutrals, and relieve pressure on Russia. General Hamilton said Earl Kitchener thought the operation would be successful in staving off Bulgaria's entrance into the war, in occupying 300,000 Turks for nine months, and in heartening Russia.

Designed to Defeat Egypt

The report summarizes the conclusions reached as follows:

The question of attacking the Dardenelles was, on the initiative of Mr. Churchill, brought under the consideration of the War Council on Nov. 25, 1914, as the ideal method of defending Egypt. It may reasonably be assumed that inasmuch as all the authorities concerned were prima facie in favor of a joint military rather than a purely naval attack, such an attack, if undertaken at all, would have been of the former rather than of the latter character had not other circumstances led to a modification of the program. A communication from the Russian Government of Jan. 2 introduced a fresh element into the case. The British Government considered that something must be done in response to it, and in this connection the question of attacking the Dardanelles was again raised.

The Secretary of State for War declared that there were no troops immediately available for operations in the East, and his statement was accepted by the War Council, who took no steps to satisfy themselves by reports of estimates as to what troops were available then or in the near future. Had this been done the Commissioners think it would have been ascertained that sufficient troops would be available for a joint military and naval operation at an earlier date than supposed, but this matter was not adequately investigated by the War Council. Thus the question before the War Council on Jan. 13 was whether no action of any kind should for the time being be undertaken or whether action should be taken by the fleet alone, the navy being held to be the only force available.

Political arguments, which were adduced to the War Council in favor of a prompt and effective action if such were practicable, were valid and of the highest importance, but the practicability of whatever action was proposed was of equal importance. Mr. Churchill appears to have advocated an attack by ships alone before the War Council, on a certain amount of half-hearted and hesitating expert opinion which favored a tentative or progressive scheme, beginning with an attack upon the outer forts. This attack, if sucessful, was to be followed by further operations against the main defenses of the Narrows. There does not appear to have been direct support or direct opposition from the responsible naval and military advisers, Lord Fisher and Sir James Wolfe Murray, as to the practicability of carrying on the operations as approved by the War Council, viz., to bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula, with Constantinople as the objective.

Fisher Made No Objection

The First Sea Lord and Sir Arthur Wilson, who was the only naval adviser present at the War Council, expressed no dissent. Lord Kitchener, who occupied a commanding position at the time the decision was taken, was in favor of the project. Both Lord Fisher and Sir Arthur Wilson would have preferred a joint naval and military attack, but they did not express to the War Council and were not asked to express any opinion on the subject, and offered no objection to naval operations, as they considered them experimental and such as could be discontinued if the first results obtained were not satisfactory.

The Commissioners think that there was an obligation, first on the First Lord, secondly on the Prime Minister, thirdly on one other member of the War Council, to see that the views of the naval advisers were clearly put before the council, and that the naval advisers should have expressed their views to the council, whether asked or not, if they considered the project which the council was about to adopt was impracticable from a naval point of view.

Looking at the position which existed on Jan. 13, 1915, the Commissioners do not think the War Council was justified in coming to the decision without much fuller investigation of the proposition which had been suggested to them. The Commissioners hold that the possibility of making a surprise amphibious attack on Gallipoli offered such great military and political advantage that it was mistaken and ill-advised to sacrifice this possibility by deciding to undertake a purely naval attack, which from its nature could not obtain completely the object set out in the terms of the decision.

The decision taken on the 16th to mass troops in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles marked a very critical stage of the whole operation. It ought to have been clear that when this was once done, even if troops were not actually landed, it would be apparent to the world that a serious attack was intended, and a withdrawal could no longer be effected without running serious risk of loss of prestige. At that moment, as time was all important, no compromise was possible between making an immediate and

vigorous effort to insure success at the Dardanelles by joint naval and military occupation and falling back on the original intention of desisting from a naval attack if the experiences gained during the bombardment were unsatisfactory.

Troops Delayed by Kitchener

On Feb. 20 Lord Kitchener decided that the Twenty-ninth Division, part of the troops which by the decision of Feb. 16 were to be sent to the East, should not be sent at that time, and Colonel Fitzgerald instructed the Director of Naval Transport that transports for that division and the rest of the expeditionary force would not be required. This was done without informing the First Lord, and the dispatch of troops was thus delayed three weeks. This delay greatly compromised the probability of success of the original attack by land forces and materially increased the difficulties encountered in the final attack some months later.

We consider that in view of the opinions expressed by the naval and military authorities on the spot the decision to abandon the naval attack after the bombardment of March 18 was inevitable. There was no meeting of the War Council between March 19 and May 14. Meanwhile important land operations were undertaken. We think that before such operations were commenced the War Council should have carefully reconsidered the whole position.

In our opinion the Prime Minister ought to have summoned a meeting of the War Council for that purpose and, if not summoned, other members of the War Council should have pressed for such a meeting. We think this was a serious omission. We consider that the responsibility of those members of the Cabinet who did not attend the meetings of the War Council was limited to the fact that they delegated their authority to their colleagues who attended those meetings.

We are of the opinion that Lord Kitchener did not sufficiently avail himself of the services of his General Staff, with the result that more work was undertaken by him than it was possible for one man to do, and confusion and want of efficiency resulted.

We are unable to concur in the view set forth by Lord Fisher that it was his duty, if he differed from the chief of his department, to maintain silence at the council or to resign. We think that the adoption of any such principle generally would impair the efficiency of public service.

We think that although the main object was not attained, certain important political advantages, upon the nature of which we have already dwelt, were secured by the Dardanelles expedition. Whether those advantages were worth the loss of life and treasure involved is and must always remain a matter of opinion.

The report says that Lord Kitchener's premature death and the death of his secretary, Major Fitzgerald, render it impossible to state with the same confidence as in the case of living witnesses the opinions and aims of Lord Kitchener at different periods of the proceedings. The commission does not believe, however, that even deference to the memory of the illustrious dead justified it in abstaining from complete revelations of his course. The report adds: "It is necessary to do justice to the living as well as to the dead."

Colonel Churchill testified that Lord Kitchener's personal qualities and position played a very great part in the decision of events, the report says. It continues: "He was the sole mouthpiece of War Office opinion in the War Council. When he gave a decision it was invariably accepted as final. He was never overruled by the War Council or Cabinet in any matter, great or small. Scarcely any one ever ventured to argue with him in the council."

Major Gen. Charles E. Callwell, who was Director of Military Operations at the War Office at the time of the Dardanelles expedition, testified that the General Staff virtually ceased to exist, because it was not consulted.

The principle of centralization was pushed to the extreme point by Lord Kitchener. It proved successful in the minor operations in the Sudan, but in larger operations it threw on one man more work that any individual could cope with.

Australian Commissioner Dissents

Andrew Fisher, Australian High Commissioner in London, in a note issued with the Dardanelles report dissented from the findings of the majority—that the naval advisers should have expressed their views at the War Council; and from the opinion of the majority—that Lord Fisher was not justified in remaining silent. Mr. Fisher says:

I dissent in the strongest terms from any suggestion that departmental advisers of a Minister, in his company at council meetings, should express any views at all other than to the Minister and through him, unless specifically invited to do so. I am of the opinion

that it would seal the fate of responsible government if servants of the State were to share the responsibility of Ministers to Parliament and to the people on matters of public policy. The Minister has command of the opinions and views of all the officers of the department he administers on matters of public policy. Good stewardship demands from Ministers of the Crown frank, fair, and full statements of all opinions of trusted and experienced officials to their colleagues when they have direct reference to matters of high policy.

Thomas McKenzie, High Commissioner of New Zealand in London, took a similar stand regarding Lord Fisher and the naval advisers. Mr. McKenzie also expressed the opinion that the commission was not yet justified in coming to a decision as to the results of the enterprise. To do so, he said, it would be necessary to investigate the conduct of the offensive on the Gallipoli Peninsula and of the subsidiary operations.

A separate report was presented also by Walter F. Roch, Liberal member of the House of Commons from Pembrokeshire. Mr. Roch made an exhaustive exposition of the attitude of Lord Fisher, who, he said, vigorously opposed the Dardanelles enterprise and on Jan. 28 actually left the council table declaring he would resign his office.

"Lord Kitchener," he continued, "took Lord Fisher aside and urged him that his duty to the country was to continue in office. Lord Fisher reluctantly yielded to Lord Kitchener's entreaty and resumed his seat."

Lord Fisher, continues the Roch report, in his evidence before the Commissioners said he had "taken every step to show his dislike of the proposed operations," and replying to a question as to why he had made no formal protests at the meetings of the War Council, told the Commissioners: "Mr. Churchill knew my opposition. I didn't think it would tend toward good relations between him and myself, nor to smooth working at the Admiralty, to raise an objection in the War Council's discussions."

Lord Fisher's Point of View

After the decision of the War Council had been taken and the expedition begun, Lord Fisher, the report continues, did everything in his power to assist. His whole theory of the use of the British sea power in the war, Mr. Roch states, was embodied in a memorandum submitted to Premier Asquith in January, as follows:

The Germans have already endeavored, without success, to scatter our naval strength by attacks on our trade and by submarines and mines. The pressure of sea power is a slow process and requires great patience. In time it will almost certainly compel the enemy to seek a decision at sea. This is one reason for husbanding our resources. Another reason is that the prolongation of war at sea tends to raise up fresh enemies for the dominant naval power, owing to the exasperation of neutrals. This tendency is only checked by the conviction that an overwhelming naval supremacy is behind the nation exercising the sea power.

The sole justification of bombardments and attacks by the fleet on fortified places, such as the Dardanelles, is to force a decision at sea. As long as the German High Sea Fleet possesses its present strength and splendid gunnery efficiency, so long is it imperative that no operation be undertaken by the British fleet calculated to impair its superiority, which is none too great in view of the heavy losses already experienced in ships and men, which latter cannot be filled in the period of the war, in which the navy differs materially from the army. Even the older ships should not be risked, for they cannot be lost without losing men, and they form the only reserve behind the great fleet.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the seizure of all German periodicals by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain for this issue a full representation of recent German cartoons.

[Swiss Cartoon]

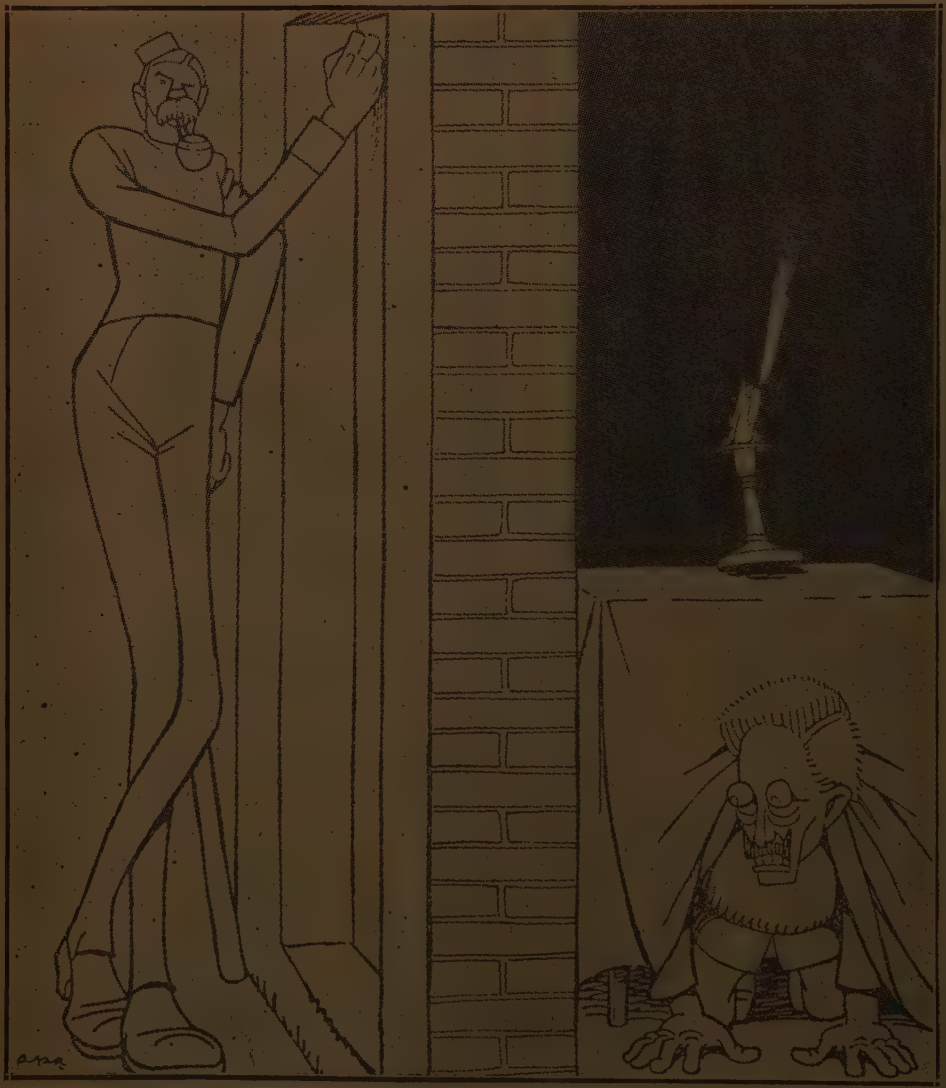
Dying Europe

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

EUROPE: "Help!"
AMERICA: "Pay!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Steady Pounding

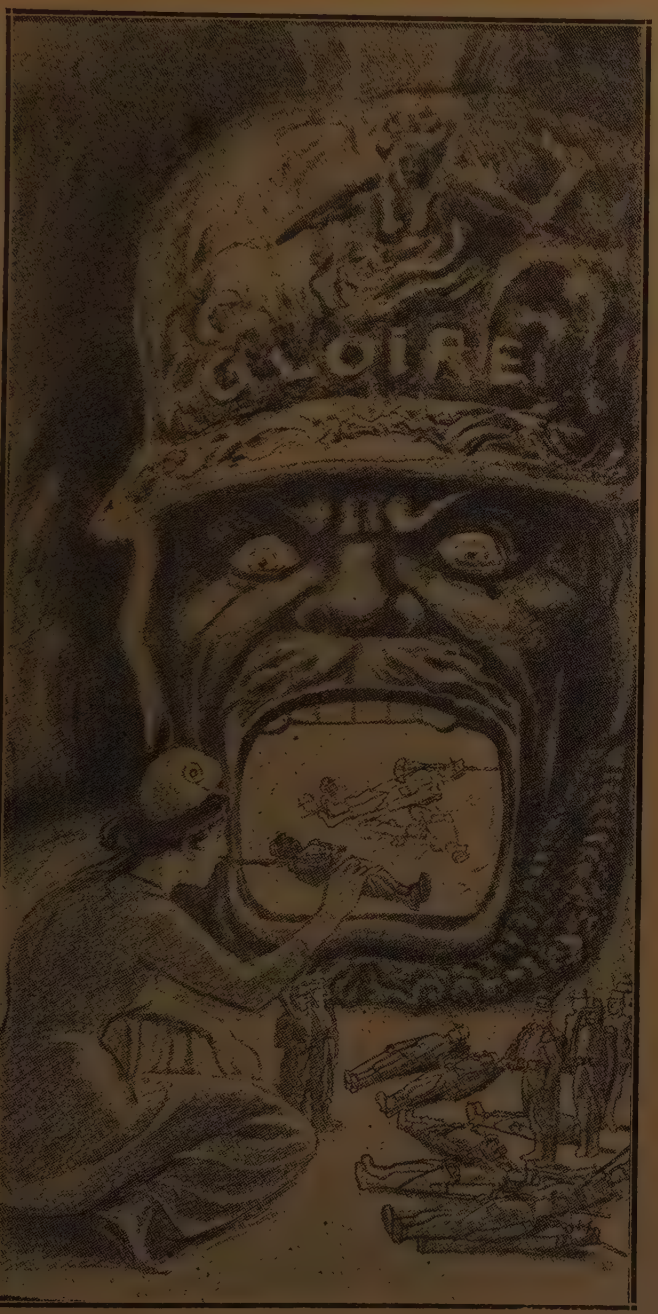


—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

ATTILA-WILHELM: "The more I tremble the harder the Briton hammers at the door!"

[German Cartoon]

The Sacrifice for Fame

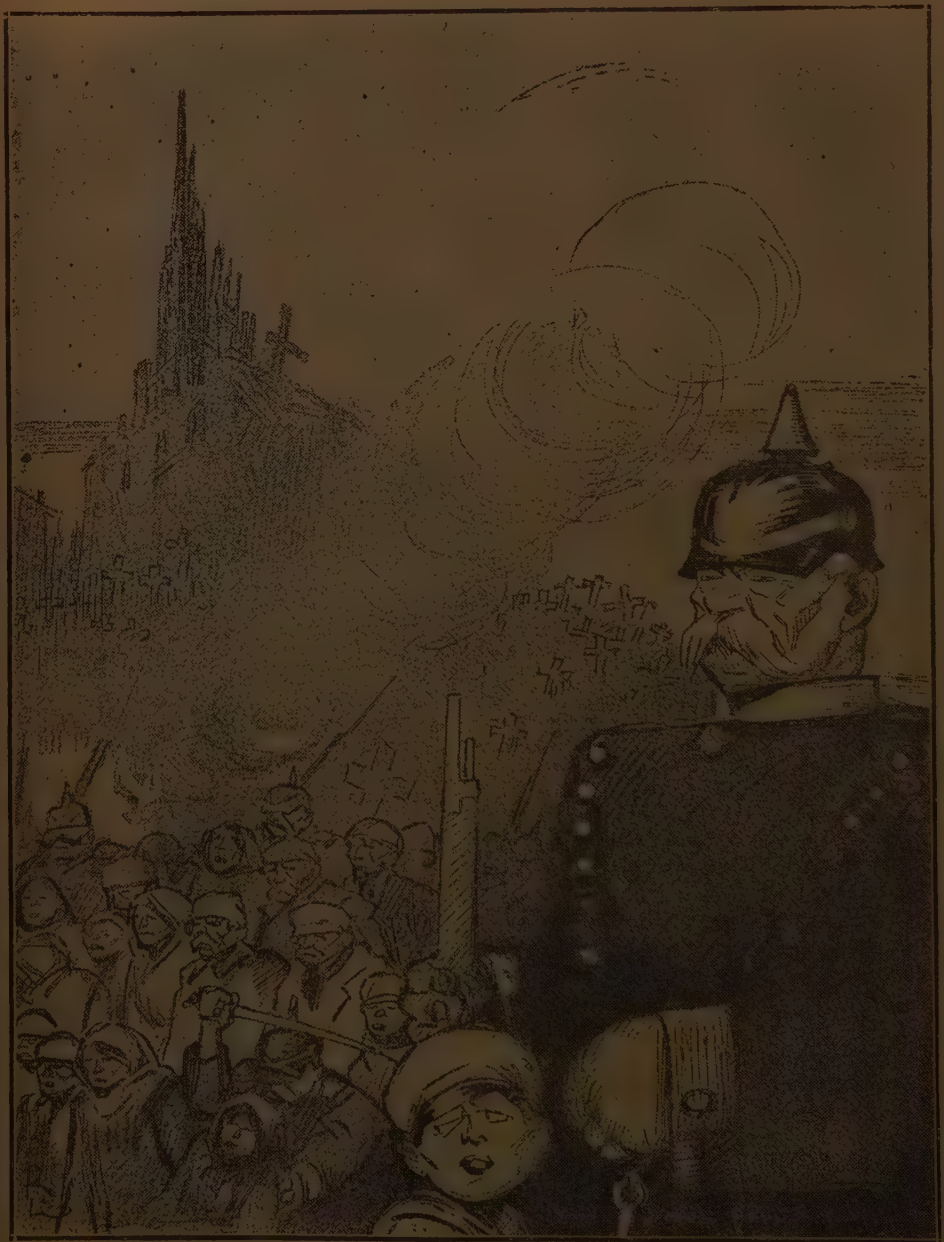


—© *Jugend, Berlin.*

Since France has no coal, she throws her 17-year-olds into the fire.

[Italian Cartoon]

Deporting the Belgians

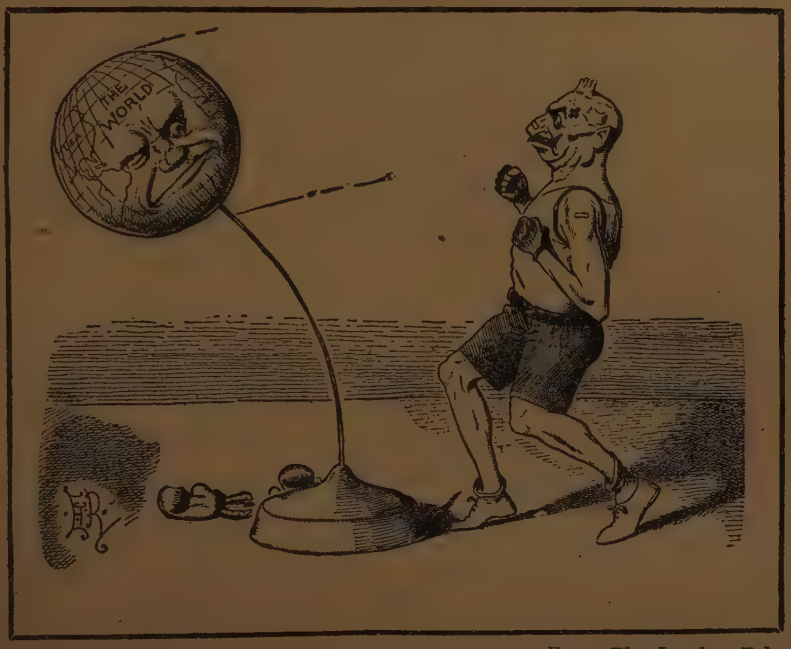


—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

THE BOCHE: "By going into Germany you will acquire our Kultur better."

[English Cartoon]

A Ball You Don't Punch Twice



—From The London Telegram.

Wait for the return journey and see what happens.

[French Cartoon]

German Remorse

—From La Victoire, Paris.

"What an awful war! I would give Belgium for a mess of sauerkraut!"

[Swiss Cartoons]

Among the Neutrals

—*From Nebelspalter, Zurich.*

BROTHER JONATHAN: "Come on the ice with me!"
SPAIN: "No! Thank you!"

The Latest Stunt in the White House

—*From Nebelspalter, Zurich.*

"While I Still in Angel Garb"—comedy skit in the popular show by W. Wilson.
[Published at the time of President Wilson's peace notes.]

[English Cartoons]

The Two Eagles

—From The Westminster Gazette.

Notice to quit.

The New Shark

—From The Westminster Gazette.

NEPTUNE: "Now, then, clear out of here, you murdering villain! Aren't there sharks enough in the sea without you?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Civilizing Armenia

"In Armenia two trenches of murdered Armenians were discovered."—Cable dispatch.

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

Under the protection of German "Kultur" the Turk is making every effort to civilize the Armenian people.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Pacific President

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

BULL: "Mean to say you attach the same weight to both cases? Haven't the German outrages made your blood boil?"

WILSON: "Brother, if I HAD any blood, it would NEVER boil."

[French Cartoon]

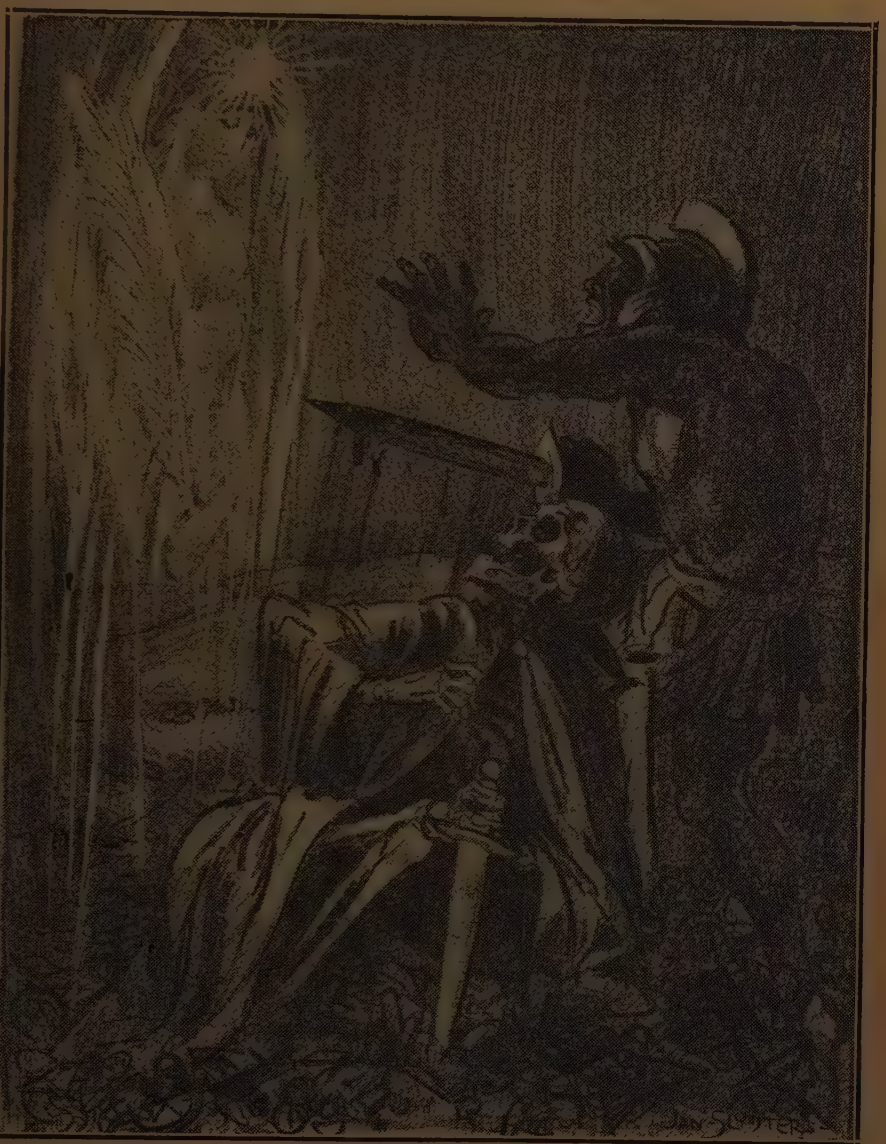
Reply of the Entente

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

A German peace? We will sit on it!

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace Threatens



—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

MARS AND DEATH: "If we can't drive her away we are lost!"

[English Cartoon]

The Fool and His Folly

—*From John Bull, London.*

"There is no God but me!" cries Bill,
In tones of blood and thunder;
"On all the world I'll work my will,
Or split the earth asunder!"

But Bill—blaspheming fool!—will learn
He's made a fatal blunder,
For soon the world will "take a turn,"
And Bill will then go under.

[English Cartoon]

The Awakening

—From London Opinion.

UNCLE SAM: "And I always thought until now it was a man!"

[Swiss Cartoon]

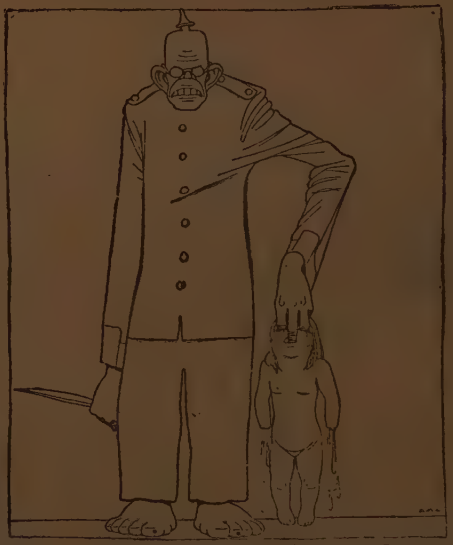
The Latest Victim

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The Entente has taken a prisoner.

[Spanish Cartoon]

German "Humanity"



—From Iberia, Barcelona.

Peace—in the name of humanity!

[English Cartoon]

Ending in a "Draw"

—From The Evening News, London.

President Wilson says the war must end in a "draw." If meant in the sense depicted above we entirely agree with him.

[English Cartoon]

Barred Sea Zones

—From The London Evening News.

The Limit!

The Temptation

—From The Dallas Morning News.

German money for a Mexican invasion of the United States.

The Watchdog Uncle Sam Is Looking For

—From The Knickerbocker Press.

Seeing Is Believing

—From The Boston Journal.

The Kaiser's friendly hand.

In German Headquarters

—From The Spokesman-Review, Spokane.

The threat without an army back of it.

Too Proud to Bite

JAPAN
GERMAN PLOT TO HAVE JAPAN WAR ON UNITED STATES
SOMEBODY MUST THINK THAT I AM A SUCKER!
WONDER IF THAT BAIT IS REAL OR ARTIFICIAL!
GERMAN PROMISE TEXAS NEW MEXICO
MEXICO
FRED O. SEIBEL

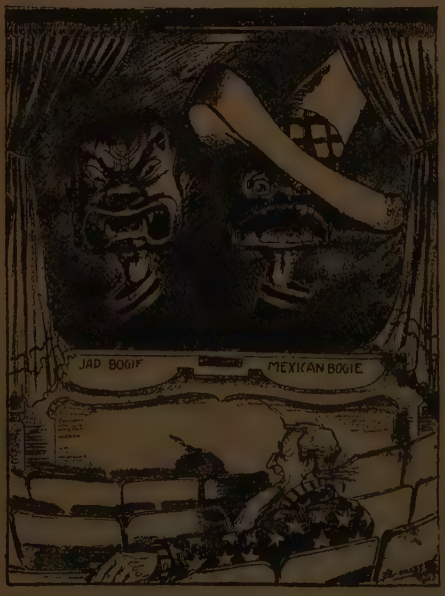
—From The Knickerbocker Press.

An Untenable Position

—From The Portland Oregonian.

Unpreparedness is a rotten limb to depend on in an emergency.

Who is Pulling the Strings?



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

The Submarine Blockade

—From The New York Times.

"Damn the torpedoes! Go ahead!"—Admiral Farragut.

Crucified

—From The St. Louis Republic.

The rights of humanity on the cross of military necessity.

Awaiting an "Overt Act"

—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Patience that has ceased to be a virtue.

What's He Smoking?

—From The Ohio State Journal.

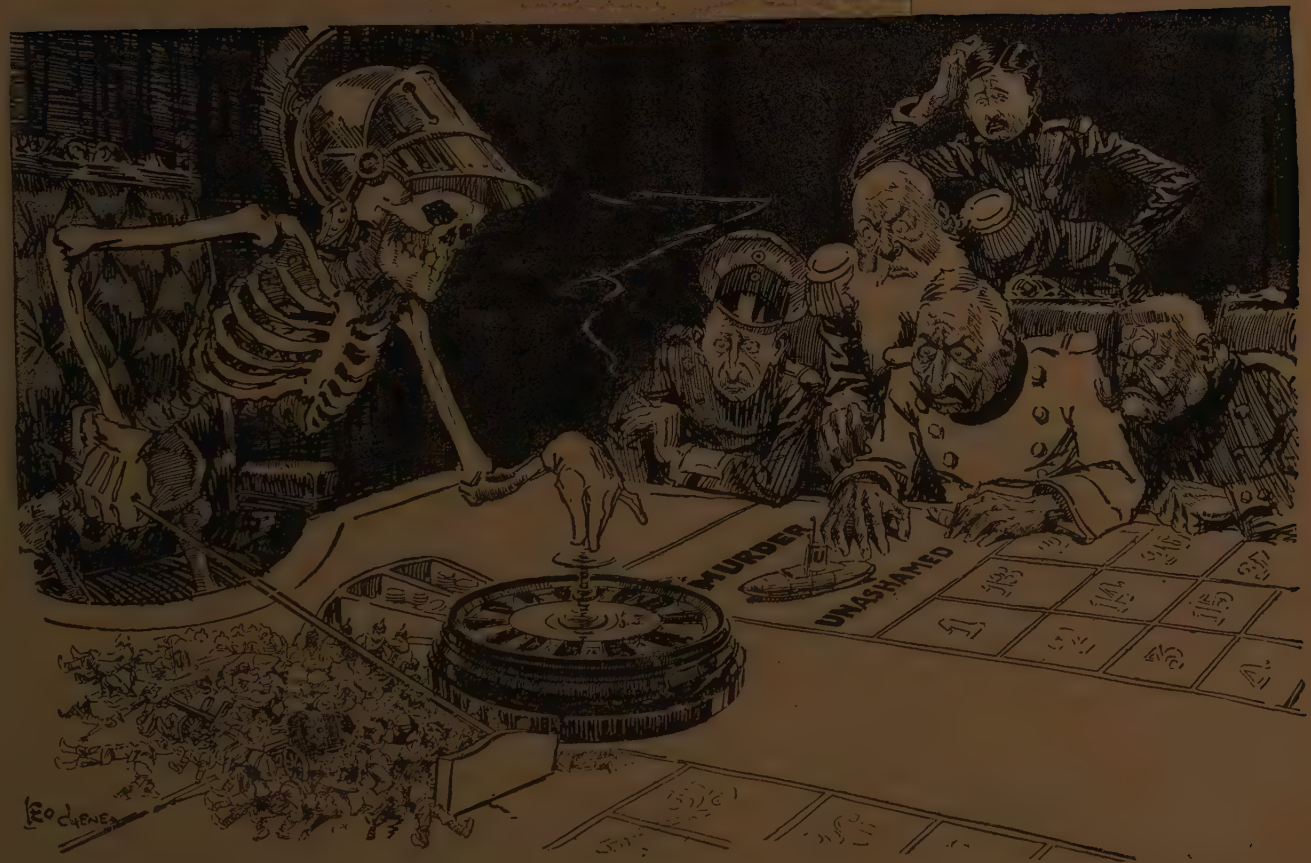
The Kaiser's pipe dreams.

Lying in Wait

—From The Telegram, New York.

[English Cartoon]

The Gambler's Last Stake



—*From The Passing Show, London.*

[French Cartoon]

The Reply to Germany's Peace Proposal

You imposed *your* war on us, now we will impose *our* peace on you. —*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

[American Cartoon]

The Rebellious Pupil

—*From The New York Times.*

TEACHER: "Maybe you'll feel more like playing when I'm through with you."

THE DEAD CITY OF ARRAS

Ruins of the City Hall of Arras, the Shell-Blasted Town Near Which the British Drive of April 9 Began

NEW YORK POLICE ON WAR DUTY

Guarding the Queensboro Bridge With a Rapid-Fire Gun, Aided by a Powerful Searchlight for Use at Night

(Photo © American Press Assn.)

AMERICA'S DECLARATION OF WAR

S. J. Res. 1. (PUBLIC RESOLUTION....NO. 1....65th CONGRESS.)

Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the second day of April, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Champ Clark

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

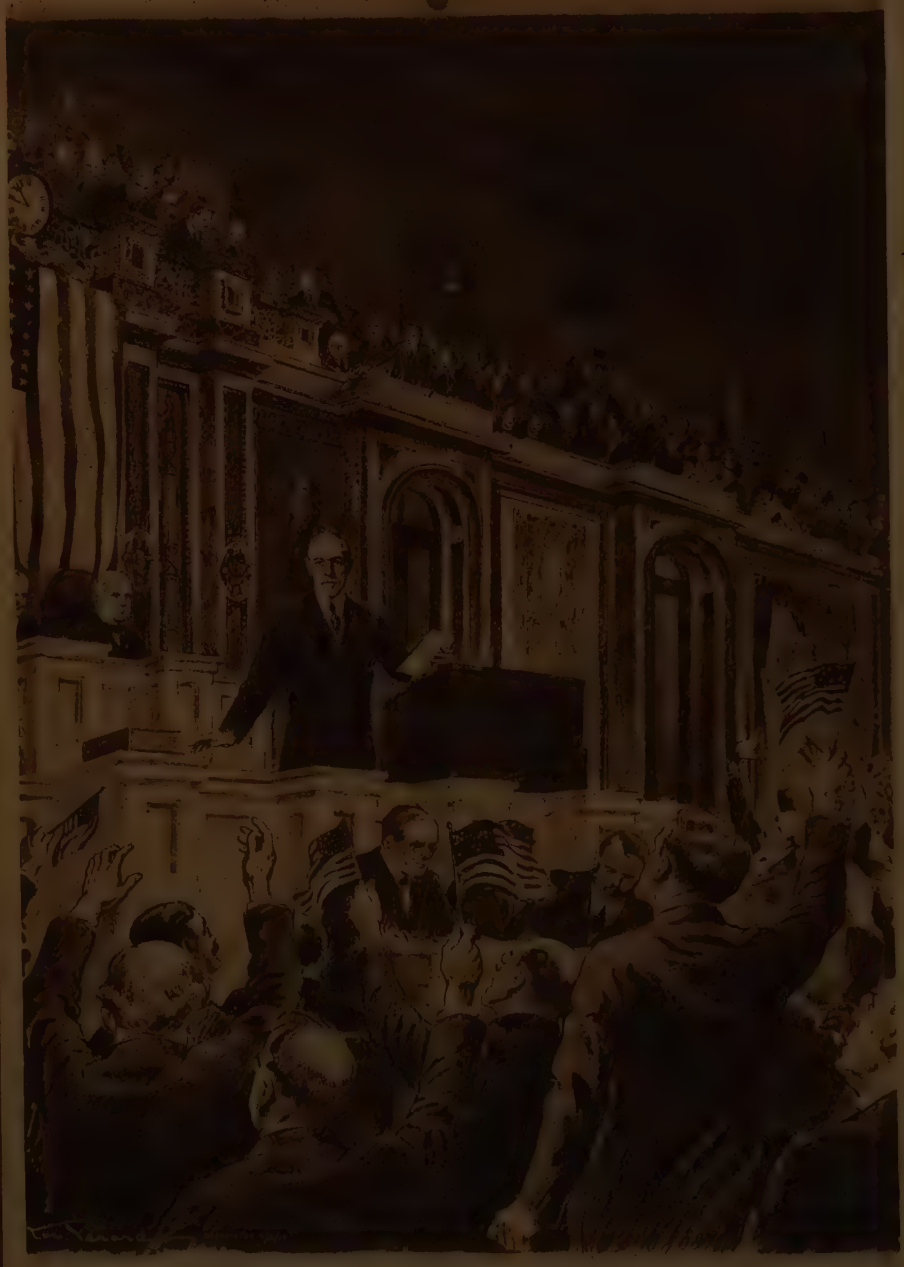
Approved 6 April, 1917

Woodrow Wilson

Official Photograph of the Resolution Which, When Signed by the President, Began Our War with Germany.

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

PRESIDENT DELIVERING HIS WAR MESSAGE



President Wilson Reading the Historic Address of April 2, Which Led to a Formal Declaration of a State of War

(Drawn by Victor Perard. © 1917 by New York Times Co.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI.—No. 2 May, 1917 25 Cents a Copy $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS		191
TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR		198
PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING A STATE OF WAR		198
THE PRESIDENT'S WAR-ECONOMIES PROCLAMATION		200
THE UNITED STATES DECLARES WAR:		
Narrative of Events Attending Entrance Into the Conflict		203
Historic Joint Session of Congress		207
House Report on German Misdeeds		214
Reception of the President's War Message		222
Parliament Welcomes America's Action		226
Action by Latin-American Nations		228
Mobilizing the Army and Navy		231
Organizing for Economic Defense		234
Dr. Zimmermann's Defense of His Mexican Plan		236
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY BREAKS WITH THE UNITED STATES		237
BELGIAN RELIEF TRANSFERRED TO DUTCH		237
VESSELS SUNK BY SUBMARINES		238
HOLLAND IN THE CROSS-FIRE OF SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY		240
PROGRESS OF THE WAR	Chronology to April 18	242
ALLIED SUCCESSES IN FRANCE	By Lieutenant J. B. W. Gardiner	246
GERMAN VERSION OF THE MONTH'S FIGHTING		250
UNITED STATES REJECTS THE GERMAN PROTOCOL		253
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED	Editorial Summaries	256
THE BATTLE OF ARRAS	By Philip Gibbs	261
Seven Days' Fighting at Arras		267
The Canadians' Achievement on Vimy Ridge		270
Great French Offensive Near Rheims		272

Contents continued on next page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR. V.	By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill	273
Secret U-boat Orders to German Newspapers		279
A Submarine Torpedo: What It Is and How It Works		280
BRITISH FOREIGN POLICIES AND THE PRESENT WAR	By T. G. Frothingham	282
RASPUTIN, NEMESIS OF THE CZAR		289
RUSSIA'S FIRST MONTH OF FREEDOM		292
Warning of Russia's Revolution: Paul Milukoff's Address		297
GERMAN RAIDERS IN THE ATLANTIC		298
DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS IN GERMANY		301
REPLY TO THE DARDANELLES REPORT		303
WRITING WAR HISTORY IN FRANCE		304
ARAB REVOLT AGAINST TURKISH RULE: Proclamation of Ulema of Mecca		306
General Maude's Proclamation to the People of Bagdad		308
ITALY'S MILITARY PROGRESS IN 1916		309
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. III.	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	310
GERMAN VANDALISM DURING THE RETREAT IN FRANCE		317
Germany's Defense of Destructive Policy		322
An Eyewitness in Devastated France	By Wythe Williams	323
Military Results of Germany's Move		326
FRENCH HEROES OF THE AIR	By Victor Forbin	328
Aerial Fighting on the French Front	By Lord Northcliffe	287
THE ZEPPELIN RAIDS AND THEIR EFFECT ON ENGLAND.	By Charles Stienon	333
List of Zeppelin Raids Against England		337
Terrible Realities of War: A Gunner's Story		338
AMAZING EFFECTS OF SHELL SHOCK	By W. R. Houston, M. D.	340
CURIOUS GERMAN WAR MEDALS	By George Macdonald	346
THE WAR PROBLEMS OF MOTHERS	By the Countess of Warwick	349
British Women in War Service		351
GERMAN WOMEN AS WAR WORKERS	By Caroline V. Kerr	354
THE WAR'S EFFECTS ON WOMAN'S STATUS	By August Winnig	358
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS. 33 Cartoons, All Nations		361

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
The Dead City of Arras	*Frontis*	Taking Over the Islands	239
New York Police on War Duty	"	Council of National Defense	270
America's Declaration of War	"	French "Tank," New Model	271
President Delivering Message	"	Latin-American War Leaders	286
Members of the War Council	206	Hunting U-Boats at Sea	287
Commanders of Army Departments	207	Path of the German Retreat	318
Naval Militia, New York	222	Ruins Left by Germans	319
First Armed American Liner	223	Prince George E. Lvoff	334
Purchasing Danish West Indies	238	Professor Paul Milukoff	335

THE WAR MESSAGE

Delivered by President Woodrow Wilson Before the United States Congress on April 2, 1917

Text of the address read by the President at 8:30 P. M., April 2, 1917, at the Joint Session of Congress, convened by special call at noon of that day.

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3d of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise, then given to us, that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free

highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

Ruthless Destruction of Life

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside, under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the wind all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination.

The challenge is to all minkind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws, when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the

defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

State of War Recognized

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits, which will now be necessary, entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon whom the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world, what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up among the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

The Menace of Autocracy

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling

toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

The Only Basis for Peace

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added, in all their naive majesty and might, to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that have served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government, with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within

and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country, have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us, (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were,) but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

A World Safe for Democracy

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial

Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified indorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

Friends of the German People

We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.

We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the

things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

God helping her, she can do no other.

Text of the Declaration of War

Joint Resolution Passed by the United States Senate and House of Representatives

[Effective April 6, 1917, at 1:18 P. M.]

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Proclamation to the American People

Text of President Wilson's Formal Announcement of a State of War

[Issued on April 6, 1917.]

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them, have resolved by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, bearing date this day, "that a state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared";

Whereas, It is provided by Section 4,067 of the Revised Statutes as follows:

"Whenever there is declared a war between the United States and any foreign nation or Government or any invasion or predatory incursion is perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States by any foreign nation or Government, and the President makes public proclamation of the event, all native citizens, denizens, or subjects of a hostile nation or Government being male of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not

actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies. The President is authorized in any such event by his proclamation thereof, or other public acts, to direct the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward the aliens who become so liable; the manner and degree of the restraint to which they shall be subject and in what cases and upon what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, refuse or neglect to depart therefrom; and to establish any such regulations which are found necessary in the premises and for the public safety."

Whereas, By Sections 4,068, 4,069, and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes, further provision is made relative to alien enemies;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim, to all whom it may concern, that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war, and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace;

And, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the said sections of the Revised Statutes,

I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States toward all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Germany, being male of the age of 14 years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, who for the purpose of this proclamation and under such sections of the Revised Statutes are termed alien enemies, shall be as follows:

All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace toward the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid, or comfort to the enemies of the United States and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby, or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President, and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations, and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States, and toward such alien enemies as conduct themselves in accordance with law all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States.

And all alien enemies who fail to conduct themselves as so enjoined, in addition to all other penalties prescribed by law, shall be liable to restraint or to give security or to remove and depart from the United States, in the manner prescribed by Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes and as prescribed in the regulations duly promulgated by the President.

And pursuant to the authority vested in me, I hereby declare and establish the following regulations, which I find necessary in the premises and for the public safety:

1. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place any firearms, weapons, or implements of war, or component parts thereof, ammunition, Maxim or other silencer, arms, or explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives;

2. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place, or use or operate, any aircraft or wireless apparatus, or any form of signaling device or any form

of cipher code or any paper, document, or book written or printed in cipher or in which there may be invisible writing;

3. All property found in the possession of an alien enemy in violation of the foregoing regulations shall be subject to seizure by the United States;

4. An alien enemy shall not approach or be found within one-half of a mile of any Federal or State fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop for the manufacture of munitions of war or of any products for the use of the army or navy;

5. An alien enemy shall not write, print, or publish any attack or threat against the Government or Congress of the United States, or either branch thereof, or against the measures or policy of the United States, or against the persons or property of any person in the military, naval, or civil service of the United States, or of the States or Territories, or of the District of Columbia, or of the municipal governments therein;

6. An alien enemy shall not commit or abet any hostile acts against the United States or give information, aid, or comfort to its enemies;

7. An alien enemy shall not reside in or continue to reside in, to remain in, or enter any locality which the President may from time to time designate by an Executive order as a prohibitive area, in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found by him to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States, except by permit from the President and except under such limitations or restrictions as the President may prescribe;

8. An alien enemy whom the President shall have reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy or to be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety of the United States, or to have violated or to be about to violate any of these regulations, shall remove to any location designated by the President by Executive order, and shall not remove therefrom without permit, or shall depart from the United States if so required by the President;

9. No alien enemy shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, Judge, or Justice, under Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes;

10. No alien enemy shall land in or enter the United States except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

11. If necessary to prevent violation of the regulations, all alien enemies will be obliged to register;

12. An alien enemy whom there may be reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or who attempts to violate or of whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that he is about to violate, any regulation to be promulgated by the President or any criminal law of the United States, or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States Marshal, or his Deputy, or such other officers as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.

This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The President's War Economies Proclamation

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 15, 1917.

My Fellow-Countrymen:

THE entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an effective war footing, and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves

to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are co-operating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for wornout railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever, and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international service army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are co-operating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency, but for some time after peace shall have come, both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual co-operation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done, and done immediately, to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this

duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs, as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The Government of the United States and the Governments of the several States stand ready to co-operate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it, and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it!

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employes, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsbility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service," and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas, no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied, and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employes that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest, also, that every one who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

WOODROW WILSON.

UNITED STATES DECLARES WAR

Narrative of Events Before and After the Nation's Entrance Into War Against Germany

THE United States and the Imperial German Government were officially proclaimed to be at war on Friday, April 6, 1917, when the President of the United States signed a joint resolution passed in both houses of Congress by overwhelming majorities, formally declaring a state of war between the two Governments.

On March 9 President Wilson, after the Senate had modified its rules so that debate could be limited, called Congress to meet in extra session on April 16, "to receive such communications as may be made by the Executive." This call was contemporaneous with the President's decision that he would authorize the arming of merchant ships and the detail of naval gun crews to man them as a protection against unrestricted German submarines. It was construed as practically a war measure in that the President desired Congress to be at hand to give support to the Government in its defense of merchant shipping.

On March 12 Secretary Lansing gave the following formal notice of the action of the United States:

In view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government on Jan. 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precaution taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board.

On March 14 the news came that the American steamship Algonquin, bound from New York for London with a cargo of foodstuffs, had been attacked without warning on March 2, and had been sunk by a German submarine with shell fire and bombs; the crew had escaped, and after twenty-seven hours in open boats had been rescued. This news created a disagreeable impression throughout the country. Public opinion at length burst into intense excitement on Monday, March 19, when it was announced that within the preceding twenty-four hours three American ships, the City of Memphis, the Illinois, and the Vigilancia, had been sunk by German submarines near the English coast, and that fifteen members of the Vigilancia's crew were lost. The City of Memphis, some of whose men were then missing, had left Cardiff in ballast for New York the day before; she was overhauled Saturday at 5 P. M. by a German submarine and the Captain was given fifteen minutes to get his crew into boats. The American flag was flying from the mast, but the ship was shelled, torpedoed, and sunk within twenty minutes. The Vigilancia was torpedoed without warning; she was in ballast. The Illinois was a tank steamship and was bound from Texas for London with a cargo of oil valued at $1,000,000. The City of Memphis was of 5,252 gross tonnage; the Vigilancia 4,115, the Illinois 5,220 tons; all bore the American flag and were conspicuously marked as American ships.

The news of the sinking of these vessels created deep indignation. It was apparent that Germany had determined to defy the American people to do their worst, and the issue of peace or war was no longer in doubt.

The day following the receipt of the news President Wilson had a long conference with Secretary of the Navy Daniels, and as a result orders were issued for speeding up work on warships under construction; also for the issue of bonds to obtain money for this purpose. The eight-hour day for Government naval construction was suspended; two classes of midshipmen were ordered to be graduated ahead of time, and all other preparations for war were hurried. The country was in tense expectation of some momentous step.

The Cabinet was summoned by the

President on the afternoon of the 20th, and the session lasted more than two hours. No formal announcement of the decision was made, but it was given out that it was the unanimous opinion of the President's advisers that a state of war was in fact existing between the United States and Germany, and that the special session of Congress should be summoned to meet at an earlier date than April 16, the time originally set.

On Wednesday, March 21, the President reached his momentous decision, and forthwith issued a proclamation summoning Congress in extra session on April 2, "to receive a communication by the Executive on grave questions of national policy, which should be immediately taken under consideration"

Nation's War Sentiment

This action was recognized everywhere as the preliminary step to declaring a state of war. Europe regarded it as the definite plunge of the United States into the world conflict. Meanwhile all war preparations were actively proceeding, and the war policy of the country was taking shape.

The news from America was received in Germany without excitement and produced no alteration whatever in her submarine policy. During the night of March 22 the American tank steamer Healdton, proceeding with a cargo of petroleum from Philadelphia to Rotterdam, was sunk without warning in the North Sea, and seven of her crew were lost.

Mass meetings were held in many parts of the United States, pledging loyalty to the country, approving the severance of relations with Germany, and demanding war. Typical of these were the resolutions passed at a mass meeting of 12,000 people in Madison Square Garden, New York, on March 22. Addresses were delivered by former Secretary of State Root, a stanch Republican; former Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild, a strong Democrat, and Mayor Mitchel of New York. A letter from former President Roosevelt was read, in which he asserted that Germany was at war with the United States and demanded that we accept the gage of battle. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

Whereas, Germany has destroyed our ships, murdered our citizens, restricted our commerce by illegal submarine warfare, and attempted to array against us the friendly powers Japan and Mexico in a plot to dismember our nation; and

Whereas, By these and other hostile acts Germany is now virtually making war against the United States;

Resolved, That we approve the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with Germany, in deciding to arm American vessels, and in calling Congress in extra session;

Resolved, That we call upon our Government for prompt, vigorous, and courageous leadership in the immediate mobilizing of the entire naval, military, and industrial strength of the nation, including the augmenting of our army and navy for the effective protection of American rights and the faithful discharge of America's duties in the present crisis;

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a Universal Military Training bill providing for a permanent national defense based on the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals;

Resolved, That we declare our deep conviction that the principles of national conduct governing Germany's actions in the present war are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and with the purposes and aspirations of this Republic; and we hold that the time has now come when it is the duty of this nation to take part in the common task of defending civilization and human liberty against German military aggression; and

Whereas, Our Government in severing diplomatic relations with Germany gave notice that further overt acts of war would be forcibly resisted; and said overt acts have been committed in the sinking of the Laconia, the City of Memphis, the Illinois, the Vigilancia, and other vessels, with the loss of American lives; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon Congress as soon as assembled to declare that by the acts of Germany a state of war does now exist between that country and the United States.

Activities of Pacifists

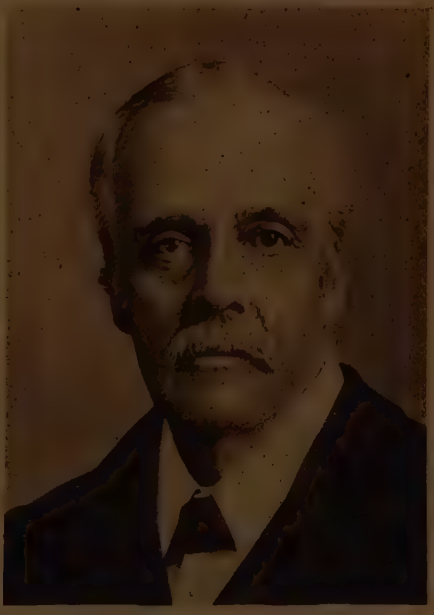
On the other hand, a group of prominent men were strongly opposed to our entry into the war. They instituted a nation-wide publicity propaganda to bring public pressure upon Congress and the President to keep us out of war. A mass meeting was held in New York on the night of March 24 at Madison Square Garden, and resolutions were passed opposing war and demanding a general referendum on the subject. All over the

MEMBERS OF WAR COUNCIL AT WASHINGTON

RENE VIVIANI
French Minister of Justice

MARSHAL JOFFRE
Victor of the Marne

MAJ. GEN. G. T. M. BRIDGES
Of British War Office
(© International News)



ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
British Foreign Minister
(Central News Service)

COMMANDERS OF ARMY DEPARTMENTS

MAJ. GEN. J. FRANKLIN BELL
Eastern Department
(Photo Bain)

BRIG. GEN. CLARENCE R. EDWARDS
Northeastern Department
(Harris & Ewing)

MAJ. GEN. HUNTER LIGGETT
Western Department
(© Harris & Ewing)

MAJ. GEN. THOS. H. BARRY
Central Department
(Underwood & Underwood)

country, however, there were evidences that the prevailing sentiment was overwhelmingly for war. Many States took steps toward defense and appropriated large sums to provide the measures.

Preliminary Call for Men

On March 25 President Wilson signed an order authorizing an increase in the enlisted strength of the navy to 87,000 men, being an addition of 26,000, and the War Department issued orders calling out units of the National Guard in nine Eastern States and the District of Columbia for police purposes. The order was regarded as indicating extensive precautions to forestall any outbreak by enemy agents upon the expected declaration of a state of war. Munitions plants, bridges, railroads, and all other important public property which might be in danger of attack upon the outbreak of war were to be carefully guarded.

The first call affected 13,000 men; on March 26 units from eighteen Western States, affecting 25,000 additional men, were called, and this was followed by other calls, so that by April 12 60,000 National Guardsmen had been called out.

Policy Toward Germans

To allay unrest and apprehension of Germans residing in the United States, it was announced at Washington on the 20th that there would be no general internment of German citizens or German reservists resident in this country in the event of war between the United States and Germany. Secretary of War Baker authorized the formal statement that "everybody of every nationality who conducts himself in accordance with American law will be free from official molestation, both now and in the future." He declared that rumors that the department had plans for the internment of resident aliens had no foundation in fact.

It was during this period of excitement that the arrival was announced of the first armed American steamship at a European port. The American liner St. Louis left New York March 17, with two guns forward and one aft and with a detail of crack marksmen of the United States Navy; she reached Liverpool without encountering any hostile submarines, on Monday, March 26. During the same period merchantmen of various other lines were equipped with guns and departed daily from various American ports.

The period between the President's call and the assembling of Congress was full of excitement throughout the country. Every department of the Government was keyed up to the highest pitch of energetic preparation for war. The mustering out of National Guardsmen who had been on duty on the Mexican border was stopped, and 22,000 guardsmen who were about to be relieved were retained in the ranks. The navy intensified its recruiting work and the Cabinet held daily sessions to discuss questions of war policy and of ways and means.

German Chancellor's Speech

The first official word that came from Germany after it was clear that President Wilson had decided to ask Congress to declare war was made public March 30 in the form of a dispatch from Berlin, transmitted by the semi-official news agency, giving the text of a speech delivered in the German Reichstag March 29 by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. He proceeded to review the causes which led up to the unrestricted use of submarines by Germany as a matter, he said, of self-defense. Then he added:

> Within the next few days the directors of the American Nation will be convened by President Wilson for an extraordinary session of Congress in order to decide the question of war or peace between the American and German Nations.
>
> Germany never had the slightest intention of attacking the United States of America, and does not have such intention now. It never desired war against the United States of America and does not desire it today.
>
> How did these things develop? More than once we told the United States that we made unrestricted use of the submarine weapon, expecting that England could be made to observe, in her policy of blockade, the laws of humanity and of international agreements. This blockade policy (this I expressly recall) has been called illegal and indefensible (the Imperial Chancellor here used the English words) by President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing.
>
> Our expectations, which we maintained during eight months, have been disappointed completely. England not only did not give up

her illegal and indefensible policy of blockade, but uninterruptedly intensified it. England, together with her allies, arrogantly rejected the peace offers made by us and our allies and proclaimed her war aims, which aim at our annihilation and that of our allies.

Then we took unrestricted submarine warfare into our hands; then we had to for our defense.

If the American Nation considers this a cause for which to declare war against the German Nation with which it has lived in peace for more than 100 years, if this action warrants an increase of bloodshed, we shall not have to bear the responsibility for it. The German Nation, which feels neither hatred nor hostility against the United States of America, shall also bear and overcome this.

Among the speeches of party leaders commenting on the Chancellor's address those of Dr. Gustav Stresemann, National Liberal, and Count von Westarp, Conservative, were the most important. Herr Stresemann remarked:

"A declaration of war by America will be possible only because American public opinion has been misled."

Count von Westarp alluded briefly to America, saying:

"We can await the decision of America with complete calm, and the execution of our operations in the barred zone will not be changed thereby."

Lord Cecil's Bitter Reply

This declaration of the Imperial Chancellor was bitterly attacked the next day by Lord Robert Cecil, the British Blockade Minister, in the following formal statement:

The German Chancellor claims that Germany in the past renounced the unrestricted use of her submarine weapon in the expectation that Great Britain could be made to observe in her blockade policy the laws of humanity and international agreements. It is difficult to say whether this statement is the more remarkable for its hypocrisy or for its falseness. It would hardly seem that Germany is in a position to speak of humanity or international agreements, since she began this war by deliberately violating the international agreement guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, and has continued it by violating all the dictates of humanity.

Has the Chancellor forgotten that the German forces have been guilty of excesses in Belgium, unparalleled in history, culminating in the attempted enslavement of a dauntless people, of poisoning wells, of bombarding open towns, torpedoing hospital ships and sinking other vessels with total disregard for the safety of noncombatants on board, with the result that many hundreds of innocent victims, including both women and children, have lost their lives?

The latest manifestation of this policy is to be seen in the devastation and deportations carried out by the Germans in their forced retreat on the western front.

The Chancellor states that it is because the Allies have not abandoned their blockade and have refused the so-called peace offer of Germany that unrestricted submarine warfare is now decided on. As to this I will do no more than quote what the Chancellor himself said in the Reichstag, when announcing the adoption of unrestricted submarine war.

He said that as soon as he himself, in agreement with the supreme army command, reached the conviction that ruthless U-boat warfare would bring Germany nearer to a victorious peace, then the U-boat warfare would be started. He continued:

"This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not ripe, but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must not wait any longer. Where has there been a change? In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has been very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success."

Does not this prove conclusively that it was not any scruple or any respect for international law or neutral rights that prevented unrestricted warfare from being adopted earlier, but merely a lack of means to carry it out?

I think it may be useful once again to point out that the illegal and inhuman attack on shipping by the Germans cannot be justified as a reprisal for the action of Great Britain in attempting to cut off from Germany all imports.

The submarine campaign was clearly contemplated as far back as December, 1914, when Admiral von Tirpitz gave an indication to an American correspondent in Berlin of the projected plan.

As for the plea that the Allies are aiming at the annihilation of Germany and her allies and that ruthless warfare is, therefore, justified, it is sufficient in order to refute this to quote the following passage from the Allies' reply of Jan. 10, 1917, to President Wilson's note:

"There is no need to say that if the Allies desire to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism, the extermination and political disappearance of the German people have never, as has been pretended, formed a part of their design."

Patriotic Rallies

A notable patriotic rally occurred March 31 at Independence Square, Philadelphia, when resolutions were adopted pledging loyal support to the President in

any action he might take for the protection of American rights on land and sea; it was one of the largest and most enthusiastic that ever assembled at Independence Square. Enthusiastic mass meetings with tumultuous ardor were also held in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston, Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, and in nearly all the important cities of the country.

The pacifist propagandists, however, were busy and were issuing appeals and urging united action to bring influences on Congress to avert a declaration of war. General calls were issued by both pacifists and war patriots to meet at Washington when Congress assembled, and there were acrimonious debates at various meetings between the contending parties, sometimes attended with violence.

Washington was a seething city on April 1, the day before Congress convened; delegations of both pacifists and war patriots came from all parts of the country, though the number of pacifists fell considerably short of expectations. It was intended by both to hold conventions and parades, but in order to avoid possible trouble all parades in Washington were forbidden. The day Congress assembled there were few outward signs to indicate that the United States was about to enter into the greatest war in history. The only difference in the normal aspect of Washington was in the somewhat larger crowds in the streets and the fact that National Guardsmen and regular troops were on guard at strategic points, that the new iron gates of the White House grounds were closed and guarded, and that admittance to some of the Government departments was obtainable only on identification.

Historic Joint Session of Congress

THE new Congress, the Sixty-fifth, which had been chosen in the preceding November, met in response to the President's special call at noon on April 2. The members in assembling had to crowd their way through swarms of pacifists who had assembled on the Capitol steps to use what influence they could against war. The House of Representatives had resolved on acting in a patriotic spirit and determined to show no spirit of partisanship in organizing.

The blind Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Couden, offered a prayer in which he said:

God of the Ages, our father's God and our God, whose holy influence has shaped and guided the destiny of our Republic from its inception, we wait upon that influence to guide us in the present crisis which has been thrust upon us.

Diplomacy has failed; moral suasion has failed; every appeal to reason and justice has been swept aside. We abhor war and love peace. But if war has been, or shall be, forced upon us, we pray that the heart of every American citizen shall throb with patriotic zeal; that a united people may rally around our President to hold up his hands in every measure that shall be deemed necessary to protect American lives and safeguard our inherent rights.

Let Thy blessings, we beseech Thee, attend the Congress now convened in extraordinary session under extraordinary conditions which call for extraordinary thought, wise counsel, calm and deliberate legislation; that its resolves and all its enactments may spring spontaneously from loyal and patriotic hearts; that our defenders on land and sea may be amply supplied with the things which make for strength and efficiency.

And, O God, our Heavenly Father, let Thy strong right arm uphold, sustain, and guide us in a just and righteous cause; for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and glory, forever, amen.

The roll was then called, amid the usual confusion; but when Montana was reached the Clerk rapped for order, and in the stillness that finally followed he called the name of Miss Rankin, the first woman ever elected to Congress. Both sides of the House burst out in applause, and Miss Rankin blushed and smiled, but they wanted her to stand up, and they cheered until she did, bowing first to the Republican side, then to the Democratic.

Champ Clark as Speaker

Champ Clark was placed in nomination for his fourth term as Speaker by Mr. Schall of Minnesota, a man elected as a Progressive in a district which, he told

the House, contains 43,000 voters, of whom 32,000 are Republicans. Mr. Schall is a blind man. He spoke from the front of the House, leaning on a cane. The pith of Mr. Schall's speech was that both parties should sink partisanship and co-operate with the President, and that the best way to do it was to give him a Congress controlled by his own party.

"I, with my sightless eyes," he said, "would be of little use to my country on the field of battle, but I can cast my vote to help it. I know of no better way to stand by the President than to return his party to the control of the House."

James R. Mann was nominated by the Republicans. The vote stood: Clark, 217; Mann, 205; six Republicans declined to vote for Mr. Mann. The organization of the House was completed by 5 o'clock and adjournment was then taken until 8:30 to meet in joint session with the Senate to receive the President's address.

President Wilson came to the Capitol escorted by a squadron of cavalry.

The House an hour before had taken a recess. When it met again it was in a scene that the hall had never presented before. Directly in front of the Speaker and facing him sat the members of the Supreme Court without their gowns. Over at one side sat the members of the Diplomatic Corps in evening dress. It was the first time any one could remember when the foreign envoys had ever sat together officially in the Hall of Representatives.

Then the doors opened, and in came the Senators, headed by Vice President Marshall, each man wearing or carrying a small American flag. There were three or four exceptions, including Senators La Follette and Vardaman, but one had to look hard to find them, and Senator Stone was no exception. It was at 8:32 that they came in, and five minutes later the Speaker announced:

"The President of the United States."

President Delivers Address

As he walked in and ascended the speakers' platform he got such a reception as Congress had never given him before in any of his visits to it. The Supreme Court Justices rose from their chairs, facing the place where he stood, and led the applause, while Representatives and Senators not only cheered, but yelled. It was two minutes before he could begin his address.

When he did begin it, he stood with his manuscript before him typewritten on sheets of note paper. He held it in both hands, resting his arm on the green baize covered desk, and at first he read without looking up, but after a while he would glance occasionally to the right or the left as he made a point, not as if he were trying to see the effect but more as a sort of gesture—the only one he employed.

Congress listened intently and without any sort of interruption while he recited the German crimes against humanity, his own and his country's effort to believe that the German rulers had not wholly cut themselves off from the path which civilized nations follow, and how the truth has been forced upon unwilling minds. Congress was waiting for his conclusions, and there was no applause or demonstration of any kind for the recital.

But when he finished his story of our efforts to avoid war and came to the sentence "armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable because submarines are in fact outlaws when used as the German submarines are used," the close attention deepened into a breathless silence, so painfully intense that it seemed almost audible.

The President ended at 9:11, having spoken thirty-six minutes. Then the great scene which had been enacted at his entrance was repeated. The diplomats, Supreme Court, the galleries, the House and Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, stood in their places and the Senators waved flags they had brought in with them. Those who were wearing, not carrying, flags tore them from their lapels or their sleeves and waved with the rest, and they all cheered wildly.

Senator Robert Marion La Follette, however, stood motionless with his arms folded tight and high on his chest, so

that nobody could have any excuse for mistaking his attitude, and there he stood, chewing gum with a sardonic smile.

The President walked rapidly out of the hall, and when he had gone the Senators and the Supreme Court and the diplomats went their ways.

[The address of the President appears in preceding pages.]

After the departure of the President both houses of Congress were assembled and resolutions were introduced in each house embodying the President's recommendations that the state of war with Germany be declared. The resolutions were introduced in the House by Chairman Flood of the Foreign Relations Committee, and in the Senate by Senator Martin, both of Virginia, and at once referred to the respective committees, and the two houses thereupon adjourned.

[The text of the joint resolution is printed on page 198.]

Debate in the Senate

The war resolution was passed by the Senate at 11:11 P. M. Wednesday, April 4, after thirteen hours' debate, by a vote of 82 to 6, eight Senators being unavoidably absent—all the absentees favored the resolution, hence the true sentiment of the Senate was 90 to 6. The six Senators who voted nay were La Follette of Wisconsin, Gronna of North Dakota, Norris of Nebraska, Stone of Missouri, Lane of Oregon, and Vardaman of Mississippi, the first three being Republicans, the last three Democrats.

The opening speech was delivered by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who was in charge of the resolution in substitution for Chairman Stone of the Foreign Relations Committee, who was in opposition. In his address the Senator said that Germany's resumption of submarine activity was not a violation of her word, but a revocation of it, a step taken in desperation.

It was not intended to provoke war with us, but it was followed by acts of war upon us. They were not made for the deliberate purpose of injuring us but rather to starve the English people. The effect, however, was the same. We were ordered off the high seas. We could not submit; no great nation could remain great and independent, if it did so. No great nation could maintain its place in history if it permitted another to order it off the sea, if it permitted another to bottle up its commerce, if it permitted another to dictate to it in the exercise of its unquestioned right and to impose the penalty of murder of its citizens in case of refusal.

Words of Senator Lodge

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, who had been precipitated into a personal affray in the Senate corridor the day before by a committee of pacifists and had knocked down one who attacked him, in the course of his remarks, said:

We have never been a military nation. We are not prepared for war in the modern sense; but we have vast resources and unbounded energies and the day when war is declared we should devote ourselves to calling out those resources and organizing those energies so that they can be used with the utmost effect in hastening the complete victory. The worst of all wars is a feeble war. War is too awful to be entered upon half-heartedly. If we fight at all, we must fight for all we are worth. It must be no weak, hesitating war. The most merciful war is that which is most vigorously waged and which comes most quickly to an end.

But there are, in my opinion, some things worse for a nation than war. National degeneracy is worse; national cowardice is worse. The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope, and one tradition—all these dangers have been gathering about us and darkening the horizon during the last three years. Whatever suffering and misery war may bring, it will at least sweep these foul things away. It will unify us into one nation.

This war is a war against barbarism, panoplied in all the devices for destruction of human life which science, beneficent science, can bring forth. We are resisting an effort to thrust mankind back to forms of government, to political creeds, and methods of conquest which we had hoped had disappeared forever from the world. We are fighting against a nation which, in the fashion of centuries ago, drags the inhabitants of conquered lands into slavery; which carries off women and girls for even worse purposes; which in its mad desire to conquer mankind and trample them under foot has stopped at no wrong, has regarded no treaty.

The work that we are called upon to do when we enter this war is to preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy, and the light of modern civilization; all that we most love, all that we hold dearer than life itself. We wish only to preserve our own peace and our own security, to uphold the great doctrine which

guards the American Hemisphere, and to see the disappearance of all wars or rumors of wars from the East, if any dangers there exist.

What we want most of all by this victory, which we shall help to win, is to secure the world's peace, based on freedom and democracy, a world not controlled by a Prussian military autocracy, but by the will of the free people of the earth. We shall achieve this result, and when we achieve it we shall be able to say that we have helped to confer a great blessing upon mankind, and that we have not fought in vain.

Senator Norris, in his opposition, said:

We are going into war upon command of gold. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate and make millions of our countrymen suffer and untold generations bear burdens and shed their life blood, all because we want to preserve our commercial right to deliver munitions to the belligerents. I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag.

Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, replied to Senator Norris by declaring that his charge that the war resolution was placing the dollar sign on the American flag was "almost treason." The assertion that the nation was going to war on the demand of gold was "an indictment of the President of the United States, an indictment of Congress, of the American people, and of the truth."

"It is not the truth!" shouted the Missouri Senator.

Opposition by La Follette

Senator La Follette of Wisconsin delivered the principal speech against the resolution. He read a number of telegrams reporting straw votes, postcard, and other polls in various communities in the Central West, where the sentiment was overwhelmingly against war. He asserted that, of 15,000 or 20,000 letters and telegrams he had received regarding his vote on the armed ship bill, 80 to 90 per cent. had approved his stand. He referred to the President's statement that Germany had violated her submarine pledges, and continued:

Her promise, so called, was conditional upon England being brought to obedience of international law. Was it quite fair to lay before the country the statement that Germany made an unconditional promise and had deliberately violated it?

It was England, not Germany, who refused to obey the Declaration of London, containing the most humane ideas of naval warfare which could be framed by the civilized world up to that time. Keep that in mind.

If this is war upon all mankind, is it not peculiar that the United States is the only nation of all neutrals which regards it as necessary to declare war upon Germany? All have refused to join in a combination against Germany. Some may have a clearer view than we. This suspicion of a desire for war profits does not attach to them.

Senator La Follette said that the United States had not the confidence of the other American republics because of its war policies. He predicted that entrance of the United States would not shorten the conflict, "but will vastly extend it by drawing other nations in." It is idle, the Senator went on, to talk of a war on the German Government and not on the German people.

We are leagued, (he continued,) or are about to be, according to the President's speech, with the hereditary enemies of the German people. Words are not strong enough to protest against a combination with the Entente Allies which would have us indorse the violations of international law by Great Britain and her purpose to wreak vengeance on the German people. We do not know what is in the minds of those who made the compacts in which we are to share.

Reverting to the President's assertion that the German people were thrown into war without an opportunity to say anything about it, the Senator asked: "Will the supporters of this war bill have a vote on it before it goes into effect? Unless they do that, it ill becomes us to speak of Germany. Submit this question to the people. By a vote of ten to one they would register their declaration against war."

The German people, he asserted, were more solidly behind their Government than the people of the United States would be behind the President in waging war on Germany.

"The Espionage bill and the Military bill that have been drawn by the war machine in this country," he said, "are complete proof that those responsible know that it has not popular support. The armies, necessary to be raised to aid the Entente Allies, cannot be raised by voluntary enlistment."

Praising the character and services of German-Americans in this country, Senator La Follette said that they were

being "dogged" by Secret Service men. He denied that any one Government was responsible for the war, saying that it was caused by European secret diplomacy. He cited the Anglo-French Moroccan secret treaty as "the most reprehensible, dishonest, and perjured on record."

"England first began the ruthless naval warfare," he asserted, "by repudiating the declaration of London."

Senator Knox, Republican, of Pennsylvania, interrupted to suggest that England did not ratify the declaration. Senator La Follette replied that British representatives signed it, and Senator Stone said England had not actually rejected it.

"It has pleased those who have been conducting this campaign (for war) through the press to make a jumble of issues," Senator La Follette continued, "until now it is impossible to get an intelligent answer regarding the real issues. They say that Americans are being killed by German submarines. We haven't a leg to stand on in support of this war declaration."

That the United States did not protest more vigorously against the British mine field blockade was the Administration's great mistake, the Senator said, and the real and primary cause of an American war declaration. He added:

We have wallowed in the mire at the feet of Great Britain and submitted in silence to her dictation. Because we acquiesce we have a legal and moral responsibility to Germany. Thus we have been actively aiding her enemy in starving German women, children, and old men. Germany waited three long months for this Government to protest. In principle, therefore, Germany had the right to destroy, blindly, ships by submarines and mines, in her own blockade zone. Germany is only doing what England is doing. Germany has been patient with us, standing strictly on her right to be accorded the same treatment as England by us.

Reply of Senator Williams

Senator Williams of Mississippi, in replying to Senator La Follette, said:

The Senator from Wisconsin labored to establish an identity of purpose and action in the violations of our neutral rights by Great Britain and Germany. He proved that he did not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo. Great Britain has drowned none of our citizens.

I am a little tired of utterances like that of the Senator from Wisconsin, denouncing the Entente Allies. He endeavors to twist the British lion's tail. Demagogues have been doing that ever since the Revolution, but it is a matter of history that most of the people of England were against the war on the colonies.

Which would you rather do, fight Germany now with France and Great Britain and Russia, or fight her alone later? You've got to do one or the other. I tell you that if Germany does win that fight on the Continent of Europe she will begin building and getting ready to whip us, unless the English fleet prevents it.

Referring to the Wisconsin Senator's statement that the United States had nothing to lose, no matter which side won the war, Senator Williams said:

Let's see. Have we no honor? No regard for the future sovereignty of our country? No regard for our flag? Is sentiment rot? Is patriotism rot? Is there nothing precious except money?

I'm getting tired of this talk that this is a Wall Street war. That's a lie. Wall Street did not sink the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Sussex, and these other ships. I'm tired of lies like that, and I think it is the duty of the American Congress and people to brand them as lies.

Senator Williams said that the resolution did not propose that the United States enter the European war, but that it go into an American war to protect American rights and for the sake of honor, justice, safety, liberty, and equality. Once at war, he added, the United States should stay until it became assured the houses of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg would no longer reign in Germany and Austria, and that the Turk would be forced back into Asia.

Debate in the House

The resolution declaring war was reported to the House of Representatives after its passage by the Senate on Thursday, April 5. In presenting the resolution for passage the Committee on Foreign Affairs submitted an exhaustive report, in which the American indictment against the German Government was reviewed. The full text of this report is printed on pages 214-222.

The resolution was discussed in the House from 10 A. M. Thursday until 3:12 A. M. Friday, when it was passed by a vote of 373 yeas and 50 nays, 9 not vot-

ing. Miss Rankin, the woman member of the House, voted "no" after being called three times; she prefaced her vote in a voice choked by emotion, with the words: "I want to stand by my country—but I cannot vote for war."

The first important speech against the resolution was made by Representative Cooper of Wisconsin of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He maintained that Germany had not violated her promise regarding submarines; that she specifically reserved the right to withdraw it unless the United States Government would induce Great Britain to modify the blockade regulations. He argued that Great Britain had violated American rights upon the seas, that America had not been neutral. He defended German militarism with the query:

What has overthrown Russia? The tremendous struggle of the Central Powers. Now, then, I ask you this question: If we were in the situation of the German people and had just across an imaginary boundary, say like the Rio Grande River, a country of 120,000,000 or 130,000,000 or 140,000,000 people, having the most absolute, tyrannical, corrupt despotism of modern times, with an army of 1,300,000, what would we have done to secure our own safety and how long before this would we have had universal military service?

He quoted from a speech of Lloyd George delivered in Queen's Hall, London, July 28, 1908, in which he justified Germany's military preparedness, and quoted Lloyd George as follows:

Here is Germany, in the middle of Europe, with France and Russia on either side, and with a combination of their armies greater than hers. Suppose we had here a possible combination which would lay us open to invasion—suppose Germany and France, or Germany and Russia, or Germany and Austria had fleets which in combination would be stronger than ours.

Would not we be frightened; would not we build; would not we arm? Of course we should. I want our friends, who think that because Germany is a little frightened she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances.

British Blockade Defended

Representative Harrison of Mississippi, in replying, said regarding England's blockade:

When she executed that order she said to the United States, "We have mined certain places in the North Sea, but if any of your vessels wish to go through we will furnish you a diagram, so to speak; we will furnish you pilot boats, so that you may not run against the mines." Did Germany do that? No. Germany said, "Here is a zone 1,500 miles long and 1,100 miles wide your vessels cannot enter except once a week, and then only at a certain port and along a certain path, and your vessel shall be painted a certain color—like a barber's sign, so to speak." And then they said, so far as the Mediterranean is concerned, "You cannot enter it except in a strip of twenty miles wide." Can you not see the difference between the actions of Germany and the actions of England? A man who cannot is unable to see the difference between, as some one has said, a torpedo and a prize court.

England's prize courts have awarded hundreds of thousands of dollars for affecting the property rights of the citizens of this country. Their courts are open, and they have said, "We will try the cases coming before us, and award damages not upon the orders in council but upon international law." And on that principle hundreds of our citizens have collected the full market value of their cargoes taken. And yet men say that we ought to go to war against England for violating property rights and excuse Germany for destroying the lives of American citizens. By that argument you say to me I shall not be permitted to choose my assailant. If one comes into my home and steals my pocketknife, he can be prosecuted for petit larceny. The penalty will be light. But if he comes into my home and kills some one who is dear to me, the punishment will be death. * * *

For nearly three years we have tried every avenue of diplomacy commensurate with a nation's honor to avoid war. So intense has been our desire for peace that at home our Government has been criticised and abroad our patience and forbearance have been marveled at.

Indictment by Mr. Foss

Representative Foss of Illinois denounced Germany's attitude in these terms:

German belief in German power has fattened on the blood of innocents. She no longer seeks to hide behind her broken promise, but tells us she will sink on sight any ship within a certain zone, save one poor ship per week, and then only under conditions which, to accept, was to surrender each and all our dearly bought liberties.

At the same moment we caught her red-handed in the basest act of international treachery ever committed by a civilized nation. She offers as barter a part of our sovereign territory in exchange for an attack on us by two friendly nations—Mexico and Japan.

Now Germany has dropped her diplomatic mask and stands revealed in all her naked

savagery. She will now kill on sight; she has run amuck on the seas; she has now treacherously sought an alliance against our peace. Throughout all this we have remained neutral, and, as a reward for our neutrality, what have we received at the hands of William II.?

He has set the torch of the incendiary to our factories, our workshops, our ships, and our wharves.

He has laid the bomb of the assassin in our munition plants and in the holds of our ships.

He has sought to corrupt our manhood with a selfish dream of peace when there is no peace.

He has willfully butchered our citizens on the high seas.

He has destroyed our commerce.

He seeks to terrorize us with his devilish policy of frightfulness.

He has violated every canon of international decency and set at naught every solemn treaty and every precept of international law.

He has plunged the world into the maddest orgy of blood, rapine, and murder which history records.

He has intrigued against our peace at home and abroad.

He seeks to destroy our civilization. Patience is no longer a virtue, further endurance is cowardice, submission to Prussian demands is slavery.

Kitchin's Opposition Speech

Representative Kitchin of North Carolina, who is the Democratic floor leader, opposed the resolution. In his address he said:

Great Britain every day, every hour, for two years has violated American rights on the seas. We have persistently protested. She has denied us not only entrance into the ports of the Central Powers but has closed to us by force the ports of neutrals. She has unlawfully seized our ships and our cargoes. She has rifled our mails. She has declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover all the ports of her enemy. She made the entire North Sea a military area—strewed it with hidden mines and told the neutral nations of the world to stay out or be blown up. We protested. No American ships were sunk, no American life was destroyed, because we submitted and did not go in. We kept out of war. We sacrificed no honor. We surrendered permanently no essential rights. We knew that these acts of Great Britain, though in plain violation of international law and of our rights on the seas, were not aimed at us. They were directed at her enemy. They were inspired by military necessity. Rather than plunge this country into war, we were willing to forego for the time our rights. I approved that course then; I approve it now. Germany declared a war zone sufficiently large to cover the ports of her enemy. She infests it with submarines and warns the neutral world to stay out, though in plain violation of our rights and of international law. We know that these acts are aimed not directly at us but intended to injure and cripple her enemy, with which she is in a death struggle.

We refuse to yield; we refuse to forego our rights for the time. We insist upon going in.

In my judgment, we could keep out of the war with Germany, as we kept out of the war with Great Britain, by keeping our ships and our citizens out of the war zone of Germany as we did out of the war zone of Great Britain. And we would sacrifice no more honor, surrender no more rights in the one case than in the other. But we are told that Germany has destroyed American lives while Great Britain destroyed only property. Great Britain destroyed no American lives, because this nation kept her ships and her citizens out of her war zone which she infested with hidden mines. But are we quite sure that the real reason for war with Germany is the destruction of lives as distinguished from property, that to avenge the killing of innocent Americans and to protect American lives war becomes a duty?

Mr. Kitchin argued that Mexicans had murdered American citizens, had invaded American territory, and committed acts of war against the United States; and that we had refrained from war on that occasion without sacrificing our honor. He continued:

Are we quite sure that in a war with Germany or Japan, if our fleet was bottled up, helpless, and our ships of commerce had been swept from the seas, all our ports closed by the enemy's fleet, imports of fuel and food and clothing for our people and ammunition for our soldiers were denied, with our very life trembling in the balance, we would not, in the last struggle for existence, strike our enemy with the only weapon of the sea remaining and in a manner violative of the international law? Would one contend that under the circumstances our submarine commanders should permit the landing at the ports of the enemy arms and ammunition with which to shoot down our brave American boys when they had it in their power to prevent it? Would we demand of our submarine commanders that they give the benefit of the doubt to questions of international law rather than to the safety of our country and the lives of our own soldiers?

There were more than fifty speeches delivered during the session.

The War Proclamation

The war resolution as passed by the two houses of Congress was signed by President Wilson at 1:18 P. M. Friday,

April 6, and by that act the United States and Germany became officially at war. At the same time the President issued a proclamation to the American people announcing the existence of a state of war, the text of which appears on Pages 198-200. Formal notice was at the same time flashed to every American war vessel, naval station, fort, and army post; also to American diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad. Orders were likewise at once issued by the Navy Department to mobilize the naval forces of the United States and all branches of the navy were placed upon a war footing.

Seizure of German Ships

The first act in recognition of a state of war was the seizure by the United States authorities of all German ships that had taken refuge in American ports at the commencement of the war. Preparations to this end were made by the Federal authorities at all ports, and when the news was flashed from Washington at dawn on Friday that the war resolution had been adopted by Congress a detachment of port officials accompanied by a detail of Federal troops instantly took possession of the vessels.

There were in all 91 German-owned vessels in American waters with a gross tonnage of 594,696; twenty-seven of them in the Harbor of New York, six at Boston, three at Baltimore, two at Wilmington, N. C.; two at Philadelphia, three at San Francisco, two at Pensacola, two at New Orleans, two at Astoria, Ore.; eight at Honolulu, seventeen at Manila, three at Zamboango, and three at Cebu, Philippine Islands; one each at New London, Newport News, Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, Portland, Ore.; Seattle, Winslow, Wash.; Hilo, Hawaii; San Juan, P. R.; Pago Pago, Samoa. The seizures were made without incident except in one case, and the crews were interned at the various immigrant stations, where they were treated as newly arrived immigrants. A German gunboat at Manila, the Cormoran, was blown up by its officers before the Federal officials took possession, and five members of the crew perished; the remaining 353 men and officers then peacefully accepted internment. The vessels seized were valued at about $100,000,000. It was found that the machinery had been disabled on each of the ships, except the Vaterland, the 54,000-ton German liner at New York. It was estimated that several weeks would be required to make repairs.

The Government announced that the ships were seized for the purpose of protecting them from further injury, and that until a decision could be reached as to their proper disposition Customs guards had been placed on board. A few days later a large numbers of machinists were placed on the ships by Government authorities, and the work of repairs was vigorously begun.

Report of House Committee on Foreign Affairs Reciting German Misdeeds

When the resolution declaring war was reported for passage in the House of Representatives on April 5, the Committee of Foreign Affairs submitted the following exhaustive report, reciting the long catalogue of unfriendly acts that would justify war on the part of the United States:

IT is with the deepest sense of responsibility of the momentous results which will follow the passage of this resolution that your committee reports it to the House, with the recommendation that it be passed.

The conduct of the Imperial German Government toward this Government, its citizens, and its interests has been so discourteous, unjust, cruel, barbarous, and so lacking in honesty and fair dealing that it has constituted a violation of the course of conduct which should obtain between friendly nations.

In addition to this, the German Government is actually making war upon the people and the commerce of this country, and leaves no course open to this Government but to accept its gage of battle, de-

clare that a state of war exists, and wage that war vigorously.

On the 31st day of January, 1917, notice was given by the Imperial German Government to this Government that after the following day—

> Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

Since that day seven American ships flying the American flag have been sunk and between twenty-five and thirty American lives have been lost as a result of the prosecution of the submarine warfare in accordance with the above declaration. This is war. War waged by the Imperial German Government upon this country and its people.

A brief review of some of the hostile and illegal acts of the German Government toward this Government and its officers and its people is herewith given.

Germany's Conduct at Sea

In the memorial of the Imperial German Government accompanying its proclamation of Feb. 4, 1915, in regard to submarine warfare, that Government declared: "The German Navy has received instructions to abstain from all violence against neutral vessels recognizable as such." In the note of the German Government dated Feb. 16, 1915, in reply to the American note of Feb. 10, it was declared that "It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government * * * ever to destroy neutral lives and neutral property. * * * The commanders of German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of the 4th instant, to abstain from violence to American merchant ships when they are recognizable as such."

Nevertheless, the German Government proceeded to carry out its plans of submarine warfare and torpedoed the British passenger steamer Falaba on March 27, 1915, when one American life was lost, attacked the American steamer Cushing April 28 by airship, and made submarine attacks upon the American tank steamer Gulflight May 1, the British passenger steamer Lusitania May 7, when 114 American lives were lost, and the American steamer Nebraskan on May 25, in all of which over 125 citizens of the United States lost their lives, not to mention hundreds of noncombatants who were lost and hundreds of Americans and noncombatants whose lives were put in jeopardy.

The British mule boat Armenian was torpedoed on June 28, as a result of which twenty Americans are reported missing.

On July 8, 1915, in a note to Ambassador Gerard, arguing in defense of its method of warfare and particularly of its submarine commander in the Lusitania case, it is stated:

> The Imperial Government therefore repeats the assurances that American ships will not be hindered in the prosecution of legitimate shipping and the lives of American citizens on neutral vessels shall not be placed in jeopardy.
>
> In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers * * * the German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance.

Subsequently the following vessels carrying American citizens were attacked by submarines: British liner Orduna, July 9; Russian steamer Leo, July 9; American steamer Leelanaw, July 25; British passenger liner Arabic, Aug. 19; British mule ship Nicosian, Aug. 19; British steamer Hesperian, Sept. 4. In these attacks twenty-three Americans lost their lives, not to mention the large number whose lives were placed in jeopardy.

Following these events, conspicuous by their wantonness and violation of every rule of humanity and maritime warfare, the German Ambassador, by instructions from his Government, on Sept. 1 gave the following assurances to the Government of the United States:

> Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

On Sept. 9, in a reply as to the submarine attack on the Orduna, the German Government renewed these assurances in the following language:

> The first attack on the Orduna by a torpedo

was not in accordance with the existing instructions, which provide that large passenger steamers are to be torpedoed only after previous warning and after the rescuing of passengers and crew. The failure to observe the instructions was based on an error which is at any rate comprehensible and the repetition of which appears to be out of the question, in view of the more explicit instructions issued in the meantime. Moreover, the commanders of the submarines have been reminded that it is their duty to exercise greater care and to observe carefully the orders issued.

The German Government could not more clearly have stated that liners or large passenger steamers would not be torpedoed except upon previous warning and after the passengers and crew had been put in places of safety.

On Nov. 29 the German Government states, in connection with the case of the American vessel William P. Frye:

The German naval forces will sink only such American vessels as are loaded with absolute contraband, when the preconditions provided by the Declaration of London are present. In this the German Government quite shares the view of the American Government that all possible care must be taken for the security of the crew and passengers of a vessel to be sunk. Consequently the persons found on board of a vessel may not be ordered into her lifeboats except when the general conditions—that is to say, the weather, the condition of the sea, and the neighborhood of the coasts—afford absolute certainty that the boats will reach the nearest port.

Following this accumulative series of assurances, however, there seems to have been no abatement in the rigor of submarine warfare, for attacks were made in the Mediterranean upon the American steamer Communipaw on Dec. 3, the American steamer Petrolite Dec. 5, the Japanese liner Yasaka Maru Dec. 21, and the passenger liner Persia Dec. 30. In the sinking of the Persia out of a total of some 500 passengers and crew only 165 were saved. Among those lost was an American Consul traveling to his post.

On Jan. 7, eight days after the sinking of the Persia, the German Government notified the Government of the United States through its Ambassador in Washington as follows:

1. German submarines in the Mediterranean had, from the beginning, orders to conduct cruiser warfare against enemy merchant vessels only in accordance with the general principles of international law, and in particular measures of reprisal, as applied in the war zone around the British Isles, were to be excluded.

2. German submarines are therefore permitted to destroy enemy merchant vessels in the Mediterranean, i. e., passenger as well as freight ships as far as they do not try to escape or offer resistance—only after passengers and crews have been accorded safety.

German Promises Violated

Clearly the assurances of the German Government that neutral and enemy merchant vessels, passenger as well as freight ships, should not be destroyed except upon the passengers and crew being accorded safety stood as the official position of the Imperial German Government.

On Feb. 16, 1916, the German Ambassador communicated to the Department of State an expression of regret for the loss of American lives on the Lusitania, and proposed to pay a suitable indemnity. In the course of this note he said:

Germany has * * * limited her submarine warfare because of her long-standing friendship with the United States and because by the sinking of the Lusitania, which caused the death of citizens of the United States, the German retaliation affected neutrals, which was not the intention, as retaliation should be confined to enemy subjects.

On March 1, 1916, the unarmed French passenger steamer Patria, carrying a number of American citizens, was attacked without warning. On March 9 the Norwegian bark Silius, riding at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed by an unseen submarine and one of the seven Americans on board was injured. On March 16 the Dutch passenger steamer Tubantia was sunk in the North Sea by a torpedo. On March 16 the British steamer Berwindale was torpedoed without warning off Bantry Island with four Americans on board. On March 24 the British unarmed steamer Englishman was, after a chase, torpedoed and sunk by the submarine U-19, as a result of which one American on board perished. On March 24 the unarmed French cross-Channel steamer Sussex was torpedoed without warning, several of the twenty-four American passengers being injured. On March 27 the unarmed British liner Manchester Engineer was sunk by an explosion without prior warning, with Americans on board, and on March 28 the British steamer Eagle Point, carrying a

Hotchkiss gun, which she did not use, was chased, overtaken, and sunk by a torpedo after the persons on board had taken to the boats.

The American note of Feb. 10, 1917, stated that should German vessels of war "destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations so happily subsisting between the two Governments," and that if such a deplorable situation should arise, "the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities."

In the American note of May 13, 1915, the Government stated:

The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and in safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

In the note of July 21, 1915, the United States Government said that

Repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

In a communication of April 18, 1916, the American Government said:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should not immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

The German Government replied to this communication on May 4, 1916, giving definite assurances that new orders had been issued to the German naval forces "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law." And this agreement was substantially complied with for many months, but finally, on Jan. 31, 1917, notice was given that after the following day

Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

In view of this Government's warning of April 18, 1916, and the Imperial German Government's pledge of May 4 of the same year, the Government of the United States, on Feb. 3, 1917, stated to the Imperial German Government that

in view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1916, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purposes again to resort.

The President has, therefore, directed me to announce to your Excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and, in accordance with such announcement, to deliver to your Excellency your passports.

On Feb. 3 one American ship was sunk, and since that date six American ships flying the American flag have been torpedoed, with a loss of about thirteen American citizens. In addition, fifty or more foreign vessels of both belligerent and neutral nationality with Americans on board have been torpedoed, in most cases without warning, with a consequent loss of several American citizens.

Intrigues in the United States

Since the beginning of the war German officials in the United States have engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country. Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, Captain von

Papen, Military Attaché of the embassy, Captain Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché, as well as various Consular officers and other officials, were involved in these activities, which were very widespread.

The following instances are chosen at random from the cases which have come to the knowledge of the Government:

I. By direct instructions received from the Foreign Office in Berlin the German Embassy in this country furnished funds and issued orders to the Indian Independence Committee of the Indian Nationalist Party in the United States. These instructions were usually conveyed to the committee by the military information bureau in New York, (von Igel,) or by the German Consulates in New York and San Francisco.

Dr. Chakrabarty, recently arrested in New York City, received, all in all, according to his own admission, some $60,000 from von Igel. He claims that the greater portion of this money was used for defraying the expenses of the Indian revolutionary propaganda in this country and, as he says, for educational purposes. While this is in itself true, it is not all that was done by the revolutionists. They have sent representatives to the Far East to stir up trouble in India, and they have attempted to ship arms and ammunition to India. These expeditions have failed. The German Embassy also employed Ernest T. Euphrat to carry instructions and information between Berlin and Washington under an American passport.

II. Officers of interned German warships have violated their word of honor and escaped. In one instance the German Consul at Richmond furnished the money to purchase a boat to enable six warrant officers of the steamer Kronprinz Wilhelm to escape after breaking their parole.

III. Under the supervision of Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Hans von Wedell and, subsequently, Carl Ruroede maintained a regular office for the procurement of fraudulent passports for German reservists. These operations were directed and financed in part by Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel. Indictments were returned, Carl Ruroede sentenced to the penitentiary, and a number of German officers fined. Von Wedell escaped and has apparently been drowned at sea. Von Wedell's operations were also known to high officials in Germany. When von Wedell became suspicious that forgeries committed by him on a passport application had become known, he conferred with Captain von Papen and obtained money from him wherewith to make his escape.

IV. James J. F. Archibald, under cover of an American passport and in the pay of the German Government through Ambassador Bernstorff, carried dispatches for Ambassador Dumba and otherwise engaged in unneutral activities.

V. Albert O. Sander, Charles Wunnenberg, and others, German agents in this country, were engaged, among other activities, in sending spies to England, equipped with American passports, for the purpose of securing military information. Several such men have been sent. Sander and Wunnenberg have pleaded guilty to indictments brought against them in New York City, as has George Voux Bacon, one of the men sent abroad by them.

VI. American passports have been counterfeited and counterfeits found on German agents. Baron von Cupenberg, a German agent, when arrested abroad, bore a counterfeit of an American passport issued to Gustav C. Roeder; Irving Guy Ries received an American passport, went to Germany, where the police retained his passports for twenty-four hours. Later a German spy named Carl Paul Julius Hensel was arrested in London with a counterfeit of the Ries passport in his possession.

VII. Prominent officials of the Hamburg-American Line, who, under the direction of Captain Boy-Ed, endeavored to provide German warships at sea with coal and other supplies in violation of the statutes of the United States, have been tried and convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. Some twelve or more vessels were involved in this plan.

VIII. Under the direction of Captain Boy-Ed and the German Consulate at San Francisco, and in violation of our law, the steamships Sacramento and Mazatlan carried supplies from San

Francisco to German war vessels. The Olsen and Mahoney, which was engaged in a similar enterprise, was detained. The money for these ventures was furnished by Captain Boy-Ed. Indictments have been returned in connection with these matters against a large number of persons.

IX. Werner Horn, a Lieutenant in the German reserve, was furnished funds by Captain Franz von Papen and sent, with dynamite, under orders to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me. He was partially successful. He is now under indictment for the unlawful transportation of dynamite on passenger trains and is in jail awaiting trial following the dismissal of his appeal by the Supreme Court.

X. Captain von Papen furnished funds to Albert Kaltschmidt of Detroit, who is involved in a plot to blow up a factory at Walkerville, Canada, and the armory at Windsor, Canada.

Bomb Plots Against Ships

XI. Robert Fay, Walter Scholtz, and Paul Daeche have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary and three others are under indictment for conspiracy to prepare bombs and attach them to allied ships leaving New York Harbor. Fay, who was the principal in this scheme, was a German soldier. He testified that he received finances from a German secret agent in Brussels, and told Von Papen of his plans, who advised him that his device was not practicable, but that he should go ahead with it, and if he could make it work he would consider it.

XII. Under the direction of Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel, Dr. Walter T. Scheele, Captain von Kleist, Captain Wolpert of the Atlas Steamship Company, and Captain Rode of the Hamburg-American Line manufactured incendiary bombs and placed them on board allied vessels. The shells in which the chemicals were placed were made on board the steamship Friedrich der Grosse. Scheele was furnished $1,000 by von Igel wherewith to become a fugitive from justice.

XIII. Captain Franz Rintelen, a reserve officer in the German Navy, came to this country secretly for the purpose of preventing the exportation of munitions of war to the Allies and of getting to Germany needed supplies. He organized and financed Labor's National Peace Council in an effort to bring about an embargo on the shipment of munitions of war, tried to bring about strikes, &c.

XIV. Consul General Bopp, at San Francisco, Vice Consul General von Schaick, Baron George Wilhelm von Brincken, (an employe of the consulate,) Charles C. Crowley, and Mrs. Margaret W. Cornell (secret agents of the German Consulate at San Francisco) have been convicted of conspiracy to send agents into Canada to blow up railroad tunnels and bridges, and to wreck vessels sailing from Pacific Coast ports with war material for Russia and Japan.

XV. Paul Koenig, head of the secret-service work of the Hamburg-American Line, by direction of his superior officers, largely augmented his organization and under the direction of Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert carried on secret work for the German Government. He secured and sent spies to Canada to gather information concerning the Welland Canal, the movements of Canadian troops to England, bribed an employe of a bank for information concerning shipments to the Allies, sent spies to Europe on American passports to secure military information, and was involved with Captain von Papen in plans to place bombs on ships of the Allies leaving New York Harbor, &c. Von Papen, Boy-Ed, and Albert had frequent conferences with Koenig in his office, at theirs, and at outside places. Koenig and certain of his associates are under indictment.

Welland Canal Plot

XVI. Captain von Papen, Captain Hans Tauscher, Wolf von Igel, and a number of German reservists organized an expedition to go into Canada, destroy the Welland Canal, and endeavor to terrorize Canadians in order to delay the sending of troops from Canada to Europe. Indictments have been returned

against these persons. Wolf von Igel furnished Fritzen, one of the conspirators in this case, money on which to flee from New York City. Fritzen is now in jail in New York City.

XVII. With money furnished by official German representatives in this country, a cargo of arms and ammunition was purchased and shipped on board the schooner Annie Larsen. Through the activities of German official representatives in this country and other Germans a number of Indians were procured to form an expedition to go on the steamship Maverick, meet the Annie Larsen, take over her cargo, and endeavor to bring about a revolution in India. This plan involved the sending of a German officer to drill Indian recruits and the entire plan was managed and directed by Captain von Papen, Captain Hans Tauscher, and other official German representatives in this country.

XVIII. Gustav Stahl, a German reservist, made an affidavit which he admitted was false, regarding the armament of the Lusitania, which affidavit was forwarded to the State Department by Ambassador von Bernstorff. He plead guilty to an indictment charging perjury, and was sentenced to the penitentiary. Koenig, herein mentioned, was active in securing this affidavit.

XIX. The German Embassy organized, directed, and financed the Hans Libau Employment Agency, through which extended efforts were made to induce employes of manufacturers engaged in supplying various kinds of material to the Allies to give up their positions in an effort to interfere with the output of such manufacturers. Von Papen indorsed this organization as a military measure, and it was hoped through its propaganda to cripple munition factories.

XX. The German Government has assisted financially a number of newspapers in this country in return for pro-German propaganda.

XXI. Many facts have been secured indicating that Germans have aided and encouraged financially and otherwise the activities of one or the other faction in Mexico, the purpose being to keep the United States occupied along its borders and to prevent the exportation of munitions of war to the Allies; see, in this connection, the activities of Rintelen, Stallforth, Kopf, the German Consul at Chihuahua; Krum-Hellen, Felix Somerfeld, (Villa's representative at New York,) Carl Heynen, Gustav Steinberg, and many others.

Belgian Relief Ships Sunk

When the Commission for Relief in Belgium began its work in October, 1914, it received from the German authorities, through the various Governments concerned, definite written assurances that ships engaged in carrying cargoes for the relief of the civil population of Belgium and Northern France should be immune from attack. In order that there may be no room for attacks upon these ships through misunderstanding, each ship is given a safe conduct by the German diplomatic representative in the country from which it sails, and, in addition, bears conspicuously upon its sides markings which have been agreed upon with the German authorities; furthermore, similar markings are painted upon the decks of the ships in order that they may be readily recognized by airplanes.

Upon the rupture of relations with Germany the commission was definitely assured by the German Government that its ships would be immune from attack by following certain prescribed courses and conforming to the arrangements previously made.

Despite these solemn assurances there have been several unwarranted attacks upon ships under charter to the commission.

On March 7 or 8 the Norwegian ship Storstad, carrying 10,000 tons of corn from Buenos Aires to Rotterdam for the commission was sunk in broad daylight by a German submarine despite the conspicuous markings of the commission which the submarine could not help observing. The Storstad was repeatedly shelled without warning and finally torpedoed.

On March 19 the steamships Tunisie and Haelen, under charter to the com-

NAVAL MILITIA MARCHING DOWN FIFTH AVENUE

The First Battalion, New York Naval Militia, on Its Way to the Train to Begin Active Sea Service in the War

FIRST ARMED AMERICAN STEAMSHIP LEAVING NEW YORK

The Liner St. Louis, With Two Guns Forward and One Aft, Was the First American Merchant Vessel to Carry Arms Through the "Barred" Submarine Zone; She Sailed March 17, 1917.

(Drawing by M. J. Burns. © 1917 by New York Times Co.)

mission, proceeding to the United States under safe conducts and guarantees from the German Minister at The Hague and bearing conspicuous marking of the commission, were attacked without warning by a German submarine outside the danger zone, (56 degrees 15 minutes north, 5 degrees 32 minutes east.) The ships were not sunk, but on the Haelen seven men were killed, including the first and third officers; a port boat was sunk; a hole was made in the port bunker above the water line; and the ships sustained sundry damages to decks and engines.

Indignities to Americans

Various Consular officers have suffered indignities and humiliation at the hands of German frontier authorities. The following are illustrations:

Mr. Pike, Consul at St. Gall, Switzerland, on proceeding to his post with a passport duly indorsed by German officials in New York and Copenhagen, was on Nov. 26, 1916, subjected to great indignities at Warnemünde on the German frontier. Mr. Pike refused to submit to search of his person, the removal of his clothing, or the seizure of his official reports and papers of a private and confidential nature. He was therefore obliged to return to Copenhagen.

Mr. Murphy, the Consul General at Sofia, and his wife, provided with passports from the German legations at The Hague and Copenhagen, were on two occasions stripped and searched and subjected to great humiliation at the same frontier station. No consideration was given them because or their official position.

Such has been the behavior on the part of German officials notwithstanding that Consular officials hold positions of dignity and responsibility under their Government and that during the present war Germany has been placed under deep obligation to American Consular officers by their efforts in the protection of German interests.

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

On Jan. 19. Mr. Gerard telegraphed that the evening papers contained a report that the English steamer Yarrowdale had been brought to Swinemunde as prize with 469 prisoners on board taken from ships captured by German auxiliary cruisers; that among these prisoners were 103 neutrals; and that such of these as had been taken on board enemy ships and had accepted pay on such ships would be held as prisoners of war.

After repeated inquiries Mr. Gerard learned that there were among the Yarrowdale prisoners seventy-two men claiming American citizenship.

On Feb. 4 Mr. Gerard was informed by Count Montgelas of the Foreign Office that the Americans taken on the Yarrowdale would be released immediately on the ground that they could not have known at the time of sailing that it was Germany's intention to treat armed merchantmen as ships of war.

Despite this assurance, the prisoners were not released, but some time prior to Feb. 17 the German Minister for Foreign Affairs told the Spanish Ambassador that the American prisoners from the Yarrowdale would be liberated "in a very short time."

Upon receipt of this information a formal demand was made through the Spanish Ambassador at Berlin for the immediate release of these men. The message sent the Spanish Ambassador was as follows:

> If Yarrowdale prisoners have not been released, please make formal demand in the name of the United States for their immediate release. If they are not promptly released and allowed to cross the frontier without further delay, please state to the Foreign Minister that this policy of the Imperial Government, if continued, apparently without the slightest justification, will oblige the Government of the United States to consider what measures it may be necessary to take in order to obtain satisfaction for the continued detention of these innocent American citizens.

On Feb. 25 the American Ambassador at Madrid was informed by the Spanish Foreign Office that the Yarrowdale prisoners had been released on the 16th inst. The foregoing statement appears to have been based on erroneous information. The men finally reached Zurich, Switzerland, on the afternoon of March 11.

Official reports now in the possession of the Department of State indicate that these American sailors were from the moment of their arrival in Germany, on Jan. 3, subjected to the most cruel and heartless treatment. Although the weather was very cold, they were given no suitable clothes, and many of them stood about for hours barefoot in the snow. The food supplied them was utterly inadequate. After one cup of coffee in the morning almost the only article of food given them was boiled frosted cabbage, with mush once a week and beans once a week. One member of the crew states that, without provocation, he was severely kicked in the abdomen by a German officer. He appears still to be suffering severely from this assault. Another sailor is still suffering from a wound caused by shrapnel fired by the Germans at an open boat in which he and his companions had taken refuge after the sinking of the Georgic.

All of the men stated that their treatment had been so inhuman that should a submarine be sighted in the course of their voyage home they would prefer to be drowned rather than have any further experience in German prison camps.

It is significant that the inhuman treatment accorded these American sailors occurred a month before the break in relations and while Germany was on every occasion professing the most cordial friendship for the United States.

Other Unfriendly Acts

After the suspension of diplomatic relations the German authorities cut off the telephone at the embassy at Berlin and suppressed Mr. Gerard's communication by telegraph and post. Mr. Gerard was not even permitted to send to American Consular officers in Germany the instructions he had received for them from the Department of State. Neither was he allowed to receive his mail. Just before he left Berlin the telephonic communication at the embassy was restored and some telegrams and letters were delivered. No apologies were offered, however.

The Government of the United States is in possession of instructions addressed by the German Minister for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister to Mexico concerning a proposed alliance of Germany, Japan, and Mexico to make war on the United States. The text of this document is as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico on his own initiative should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

Reception Accorded the President's War Message

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to Congress in behalf of "a world safe for democracy," followed quickly by the action of Congress in declaring a state of war between the United States and Germany, created a profound sensation throughout the world. It was received by the nations composing the Entente Alliance with thrilling enthusiasm, being conceded by all to be the pivotal point in the great war. In this country there was no tumult or hysteria, such as ordinarily accompanies a nation's entrance into war, but there was widespread, definite, and very earnest approval, coupled with ardent expressions of

loyalty from all sections and all classes. The apprehension felt in some quarters—so seriously regarded as to be scarcely articulated in the most intimate circles—that there might be disturbances and riots, perhaps civil revolt, among the millions of citizens and alien residents of Teutonic blood, was wholly dispelled within a few hours. There was not a ripple in any of the large German-American centres, not even a protest. The decision of Congress was accepted by the German language press of the United States as regrettable, but this expression in every case was accompanied by a fervent declaration of loyalty to this country. There were arrests in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and some Western cities—less than one hundred of such cases among the 10,000,000 persons of Teutonic parentage—the arrests in every instance being based on specific charges of unneutral acts and plottings committed prior to the declaration of war.

European Congratulations

Telegrams of congratulation came to President Wilson from the heads of the Governments of the Entente nations, from their leading Ministers, from learned societies and universities; the Mayors of Paris, London, and other large cities in Great Britain, France, and Italy sent telegrams of felicitation to American cities. Neutral nations in some instances sent expressions of approval. Definite action was taken by Cuba, Panama, and China; the latter nation broke off relations with Germany following this action by the United States. The declaration of war by the United States was followed by similar action by the Republics of Cuba and Panama. Brazil broke off relations with Germany a few days later and on April 14 seized all German ships in Brazilian ports. The action of the various nations is given in fuller detail elsewhere.

President of France

President Poincaré of France sent the following cablegram to President Wilson on April 4:

At the moment when, under the generous inspiration of yourself, the great American Republic, faithful to its ideals and its traditions, is coming forward to defend with the force of arms the cause of justice and of liberty, the people of France are filled with the deepest feelings of brotherly appreciation.

Permit me again to convey to you, Mr. President, in this solemn and grave hour, an assurance of the same sentiments of which I recently gave you evidence, sentiments which, under the present circumstances, have grown in depth and warmth.

I am confident that I voice the thought of all France in expressing to you and to the American Nation the joy and the pride which we feel today as our hearts once again beat in unison with yours.

This war would not have reached its final import had not the United States been led by the enemy himself to take part in it. To every impartial spirit it will be apparent, in the future more than ever in the past, that German imperialism, which desired, prepared, and declared this war, had conceived the mad dream of establishing its hegemony throughout the world. It has succeeded only in bringing about a revolt of the conscience of humanity.

In never-to-be-forgotten language you have made yourself, before the universe, the eloquent interpreter of outraged laws and a menaced civilization.

Honor to you, Mr. President, and to your noble country. I beg you to believe in my devoted friendship.

RAYMOND POINCARE.

To this President Wilson replied as follows:

In this trying hour, when the destinies of civilized mankind are in the balance, it has been a source of gratification and joy to me to receive your congratulations upon the step which my country has been constrained to take in opposition to the relentless policy and course of imperialistic Germany.

It is very delightful to us that France, who stood shoulder to shoulder with us of the Western world in our struggle for independence, should now give us such a welcome into the lists of battle as upholders of the freedom and rights of humanity.

We stand as partners of the noble democracies whose aims and acts make for the perpetuation of the rights and freedom of man and for the safeguarding of the true principles of human liberties. In the name of the American people, I salute you and your illustrious countrymen.

Address by Premier Ribot

Premier Ribot, in an address to the Senators of France, referring to the President's speech, said:

What particularly touches us is that the United States has always kept alive that friendship toward us which was sealed with our blood. We recognize with joy that the

bond of sympathy between the peoples is inspired by ideals which can be cultivated in the heart of democracy. The starry flag is going to float beside the tricolor. Our hands shall join and our hearts shall beat in unison.

President Wilson makes it plain to all that the conflict is truly one between the liberty of modern society and the spirit of the domination of military despotism. It is this which causes the President's message to stir our hearts to their depths as a message of deliverance to the whole world. The people who in the eighteenth century made a declaration of rights under the inspiration of the writings of our philosophers, the people who placed Washington and Lincoln among the foremost of its heroes, the people who in the last century liberated the slaves, is well worthy to give the world such an exalted example.

For us, after such death and ruin, such heroic suffering, the words of the President mean renewal of the sentiments which have animated and sustained us throughout this long trial. The powerful and decisive assistance which the United States brings us will be not material aid alone; it will be moral aid, above all, a veritable consolation. As we see the conscience of the whole world stirred in mighty protest against the atrocities of which we are victims, we feel that we are fighting not alone for ourselves and our allies, but for something immortal; that we are striving to establish a new order of things. And so our sacrifices have not been in vain. The blood poured out so generously by the sons of France has been shed in order to spread the ideals of liberty and justice which are necessary for the establishment of concord among nations.

In the name of all the country, the Government of the French Republic addresses to the Government and people of the United States an expression of its gratitude, and its most ardent greetings.

President Wilson's address was placarded on all official billboards throughout France by order of the War Cabinet. Celebrations were held in all parts of the French Republic, and at Paris many notable public functions, at which the American Ambassador was the guest of honor, were attended by the most distinguished men in literature and public life.

The American flag was displayed everywhere in Paris along with the tricolor, and on the fighting line in France the American aviators were allowed to display their colors for the first time. When the 1918 classes were called out the boys buoyantly responded, wearing the Stars and Stripes along with the French colors.

In the famous attack and capture of Vimy Ridge near Lens, by the Canadians early in April, an American was in the front ranks bearing an American flag, and fell wounded.

Message from British Premier

Premier Lloyd George on April 6 sent the following message to the American people:

America has at one bound become a world power in a sense she never was before. She waited until she found a cause worthy of her traditions. The American people held back until they were fully convinced that the fight was not a sordid scrimmage for power and possessions, but an unselfish struggle to overthrow a sinister conspiracy against human liberty and human rights.

Once that conviction was reached, the great Republic of the West has leaped into the arena, and she stands now side by side with the European democracies who, bruised and bleeding after three years of grim conflict, are still fighting the most savage foe that ever menaced the freedom of the world.

The glowing phrases of the President's noble deliverance illumine the horizon and make clearer than ever the goal we are striving to reach.

There are three phrases which will stand out forever in the story of this crusade. The first is that "The world must be safe for democracy." The next, "The menace to peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will and not by the will of their people," and the crowning phrase is that in which he declares that "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations."

These words represent the faith which inspires and sustains our people in the tremendous sacrifices they have made and are still making. They also believe that the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy, upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government; upon respect for the rights and liberties of nations both great and small, and upon the universal dominion of public right.

To all of these the Prussian military autocracy is an implacable foe.

The Imperial War Cabinet, representative of all the peoples of the British Empire, wish me on their behalf to recognize the chivalry and courage which call the people of the United States to dedicate the whole of their resources to the greatest cause that ever engaged human endeavor.

Words of Mr. Asquith

Former Premier Asquith, in an address to the American people, said:

The people of the United States have been

forced, as the United Kingdom was forced, into a struggle which, in neither case, was of our own seeking. They have realized as we have realized that the choice lay between peace with humiliation and war with honor. There was no middle course, for armed neutrality, as the President points out with irresistible cogency, affords no secure or powerful foothold.

The provocation offered in the two cases was different, but in both the challenge was one which neither nation could refuse to take up without the sacrifice of its self-respect and without a betrayal of the sacred trust which is imposed upon all free peoples, to uphold the defense of liberty and humanity. Never had the fundamental issues which are at stake been stated with more precision or with a greater elevation of thought and language than in the President's address.

The present German warfare, he points out, is a war against all nations, and the animating motives of the Allies, by whose side he invites his fellow-countrymen to range themselves, are not vindictiveness, but vindication—the vindication of those human rights which are the common interest and the natural bond of the whole family of civilized societies.

To this great purpose the American people now dedicate their lives and fortunes—as we have already dedicated ours—conscious that they are listening to and obeying one of those supreme calls which come but rarely in history, but which, when they come, sound in the ears of a community of free men with a note of imperious demand.

King George's Congratulations

King George V. on April 6 cabled President Wilson as follows:

I desire on behalf of the empire to offer my heartfelt congratulations to you on the entry of the United States of America into the war for the great ideals so nobly set forth in your speech to Congress. The moral not less than the material results of this notable declaration are incalculable, and civilization itself will owe much to the decision at which, in the greatest crisis of the world's history, the people of the great Republic have arrived.

GEORGE, R. I.

April 6, 1917.

In reply to the message President Wilson cabled:

To His Majesty George V., King and Emperor:

Your eloquent message comes to me at this critical moment of our national life as proof of the community of sentiment among the free peoples of the world, now striving to defend their ideals, to maintain the blessings of national independence, and to uphold the rights of humanity.

In the name of the American people and the Government to which they look for guidance I thank you for your inspiring words.

WOODROW WILSON.

Washington, April 8.

Enthusiasm In Italy

At Rome there was great excitement and enormous multitudes went to the American Ambassador's home displaying the Stars and Stripes and singing "The Star-Spangled Banner." President Wilson received the following address from former Premier Luzzatti and sixty-seven other Italian Deputies at Rome:

Your message, with its ideal beauty and its political contents, brings us back to that dawn of civilization when the United States, inspired by Washington, gave to the oppressed peoples of Europe and of the two Americas the fruitful example of their redemption. Your message is not addressed to the United States alone but to all humanity, and awakens the noblest instincts among free nations. Your message is the hymn of freedom.

Italy, who, by toilsome slavery, learned to love a free and a national Government, and who, having experienced the bitterness of evil Governments, longs for the liberation of all peoples groaning under despotic rulers, thanks you and acclaims you and in you acclaims the great Republic of the United States.

The Belgian Premier and Minister of War, Charles De Broqueville, sent the following message by cable to President Wilson:

The Belgian Government decided in August, 1914, to make an unprecedented application to your Excellency. It was an act of faith and hope in the moral grandeur of a republic friendly to Belgium. Our people, small in number but strong in indomitable purpose, had foreseen that in the American people and in you, who are its noblest expression, it would find support for its honor and an avenging arm for its martyrdom. It has clearly distinguished between those groups that have directed the assault against the rights of peoples and those that have deemed it necessary to follow them, moved perhaps by a false understanding of solidarity that had been accepted for other objects than the gratuitous aggression of which civilization was the victim in 1914.

The Royal Government has contracted an unforgettable debt to the generosity of the United States of America. As in 1914, it counts upon her aid to those whose only fault was to have thought like free and honest men and acted rather as the servants of honor than as traders in it. The Belgian Government salutes with joy, emotion, and respectful admiration the decisive act that, through the intermediary of your Excellency, honors the man, the nation, and humanity.

Praise From Petrograd

At Petrograd the news evoked great enthusiasm and street manifestations occurred throughout the city. Professor Milukoff, the Foreign Minister, said: "The ideal side of the war is once more emphasized by the intervention of America. For me it becomes still clearer under these circumstances that without victory there can be no peace."

Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma, said: "America's intervention on the side of the powers at war with Germany is the best guarantee of an early victory over the Germans."

Parliament Welcomes America's Action

RESOLUTIONS were adopted April 18 in the House of Lords and House of Commons, with only one dissenting vote in the Commons, (an Independent Irish Nationalist member who was angered at the Speaker's ruling,) as follows:

This House desires to express to the Government and people of the United States of America their profound appreciation of the action of their Government in joining the allied powers, and thus defending the high cause of freedom and rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they ever have been faced.

Bonar Law, in his address, said:

"This is not only the greatest event, but, as I believe, the turning point of the war. The New World has been brought in, or has stepped in, to restore the balance in the Old.

"Being in, the United States has already shown that her enemies must beware of her, and despite the fact that the path immediately before us is more difficult than ever before, I venture to express the hope and belief that a change is coming—that the long night of sorrow and anguish which has desolated the world is drawing to a close.

"The United States," Mr. Bonar Law continued, "possesses resources of all kinds, resources which in the long run are decisive in war, to a greater extent, probably, than any other nation. The quality of her people was shown nearly sixty years ago in a struggle which, in its essentials, was not dissimilar to that which they have now entered. Since then the American people have shown qualities of resource, energy, and readiness to adapt themselves to new situations in the art of peace, and the same qualities will now be directed in no half-hearted way and with equal success to the art of war. The entrance of the great Republic is a fitting pendant to the revolution which has brought the Russian people, whose courage and endurance we have so much admired and whose sufferings have been so terrible, into the circle of the freed nations of mankind.

"I read the other day a characteristic extract from a German newspaper, in which it was said America was going into the war for nothing. From their point of view the statement is true. America, like the British Empire—I wish to make that plain—is animated by no love of conquest, no greed for territory, no selfish ends. The aims and ideals to which President Wilson has given noble expression in his recent speech are our aims, our ideals also."

Mr. Asquith's Praise

Seconding Bonar Law's resolution, ex-Premier Asquith said:

"It is only right and fitting that this House, the chief representative body of the British Empire, should at the earliest possible opportunity give definite and emphatic expression to the feelings which throughout the length and breadth of the empire have grown day by day in volume and fervor since the memorable decision of the President and Congress of the United States.

"I doubt whether even now the world realizes the full significance of the step America has taken. I do not use language of flattery or exaggeration when I say it is one of the most disinterested acts in history.

"Nor were American interests at home or abroad directly imperiled, least of all that greatest interest of a democratic

community, the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty," Mr. Asquith continued. "What then has enabled the President—after waiting with the patience which Pitt described as the first virtue of statesmanship—to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and horrors of the greatest war in history? It was the constraining force of conscience and humanity.

"What was it that our kinsmen in America realized as the issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which, if we are worthy of our best traditions, we are bound to indicate—essential conditions of free and honorable development of the nations of the world, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and unprotected, chivalry toward mankind, observance of good faith—these things, which we used to regard as commonplaces of international decency, one after another have been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were effete superstitions of a bygone creed.

"There was never in the minds of any of us a fear that the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable the voice of America would not be heard. She has now dedicated herself without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of causes, to which, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our fealty and devotion."

John Dillon extended greetings to the United States in the name of the Irish Nationalists.

"The Nationalists join most heartily in the welcome to the United States," Mr. Dillon said. "The full meaning of the entry of America into the struggle is difficult to describe. It is not like the entrance of the other allies, but has a more mighty significance to the whole civilized world.

"When the banner of the United States was unfurled every man of Irish blood in the United States was a loyal supporter of the President. I venture to prophesy that when the roll is called for battle the Irish will be there. They will outnumber, in proportion to their population, all other races among the soldiers of the Republic.

"The presence of the United States at the peace conference is a sign of hope and an assurance of liberty. Her voice will be heard when the settlement comes, and Ireland knows that on that day she will have a firm and sure friend who will not desert Ireland. To America will fall the blessed task of basing peace upon liberty."

Earl Curzon's Tribute

In opening his speech on the resolution in the House of Lords, Earl Curson said:

"The case of America entering the war is widely differentiated from that of any of the other allied countries. All of the latter had a direct personal interest in the war, but America's interest is secondary and remote. She had no ambition to gratify. Her people had a constitutional aversion to war and a rooted dislike to be involved in the secular ambitions or the quarrels of the Continent of Europe. If a nation with these hereditary instincts and traditions, after so long a period of hesitation, is yet compelled to draw the sword, there must be some great, overwhelming reason. Yes, there was a reason.

"The entry of America is a great event in moral history for the human race, and it stamps the character of the struggle in which we are engaged. America will not pause or stay until the peace of the world is built upon a sure foundation."

Viscount Bryce said:

"We recognize in the action of the American people their common devotion with ourselves to the same lofty ideals and their common loyalty to the time-honored traditions dating from our and their remote past. And we find their loyal attachment to these ideals the surest bond of unity between ourselves and our kinsfolk beyond the ocean."

April 19 was made American day in London. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled from the Victoria tower of the Houses of Parliament, being the first time in history that any but the British flag had flown there. The American colors were shown and worn everywhere.

Action by Latin-American Nations

Brazil Breaks With Germany

THE entrance of the United States into the war on the side of the Allies changed the entire status of affairs on this continent. The Western Hemisphere, which up to that time, with the exception of Canada, had held aloof from the conflict, was suddenly plunged into the maelstrom, and the various South and Central American States in turn declared themselves.

Brazil severed relations with Germany April 10. The rupture was precipitated by the sinking of the Brazilian steamship Parana, torpedoed off the port of Cherbourg, France, by a German submarine without warning. After the severance of relations great excitement prevailed throughout the country, and mass meetings in many cities demanded a declaration of war. All German ships in Brazilian waters, 46 in number, were seized by the Government. The vessels aggregate 240,770 tons, ranging from the Hamburg-American liner Blücher, 12,350 tons, formerly in the American transatlantic service, to a vessel of 1,103 tons.

At Rio de Janeiro there were 15 vessels; at Pernambuco, 12; Santos, 5; Bahia, 4; Paraiba, 3; Para, 2; Rio Grande, 2, and at Santa Catharina, Paranagua, and Maranham, 1 each.

Thirty-three of the vessels are more than 4,000 tons each.

Action of Argentina

On April 10 the Argentine Government issued a declaration announcing that it supported the position of the United States in reference to Germany. The declaration was made known to the public through bulletins posted throughout Buenos Aires, and caused a great sensation. Enthusiastic crowds marched through the streets, and the university students organized pro-ally demonstrations.

The declaration was followed by a period of the most intense excitement throughout the country. An influential part of the population were strongly pacifist and pro-German, but the great majority were pro-American and pro-ally. A serious riot occurred at Buenos Aires on April 14, and the German Consulate and several pro-German newspaper offices were attacked; there were several deaths before the mob was quelled. The situation became more acute when it was learned on the 13th that an Argentine sailing ship, Monte Protegido, had been sunk off the European coast by a German submarine, and fresh outbreaks occurred at Buenos Aires.

Chile and Bolivia

Chile issued an official statement on April 10 that she would remain neutral.

Bolivia severed relations with Germany on April 13, and the German Minister and his staff were handed their passports that day at La Paz. The note denounced the attacks of German submarines on neutral vessels as violations of international law and of The Hague conventions. It recalled that the Bolivian Minister to Berlin was on board the Holland-Lloyd liner Tubantia when that vessel was sunk in neutral waters a year ago. The note concluded:

"Your Excellency will understand that, although we regret the breach of diplomatic relations between Bolivia and the German Empire, such relations have become insupportable in existing circumstances. In consequence, your Excellency will find herewith passports for yourself and the members of your legation."

The note declared that German subjects and property would enjoy all liberties guaranteed by law, provided that they did not commit any act of delinquency, either collectively or as individuals.

The Paraguayan Government, in reply to the note of the United States, said that it recognized profoundly that Germany's military actions, which are opposed to the principles of the right of neutrals, forced the United States to resort to

arms to re-establish order and rehabilitate those rights.

The Paraguayan Government expressed "its most sincere sympathy with the Government and people of the United States."

In its reply to the United States the Uruguayan Government said that Uruguay did not recognize the right to wage unrestricted submarine warfare, "because it is an attempt against justice, violates neutral rights, and is an insult to humanity. Uruguay recognizes that the decision taken at Washington answers the situation arising from the action of Germany."

The note recalled that Uruguay in due course protested to Germany against her submarine methods, adding that the Government had decided to maintain neutrality, but recognized that the attitude of the United States was just, and expressed to it its sympathy and its sentiments of moral solidarity.

The Peruvian Government in its reply said that Peru deplored the fact that the United States had been compelled to take such action and expressed the hope of a speedy ending of the great war. No reference was made to the neutrality of Peru.

Attitude of Mexico

Mexico's attitude was announced by President Carranza in his inaugural address at Mexico City April 16. He declared that Mexico would maintain "strict and rigorous neutrality," but his message contained no friendly references to the United States; in fact, his attitude was critical and plaintive with reference to this country, and wholly lacking in warmth or any evidence of friendship. The impression it left at Washington was irritating and displeasing.

Costa Rica and Panama were the two Central American States that approved the action of the United States. Costa Rica announced that "it indorsed the course of President Wilson" and "was ready to prove it, if necessary."

Panama's War Declaration

The President of the Republic of Panama, Dr. Ramon Valdez, signed a proclamation April 7 committing Panama unreservedly to the assistance of the United States in the defense of the Canal. The President also canceled the exequaturs of all the German Consuls in Panama. The proclamation declares:

> Our indisputable duty in this tremendous hour of history is of a common ally, whose interests and existence as well are linked indissolubly with the United States. As the situation creates dangers for our country, it is the duty of the Panaman people to cooperate with all the energies and resources they can command for the protection of the canal and to safeguard national territory.
>
> The attitude of the people was foreseen and interpreted faithfully in a resolution unanimously approved by the National Assembly on Feb. 24, and confirmed by later laws, and the moment has arrived for the Executive to act in accordance with the declarations of the supreme body. I therefore declare that the Panaman Nation will lend emphatic co-operation to the United States against enemies who execute or attempt to execute hostile acts against the territory of the canal, or in any manner affect or tend to affect the common interests.
>
> The Government will adopt adequate measures in accordance with the circumstances. I consider it the patriotic duty of all Panaman citizens to facilitate the military operations which the forces of the United States undertake within the limits of our country. Foreigners, resident or transient, will be obliged to submit to the conditions of this declaration.

It was announced that Germans resident in Panama would be interned if they give any evidence of being involved in plots.

The proclamation was issued after President Valdez had sent a message to President Wilson indorsing the American action in declaring a state of war with Germany "after the United States had given unequivocal proofs of its love of peace and had made efforts to save Western civilization from the horrors of war, and had borne with patience a long series of provocations as irritating as they have been unjustifiable."

Cuba's Prompt Action

President Menocal, on the day that the United States took action, sent a message to Congress asking permission to declare war, declaring that the debt Cuba owes to the United States as well as the principles of justice and humanity demanded that such action be taken.

An extraordinary session of Congress

was held the next afternoon when the following bill was presented:

Reasons of gratitude to the powerful American Nation impose upon us the duty to ally ourselves to it in its patriotic purpose to crush the militarism that has carried such disaster to the whole universe, and we ought not to waste a single moment in taking such action which will exalt us, offering everything that may be necessary to the Star and Stripes, seconded by our own lone star banner, to maintain not only in this continent, but also in the Old World, the practices of liberty, right, and justice.

Whatever effort Cuba shall make to assist the United States of America will be looked upon as the generous action of a grateful people and of a friend who can never forget the sacrifice and effort made by the United States to co-operate in our struggle for independence. Therefore the undersigned representatives present for the consideration of this legislative body this bill:

Article I.—The Executive is authorized to organize and place at the disposition of the United States of America a contingent of 10,000 men, to the end of aiding in its military purposes the said nation in the present European conflict.

Article II.—The Congress of the republic grants in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of Article XLVII. of the Constitution to Colonel José Estrames y Vega of the liberating army and Congressman Ofer of Havana and to other citizens of the republic who may enlist permission to absent themselves from the territory of the republic and serve in the army of Cuba, to be placed at the disposition of the War Department of the United States of America.

President Menocal in his message said:

Cuba cannot remain neutral in this supreme conflict because the declaration of neutrality would oblige her to treat all the belligerents equally, refusing them with equal rigor any access to her ports and imposing on them the same restrictions and prohibitions, which would be in the present case contrary to public sentiment, to the essence of the pacts and moral obligations, moral rather than legal, which bind us to the United States; and would result, lastly, because of our geographical location, in being the cause of innumerable conflicts, the consequences of which it is easy to predict for a friendly and allied nation, and which would prove an inexcusable weakness and condescension for the attitude of implacable aggression unconditionally proclaimed by the Imperial German Government against the rights of all neutral peoples and against the principles of humanity and justice, which constitute the highest note of modern civilization.

The Congress met on April 7 and the declaration of war was passed by both houses without a dissenting vote, amid scenes of gravity and intense feeling. The war resolution as passed follows:

Article I. Resolved, That from today a state of war is formally declared between the Republic of Cuba and the Imperial Government of Germany, and the President of the Republic is authorized and directed by this resolution to employ all the forces of the nation and the resources of our Government to make war against the Imperial German Government with the object of maintaining our rights, guarding our territory and providing for our security, prevent any acts which may be attempted against us, and defend the navigation of the seas, the liberty of commerce, and the rights of neutrals and international justice.

Article II. The President of the Republic is hereby authorized to use all the land and naval forces in the form he may deem necessary, using existing forces, reorganizing them, or creating new ones, and to dispose of the economic forces of the nation in any way he may deem necessary.

Article III. The President will give account to Congress of the measures adopted in fulfillment of this law, which will be in operation from the moment of its publication in the Official Gazette.

The President immediately signed the measure. On April 8 Count von Verdy du Vernois, the German Minister, received his passports. The German ships in Cuban waters were seized on the night of the 7th; all had been damaged.

On April 11 Speaker Clark laid before the United States Congress, amid applause, a message from Miguel Coyula, Speaker of the Cuban House of Representatives, regarding the Cuban declaration of war against Germany. It read:

The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cuba, in declaring that a state of war exists between this nation and the German Empire, resolved, all members rising to their feet and amid the greatest enthusiasm, to address a message of confraternity to that body announcing the pride felt by the people of Cuba in uniting their modest efforts to those of the great nation contending for the triumph of right and respect for the liberity of small nationalities.

The House also resolved to express the special gratification of the Cuban people in uniting their flag side by side to that of the glorious nation which in days of undying memory sacrificed the blood of her sons to help the people of Cuba to conquer their liberty and independence.

Mobilizing the Army and Navy

MANY weeks before the present crisis had reached the stage of war the United States Government was actively pushing all possible preliminaries for the event. On March 25 President Wilson issued an executive order increasing the enlisted strength of the United States Navy to 87,000 men, in accordance with the emergency authority conferred upon him by the naval service act of Aug. 29, 1916. The next day Secretary Daniels sent a telegram to 2,600 editors throughout the country, stating that new ships and ships in reserve were being fully commissioned as rapidly as possible, and asking that the public be urged to furnish the naval recruits imperatively needed to man these vessels.

On March 26 President Wilson signed an executive order increasing the authorized enlisted strength of the United States Marine Corps to 17,400 men, an increase of 2,419, the limit allowed under the emergency act.

At the Naval Academy 183 new Ensigns were rushed into the navy three months in advance of their time, and were graduated on March 29, at once receiving their assignments on various vessels.

Calling Navy Into Service

When the declaration of a state of war became operative on April 6 Secretary Daniels signed an order at 4:05 o'clock the same afternoon for the mobilization of the navy. One hundred code messages were sent by wireless and telegraph from the office of Admiral W. S. Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, within a few minutes after the signing of the order. The messages set in motion the machinery by which the navy went on a war basis with every ship and shore station, and by which the Naval Militia of all the States, as well as the Naval Reserves and the Coast Guard Service, passed into the control of the Navy Department.

There were about 584 officers and 7,933 enlisted men in the Naval Militia, a total force of 8,517. These assembled at designated points and were assigned to ships to be used in the Coast Patrol Service or on other naval duty. All ships in active commission in the regular navy were ready for duty when the order came. But there were battleships in the reserve fleets, reserve destroyers, and other reserve units that had only nucleus crews, which were now to be fully manned and put into service. Other vessels which had been out of commission were assigned to active duty as rapidly as possible.

There were approximately 361 vessels of the navy completed and fit for service, including 12 first-line battleships, 25 second-line battleships, 9 armored cruisers, 24 other cruisers, 7 monitors, 50 destroyers, 16 coast torpedo vessels, 17 torpedo boats, 44 submarines, 8 tenders to torpedo boats, 28 gunboats, 4 transports, 4 supply ships, a hospital ship, 21 fuel ships, 14 converted yachts, 49 tugs, and 28 minor units. The mobilization order also called into active service about 70,000 enlisted men, as well as over 8,500 members of the Naval Militia, a considerable number of Naval Reserves, and the men in the Coast Guard Service. It put into the regular naval service all new units in process of being purchased as well as those which had been offered for the power boat patrol by yachtsmen and other patriotic citizens along with their volunteer crews.

The total number of men required for the proper mobilization of the navy as it stands is 99,809 regulars and 45,870 reserves. It was estimated that 73,817 regulars and 25,219 reserves were needed for the battleships, scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine force, and training ships. For the Coast Defense forces it was estimated that 10,633 regulars and 17,195 reserves were needed, and for the various shore stations 10,318 regulars and 2,080 reserves.

The order called out those retired officers who had been registered in the department as fit for duty in the event of war to the Naval Reserve force, Naval Militia, examining boards, and bureau

duties, where they in turn released officers on the active list, and enabled the latter to go to sea for fighting duty.

Naval Recruiting Campaign

When the mobilization order came to the navy it still lacked 35,000 men to bring it up to the full authorized strength of 87,000. Recruiting had been carried on in the last few weeks with exceptional energy, but the average daily gain was only about twenty-five men. After the declaration of a state of war the call became more urgent, and large posters on the highways and handbills stuck across the front of taxicabs and other vehicles re-echoed the appeal for men. An increase of enlistments followed at once.

At the end of the first week of April the Naval Reserve recruiting office in New York City was crowded daily, and the daily total of recruits in the country was more than 700. Enlistments for the navy and for the Marine Corps all continued to show marked gains. On April 17 the navy was enrolling nearly 1,000 men a day, and Secretary Daniels announced that he already had 71,696 of the 87,000 men thus far authorized.

Meanwhile the mobilization of a large fleet of "mosquito craft" to patrol the Atlantic Coast and fight U-boats if they invaded American waters was in progress under Secretary Daniels and Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations. Many owners of private yachts donated the use of their craft and crews for this purpose, and other men of wealth began building submarine chasers of a kind that had proved successful in British waters.

More than fifty small boat builders submitted proposals on March 31 for the construction of chasers and patrol boats of the 110-foot and 50-foot types, indicating that the Navy Department would be able to get all the small boats it needed in a comparatively brief time. On that date the coast patrol fleet was organized on an official basis under the Government, and Captain Henry B. Wilson was detached from his post as commander of the superdreadnought Pennsylvania to take charge of the coast "mosquito fleet."

Radio Stations Seized

Seizure of all wireless stations in the United States and its possessions was ordered by President Wilson on April 6, and the enforcement of the order was delegated to the Secretary of the Navy. Accordingly the navy at once took possession of the radio system throughout the country, assuming control of all commercial stations that might be useful to the Government in war time, and suppressing and dismantling the rest, including thousands of amateur wireless plants.

Defensive war zones, guarded by patrol boats, were established around the whole coast line of the United States through an executive order issued by President Wilson on April 5. To prevent surprise attacks against New York and other coast points by German submarines or raiders, this order created a series of local barred zones extending from two to ten miles from the larger harbors in American waters all the way from Maine to California and the Philippine Islands. All vessels are barred from entering these harbors at night, and entrance or exit in daytime must be in accordance with certain rules of pilotage and other matters which the patrol boats are under orders to enforce. The ports at both ends of the Panama Canal are closed each night under the same order.

Contracts for the construction of twenty-four destroyers of thirty-five-knot speed were awarded by the Navy Department on March 24. Ten will be built at the Union Iron Works, San Francisco; six by William Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia, and eight by the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Quincy, Mass. The contracts will be paid on the basis of cost plus 10 per cent. profit. The average cost will be in the neighborhood of $1,400,000 for each vessel. The Navy Department awarded the contracts on the day the bids were opened, and Secretary Daniels stated that he was ready to award similar ones for fifty destroyers, all urgently needed, and to pay for them out of the $115,000,000 emergency fund; but the shipbuilding plants of the country were so overcrowded with other naval work that only three were able to do any-

thing in that direction at the present time. Of the twenty-four destroyers in question fifteen belong to the regular 1917 program and nine to the emergency program. Including these new orders the navy now has under construction a total of fifty-two destroyers, eight of which were authorized in 1914-15 and twenty in 1916.

Secretary Daniels announced on April 11 that Charleston, W. Va., had been selected as the site for the Government armor plate plant, for the construction of which Congress appropriated $11,000,000.

National Guard Mobilized

The preliminary steps toward mobilizing the National Guard also were well under way before the assembling of Congress in special session. The War Department issued orders on March 25 calling out fourteen National Guard units "for police purposes" in New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, besides the District of Columbia. They were assigned to protect railways, bridges, water systems, and other strategic points. As an example of the promptness with which these State units got into active service it may be noted that every man of the Seventy-first New York Infantry Regiment left New York City under secret orders on April 1.

On March 26 President Wilson called out twenty additional regiments and five separate battalions of National Guard units in eighteen different States, from Ohio to the Pacific Coast. The following day he suspended the muster out of the 22,000 National Guardsmen that still remained in the Federal service from the Mexican border mobilization. Seven more regiments were called into service in the next two days, and by the beginning of April the total under arms was more than 60,000, or over one-third of the 150,000 men in all the National Guard organizations in the country. Then a temporary halt was called, owing to inability to furnish supplies as fast as the men were mustered in.

It was announced that twenty-six training camps for the military training of civilians would be maintained by the War Department in various parts of the country during the Summer months, with facilities for drilling 25,000 men.

State Governments responded generally to the needs of the hour. New York promptly appropriated $1,000,000 for defense, Massachusetts the same, New Hampshire $500,000, and many other States similar amounts. Mobilization of National Guard units throughout New England was especially prompt and rapid. College men in all parts of the country organized student regiments, and in many cases a majority of the whole undergraduate community began drilling. Home defense leagues in cities and towns sprang up from Maine to California, and obtained professional military drill; in New York City the body of this nature created by Police Commissioner Woods numbered nearly 10,000 men, the equivalent of a United States Army division, with a full military organization and a large degree of effectiveness. Mayor Mitchel of New York City organized a Committee on National Defense, under whose leadership nearly all the States of the Union joined in making April 19—the anniversary of the battle of Lexington—a "Wake Up, America!" day.

Patriotic enthusiasm was everywhere in evidence, yet enlistments in the regular army continued to come very slowly. Men of military age awaited the action of Congress, which was in process of determining whether to depend once more upon the volunteer system or to enact a compulsory service law. President Wilson and the Army General Staff strongly favored universal compulsory service for young men, and two bills embodying such a system were introduced in Congress, but they met considerable opposition from the outset. On April 18 the House Military Committee, by a vote of 13 to 8, finally agreed to report the Army General Staff bill with an amendment authorizing the President first to try the volunteer system for raising 500,000 men, and then to use the selective draft if the volunteer method proved unsuccessful. The matter rests there at the present writing. Meanwhile Secretary Baker has announced that men are en-

listing in the regular army at the average rate of 1,434 a day.

Many large banks and commercial houses have undertaken to keep up the salaries of National Guardsmen recruited from among their employes, as was done at the time of the call to the Mexican border, when one large telephone company alone paid $284,000 to absent employes.

Organizing for Economic Defense

A NATION-WIDE system of economic war activities developed during the month, nearly all centring about the Council of National Defense, a body consisting officially of the members of the President's Cabinet and its civilian Advisory Commission, a group of picked business men and leaders of industries. The members of the Advisory Commission are: Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary; Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of Committee on Supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, in charge of raw materials; Daniel Willard, transportation; Dr. F. H. Martin, medicine and sanitation; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, science and research; Howard Coffin, munitions, and W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council. Each is working through a board of experts to organize the war activities in his department. Many of these boards were created in April.

The important work of the Food Board was placed under the management of Herbert C. Hoover, the executive head of the Belgian Relief Commission. The task assigned to the Food Board is that of coping with the problems of food shortage, distribution, and waste; price control, the mobilization of the agricultural resources of the country, and the formulating of all necessary measures to keep up the stream of American food supplies to the Allies.

Presidents of the leading railroads of the country met at Washington on April 11 at the call of the Council of Defense and named a board of five men to direct the operations of American railways throughout the war, with Fairfax Harrison of the Southern Railway as Chairman and Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio and Chairman of the Defense Council's Advisory Commission, as an ex-officio member.

The creation of a General Munitions Board was announced on April 9, headed by Frank A. Scott, a Cleveland manufacturer. This board is charged with supplying the army and navy with munitions and equipment. One of its chief functions will be to decide between the country's military and industrial needs when recruiting invades the factories. Twenty men, fifteen of them army or navy officers, make up the board.

In like manner an Economy Board was organized to mobilize the commercial interests of the country and attend to the equitable distribution of commodities in war time and to keep prices down. Important pioneer work in the direction of economy for the Government was achieved by one of the members of the Advisory Commission, Bernard M. Baruch, who, as Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials, arranged to get copper, steel, and other metals for the Government at about half the market price, thus saving the nation many millions. The insurance interests of the country placed their valuable records at the service of the Government and laid plans to prevent the destruction of grain and cotton by incendiary fires. A General Medical Board of the Council of National Defense was organized on April 17 by leading physicians from all parts of the country, with Dr. Franklin Martin of Chicago as Chairman, and a score of eminent physicians as members of the Executive Committee, to mobilize the nation's medical resources during the war.

General Goethals's New Task

The Federal Shipping Board, which embodies the Administration's program for building a vast fleet of wooden cargo ships to transport supplies to the Allies and thus defeat the German submarine

campaign, was organized as a $50,000,000 corporation on April 16. Its avowed purpose is to construct 1,000 ships of 3,000 to 5,000 tons burden within the shortest possible time. Major Gen. George W. Goethals, the engineer who built the Panama Canal, was made General Manager of the enterprise. Congress has authorized the use of $50,000,000 for the work of this board. Chairman Denman announced that contracts had already been let, and that, barring unforeseen obstacles, by October the shipyards on the Atlantic and Pacific would be turning out the new vessels at the rate of two or three a day, to be leased to private shipping concerns.

Treatment of Germans

The history of America's entrance into the world war would be incomplete without reference to the attitude of the United States Government toward the unnaturalized and naturalized German citizens in this country, the former having become alien enemies by the declaration of war. The war proclamation of President Wilson was followed by proclamations to the same effect by the Mayors of all American cities. Typical of the spirit of these was the following by the Mayor of New York:

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK

Upon just grounds and after long and patient forbearance, the President and the Congress of the United States have declared that by the act of the autocratic Government which rules in the German Empire war exists between the two countries, and the free people of America are about entering into the great world conflict. Millions of the people of this city were born in the countries engaged in this great war. No part of the earth is without its representatives here.

I enjoin upon you all that you honor the liberty which so many of you have sought in this land and the free self-government of the American democracy, in which we all find our opportunity and individual freedom, by exercising kindly consideration, self-control, and respect to each other and to all others who dwell within our limits; that you, one and all, aid in the preservation of order and in the exercise of calm and deliberate judgment in this time of stress and tension.

There will be some exceptional cases of malign influence and malicious purpose among you, and as to them I advise you all that full and timely preparation has been made adequate to the exigency which exists for the maintenance of order throughout the City of New York, and for the warning of the ill-disposed I quote the statute of the United States, which is applicable to all residents enjoying the protection of our laws whether they be citizens or not:

> Whoever owing allegiance to the United States levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere, is guilty of treason.

The punishment prescribed by law for the crime of treason is death or, at the discretion of the court, imprisonment for not less than five years and a fine of not less than $10,000. All officers of the police have been especially instructed to give their prompt and efficacious attention to the enforcement of this law.

JOHN PURROY MITCHEL,
Mayor.

Official proclamations were issued forbidding any "alien enemy" from remaining or residing "within half a mile of any Governmental fort, factory, reservation, base of supplies, or any land used for war purposes." The enforcement of this order, however, was left to the discretion of the United States Marshals, and forbearance was shown. The enemy aliens living or employed about the military points around New York were given six weeks to find new locations, and exceptions to the rule were made where bond could be furnished. Hoboken, N. J., which is almost entirely populated by Germans, being the site of the chief piers of the two great German steamship lines, the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd, was placed under military guard in the pier districts on April 19; the Mayor at the same time issued a proclamation announcing that aliens residing within half a mile of the piers would not be disturbed if they obeyed the laws.

Nowhere in the country were there reports of any disturbances among the Germans during the first two weeks following the declaration of war, and their general attitude was one of unswerving loyalty to the United States. The 750 officers and men of the German Navy who sought refuge in American waters on the cruisers Kronprinz Wilhelm and Prinz Eitel Friedrich were taken to Georgia on special trains March 27 and placed for safe keeping in stockades at Fort McPherson and Fort Oglethorpe, under guard of the Seventeenth Infantry.

The men from the Wilhelm, numbering more than 400, were assigned to Fort McPherson and those from the Eitel Friedrich to Fort Oglethorpe.

The men were housed in barracks surrounded by a barbed-wire stockade. They were removed from the League Island Navy Yard at Philadelphia, as their presence at the country's chief navy yard during the tense days preceding our declaration of war was regarded as perilous.

Dr. Zimmermann's Defense of His Mexican Plan

THE German Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, made a second statement on March 29 in attempted defense of his unsuccessful plan to create a German-Mexican-Japanese alliance against the United States. His act was subjected to criticism by Hugo Haase, leader of the Socialist minority, who remarked in the Reichstag that the affair had aggravated the situation in America. According to an Amsterdam Reuter dispatch, Dr. Zimmermann replied:

I wrote no letter to General Carranza. I was not so naïve. I merely addressed, by a route that appeared to me to be a safe one, instructions to our representative in Mexico. It is being investigated how these instructions fell into the hands of the American authorities. I instructed the Minister to Mexico, in the event of war with the United States, to propose a German alliance to Mexico, and simultaneously to suggest that Japan join the alliance. I declared expressly that, despite the submarine war, we hoped that America would maintain neutrality.

My instructions were to be carried out only after the United States declared war and a state of war supervened. I believe the instructions were absolutely loyal as regards the United States.

General Carranza would have heard nothing of it up to the present if the United States had not published the instructions which came into its hands in a way which was not unobjectionable. Our behavior contrasts considerably with the behavior of the Washington Government.

President Wilson after our note of Jan. 31, 1917, which avoided all aggressiveness in tone, deemed it proper immediately to break off relations with extraordinary roughness. Our Ambassador no longer had the opportunity to explain or elucidate our attitude orally. The United States Government thus declined to negotiate with us. On the other hand, it addressed itself immediately to all the neutral powers to induce them to join the United States and break with us.

Every unprejudiced person must see in this the hostile atttitude of the American Government, which seemed to consider it right, before being at war with us, to set the entire world against us. It cannot deny us the right to seek allies when it has itself practically declared war on us.

Herr Haase says that it caused great indignation in America. Of course, in the first instance, the affair was employed as an incitement against us. But the storm abated slowly and the calm and sensible politicians, and also the great mass of the American people, saw that there was nothing to object to in these instructions in themselves. I refer especially to the statements of Senator Underwood. Even at times newspapers felt obliged to admit regretfully that not so very much had been made out of this affair.

The Government was reproached for thinking just of Mexico and Japan. First of all, Mexico was a neighboring State to America. If we wanted allies against America, Mexico would be the first to come into consideration. The relations between Mexico and ourselves since the time of Porfirio Diaz have been extremely friendly and trustful. The Mexicans, moreover, are known as good and efficient soldiers.

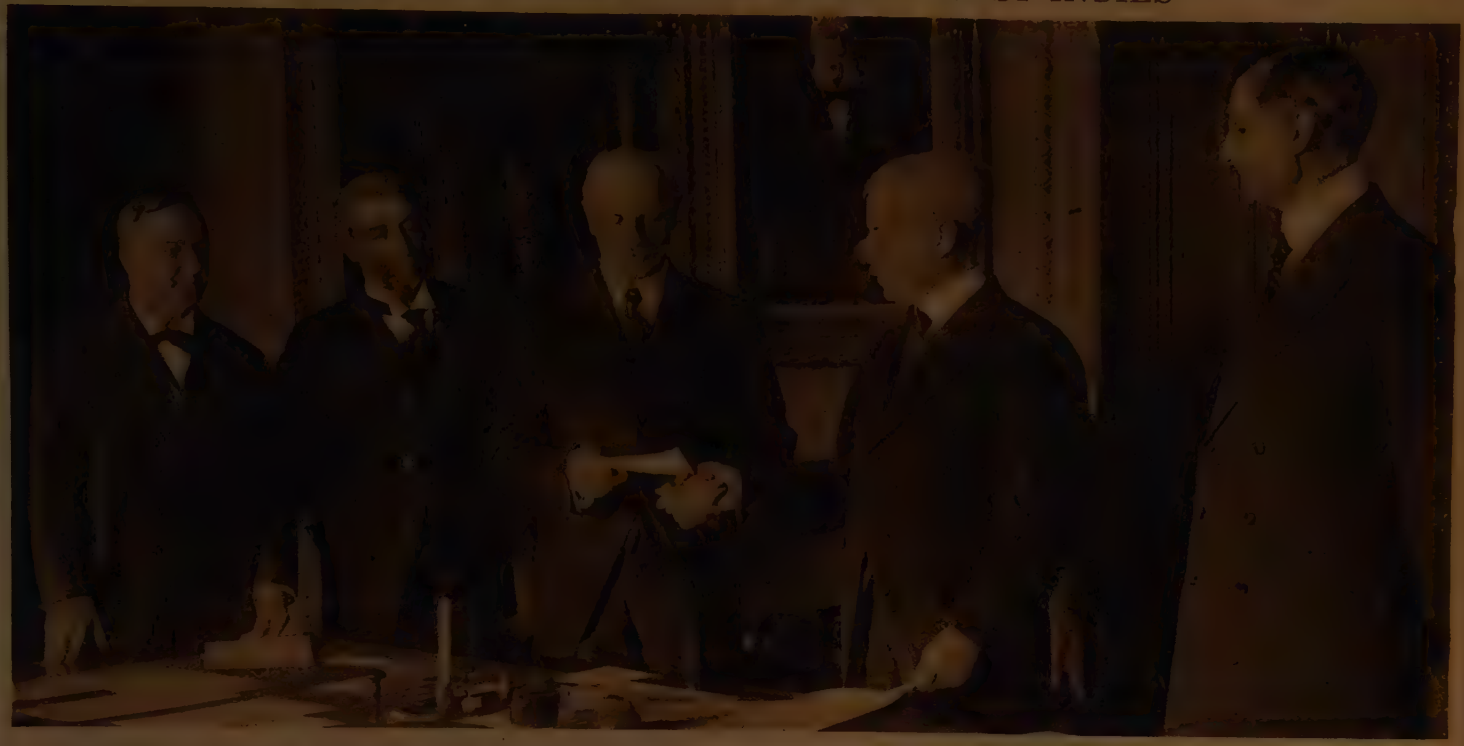
It can hardly be said that the relations between the United States and Mexico had been friendly and trustful.

But the world knows that antagonism exists between America and Japan. I maintain that these antagonisms are stronger than those which, despite the war, exist between Germany and Japan.

When I also wished to persuade Carranza that Japan should join the alliance there was nothing extraordinary in this. The relations between Japan and Mexico are long existent. The Mexicans and Japanese are of a like race and good relations exist between both countries.

When, further, the Entente press affirms that it is shameless to take away allies, such reproach must have a peculiar effect coming from powers who, like our enemies, made no scruple in taking away from us two powers and peoples with whom we were bound by treaties for more than thirty years. The powers who desire to make pliant an old European country of culture like Greece by unparalleled and violent means cannot raise such a reproach against us.

THE PURCHASE OF THE DANISH WEST INDIES



Secretary Lansing Is Handing a United States Treasury Warrant for $25,000,000 to Constantin Brun, the Danish Minister. In the Picture, Left to Right: Secretary Daniels, Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, Governor General of the Islands; Mr. Brun, Secretary Lansing, Secretary McAdoo

(© Harris & Ewing)

TAKING FORMAL POSSESSION OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

American Sailors From the U. S. S. Hancock and Olympia in Front of the Government Buildings at St. Thomas for Ceremonies of Formal Transfer of Danish West Indies

(Photo Central News Service)

When I thought of this alliance with Mexico and Japan I allowed myself to be guided by the consideration that our brave troops already have to fight against a superior force of enemies, and my duty is, as far as possible, to keep further enemies away from them. That Mexico and Japan suited that purpose even Herr Haase will not deny.

Thus, I considered it a patriotic duty to release those instructions, and I hold to the standpoint that I acted rightly.

Austria-Hungary Breaks With United States

ON April 8 the Government of Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the Government of the United States. Baron Erich Zwiedinek, who had been Chargé d'Affaires of the Austrian Embassy ever since the recall of Dr. Dumba, former Ambassador, called at the State Department and demanded passports for himself, all his embassy staff, including Ambassador-designate Tarnowski, and all Austrian Consular officers in the United States and its possessions.

As soon as the announcement of the break was received by the Administration orders were given for taking possession of the Austrian merchant vessels that had been self-interned in this country. Secretary Lansing said that this was done as a precautionary measure. There were fourteen ships with a gross tonnage of 67,807. The largest was the Martha Washington, 8,312 gross tons, at New York, three others were self-interned at New York, one at Boston, three at New Orleans, one at Pensacola, two at Galveston, one at Newport News, one at Philadelphia, and one at Tampa. The machinery in most of them had been damaged.

The following was the official note handed to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna in the absence of Ambassador Penfield, who had left for America a few days previously:

Since the United States of America has declared that a state of war exists between it and the Imperial German Government, Austria-Hungary, as an ally of the German Empire, has decided to break off diplomatic relations with the United States, and the Imperial and Royal Embassy at Washington has been instructed to inform the Department of State to that effect.

While regretting under these circumstances to see a termination of the personal relations which he has had the honor to hold with the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, the undersigned does not fail to place at the former's disposal herewith the passport for the departure from Austria-Hungary of himself and the other members of the embassy.

At the same time the undersigned avails himself of the opportunity to renew to the Chargé d'Affaires the expression of his most perfect consideration.

(Signed) CZERNIN.

Belgian Relief Work Transferred

BRAND WHITLOCK, the American Minister to Belgium, was ordered to withdraw from Belgian soil by President Wilson on March 24; the President also ordered the departure of all American Consular officers. The withdrawal of the American members of the Belgian Relief Commission, who had been directing the feeding of several millions of destitute Belgian and French civilians, also was necessitated by the war situation. The work of these Americans was taken up by Dutch citizens under direction of the Netherlands Government. Herbert C. Hoover, the head of the relief commission, continued to direct the work from Rotterdam, but after the American declaration of war it was understood that he would return to America to assume the position of Food Director. In the official announcement of the withdrawal the State Department at Washington very bluntly and sharply put the blame on the Germans, as the following extract from the official statement of March 24 shows:

"Immediately after the break in relations the German authorities in Brussels withdrew from Mr. Whitlock the diplo-

matic privileges and immunities which he had up to that time enjoyed. His courier service to The Hague was stopped. He was denied the privilege of communicating with the Department of State in cipher, and later even in plain language. The members of the relief commission were placed under great restrictions of movements and communications, which hampered the efficient performance of their task.

"In spite of all these difficulties, the Government and the commission were determined to keep the work going till the last possible moment. Now, however, a more serious difficulty has arisen. In the course of the last ten days several of the commission's ships have been attacked without warning by German submarines, in flagrant violation of the solemn engagements of the German Government. Protests addressed by this Government to Berlin through the intermediary of the Spanish Government have not been answered.

"The German Government's disregard of its written undertakings causes grave concern as to the future of the relief work. In any event, it is felt that the American staff of the commission can no longer serve with advantage in Belgium. Although a verbal promise has been made that the members of the commission would be permitted to leave if they desire, the German Government's observance of its other undertakings has not been such that the department would feel warranted in accepting responsibility for leaving these American citizens in German occupied territory."

Four Belgian relief ships loaded with food bound from America for Rotterdam were sunk by German submarines between March 25 and April 10, and it was feared that all relief measures must be abandoned. On April 17, however, it was announced that eight loaded relief ships had reached Rotterdam between April 6 and 15, indicating that the Germans had concluded to allow the relief service to continue.

Vessels Sunk by Submarines

THE allied nations having ceased to report the detailed results of the German submarine warfare, only general data can be obtained for the most part for the months of March and April.

The Aztec was the chief American ship reported sunk after the destruction of the Memphis, Vigilancia, and Illinois, the three American vessels whose loss brought on the extra session of Congress and the war declaration. The Aztec was an armed merchantman; the sinking was reported on April 2, the day the President delivered his war message. She was attacked by a submarine at night near an island off Brest, without warning, and in a heavy sea. She was a slow-moving freighter of 3,727 tons, loaded with a cargo of foodstuffs, valued at $500,000, belonging to the Oriental Navigation Company. The vessel's guns were in charge of a naval detachment consisting of a Lieutenant and a crew of 11 gunners; 28 of the men on board, including Boatswain's Mate Eopolucci of the United States Naval Guard, perished.

The American Oil steamship Healdton was sunk March 22 in the North Sea by a German submarine, and 21 of her crew, of whom 7 were Americans, perished. The cargo was valued at $2,150,000; the United States Government War Risk Bureau lost $499,000 by the sinking of the Healdton, bringing the total losses of the bureau—including $250,000 on the Illinois—to $1,583,924; but the premiums in that period amounted to $3,167,997.

On March 23 the French cruiser Danton was reported as having been torpedoed in the Mediteranean Sea; 296 men were lost, 806 saved. The vessel displaced 18,028 tons.

The unarmed American steamer Missourian, which left Genoa April 4 with 32 Americans in her crew of 53—net tonnage 4,981—was sunk without warning in the Mediterranean. The American

Holland in the Cross-Fire of Submarine Controversy

HOLLAND, more than any other neutral, has felt the effects of the war's cross-fire of trade restriction and destruction of shipping. The little nation's geographical position exposes it to interference by both warring groups. The drastic means adopted by Great Britain to prevent the Germans from importing foodstuffs and raw material would alone have been sufficient to cause privation, but when to this is added the havoc wrought by the German submarines at the expense of the Netherlands merchant marine the state of affairs becomes still more distressful. Even there the menace does not end. Since the beginning of the war Holland has had to be prepared to defend her neutrality by guarding her land frontier and by keeping the mouth of the Scheldt closed against any attempt to make Antwerp a base of submarine and other naval operations. In addition to the large force concentrated at Antwerp the Germans have recently had five army corps massed on their Dutch frontier. Nor has the problem of dealing with the hundreds of thousands of Belgians who fled into Holland from the invaders been a light one.

In the circumstances it was not practicable or expedient for Holland to follow the example set by the United States when the new submarine campaign began. Nevertheless, while unable to break off relations with Germany, the Netherlands Government lost no time in protesting in the most vigorous manner, as will be seen from the following note, dated Feb. 7, 1917, which was addressed by J. Loudon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German Minister at The Hague:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of the note of Jan. 31 last, A 300, in which your Excellency informed me that the Imperial Government sees itself forced to abolish the restrictions which it has applied until now to its methods of warfare at sea.

This note was accompanied by a memorandum containing details of the naval measures to be adopted not only in the North Sea, the Channel, and a part of the Atlantic Ocean, but also in the Mediterranean. These measures are summed up in the establishment of two vast maritime zones, in which trade under any flag, neutral or enemy, will be stopped by force of arms, and in which ships will be exposed to destruction.

As far as the North Sea is concerned the zone is outlined in such a way as to leave a free passage for Dutch navigation, but on the other hand in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean the way is entirely barred between Port Said and the track drawn from Gibraltar to Greece, so that the route to the East Indies, which is essential to Holland as a colonial power, is cut.

The Queen's Government has in the course of the war more than once explained how it regards the arbitrary delimitation by the belligerent powers of a part of the sea as a zone reserved for military operations, in which commercial traffic is exposed to danger. Thus the Government protested, in a note, dated Nov. 16, 1914, to the British Minister, against the designation of the North Sea as a military zone in which merchant ships and fishing boats would be at least in danger by observing strictly the indications furnished by the British Admiralty.

Similarly, the Dutch Government protested in a memorandum, dated Feb. 12, 1915, against the proclamation by the German Government of a large portion of the North Sea and the Channel as a zone of war.

In these two cases the Queen's Government pointed out that, according to the law of nations, only the immediate sphere of action of the belligerents' military operations constitutes a military zone in which a belligerent's police power can be exercised. A zone with an area of the whole of the North Sea or of a large part of this sea and the Channel could not, in its opinion, be considered as an immediate sphere of action for operations of war; and in calling such areas military zones a serious blow was struck at the fundamental principle of the freedom of the seas.

That the Netherlands Government protested against both the above-mentioned cases is only a reason more why it is obliged to protest most energetically against the system now instituted by your Excellency's Government, a system which not only extends over much vaster areas but which also suggests premeditated attack on neutral vessels, whatever their cargo or destination, and without distinction as to whether their presence in the aforesaid areas is voluntary or due to circumstances independent of their will.

Even if the Imperial Government had de-

scribed as a blockade the measures which it had just adopted, the merciless destruction of every neutral ship proceeding to or leaving an enemy port would be contrary to the law of nations, which recognizes only the *confiscation* and not the *destruction* of ships trying to break a blockade. Moreover, the term "blockade," ["blocus"' in the French original of this document,] which the Imperial Government has rightly avoided using, could evidently not be applied to the immense stretch of sea covered by each of the two zones of military operations indicated in the memorandum which your Excellency has transmitted to me; much less so, since, from the standpoint of international law, a blockade is directed solely against traffic to and from an adversary's ports and in no case against navigation directly between two neutral countries. Now, in the aforesaid zones the Imperial Navy has received orders to destroy all ships it meets without making the least distinction between those proceeding to or leaving an enemy port and those which are on the way between two neutral ports without touching at an enemy port.

Faithful to the principle which it has constantly upheld during this war, the Queen's Government can see in the destruction of neutral vessels by belligerents only a violation of the established law of nations, to say nothing of the wrong against the laws of humanity if such destruction is to take place without any regard for the safety of the people on board.

The responsibility for the destruction of Dutch ships which may eventuate in the zones under discussion and for the loss of human lives which would be involved will fall on the German Government. Its responsibility will be particularly heavy in the cases which are to be foreseen where vessels are forced to enter the danger zone by warships of an adversary exercising the right of visit and search.

To this protest Germany paid no attention. On Feb. 22 seven Dutch steamships sailing from Falmouth, England, were attacked by a German submarine a few hours after they left port. Six of the vessels, the Noorderdijk, Zaandijk, Jacatra, Bandoeng, Gaasterland, and Eemland, representing a total of over 30,000 tons, were sunk—without loss of life. The seventh, the Menado, was damaged, but towed back to port. Three, in ballast, were outward bound to America, and the others homeward bound with cargoes consisting mainly of foodstuffs. They had arrived at Falmouth on various dates and had been released by the British authorities at the special request of the Netherlands Government in the belief that the German submarines would leave the ships unmolested. A storm of indignation swept through Holland, but the German Government refused to accept the blame. Foreign Secretary Zimmermann, replying to a question in the Reichstag on Feb. 28, said:

In the name of the Government I express regret at the accident which occurred a few days ago to Dutch boats. On our part, however, nothing was left undone to prevent it. In no way is the Imperial Government blamable. The Dutch shipowners naturally desired to get their ships out of English ports. Doubtless they were not ready to sail on Feb. 10, up to which date they could have gone with full security.

Then we put before them the dates Feb. 22 and March 17, stating expressly and formally that on the previous date the ships would have only relative security, while positive security could be guaranteed for March 17. The reason for this was that the possibility existed that on the earlier date submarines, being already en route, they might not all receive our message granting safe conduct to the Dutch vessels.

When the Dutch owners, notwithstanding our reiterated warnings, decided in favor of the earlier date, the Minister of Marine did everything in his power to communicate the order to all submarines. But it appears he was not successful, for, although a complete report on the incident has not yet been received, it appears established that the sinkings are attributable to a German submarine.

I can only repeat regrets of the Admiralty that the Dutch merchant marine has lost precious ships. The incident proves how dangerous it is to navigate the prohibited zones, and gives expression to our wish that neutral navigators cease to cross the zone, and remain in their ports. Thus they really serve their own interests and contribute effectively to the desired end that freedom of the seas be rapidly established.

The German Government also tried to appease Dutch anger by offering to replace the seven ships with German freighters. A Dutch Foreign Office statement issued on March 23 explained that the German Government on March 6 offered to pay an indemnity for the loss of members of the crews and to help the owners by facilitating the purchase of German ships after the war. This offer was made "on considerations of humanity and good neighborship." Further steps led to a reconsideration of the offer by Germany, who then suggested that Holland rent German ships "on reasonable conditions." The Dutch Government rejected the offer, and the owners of the ships that had been sunk in the

circumstances also refused to accept the proposal of indemnification for the crews.

In Great Britain the view was held that, despite the protests made by Holland, that country was accepting "whatever Germany dictates" and was indorsing "Germany's ruthless action by acquiescing in illegal submarine warfare on neutrals," and that, therefore, it was out of the question for Holland to expect facilities or consideration from Great Britain. These words were used in a statement issued in London on March 7 and were inspired by the fact that since the new German submarine campaign had begun Holland had held up practically all its shipping, thereby depriving England of the food supplies normally received from Holland.

The refusal of the authorities at Rotterdam to permit the British merchant steamer Princess Melita to enter the harbor because it was armed provided another bone of contention between the British and Dutch Governments. On March 9, however, when the Princess Melita put in an appearance for the third time after having thrown its armament overboard, it was permitted to berth. It was supposed that the Princess Melita had been sent for the purpose of giving the British Government the excuse to reopen the whole question of armed merchantmen. The Dutch Government, in its Orange Book of October, 1915, had defined its attitude as one prohibiting all armed merchantmen from entering its ports. The German military menace on the eastern frontier and Great Britain's control of the sea easily accounted for Holland's indecision. Germany wanted armed merchantmen barred altogether, while Great Britain demanded that they should be admitted to Dutch ports in return for the facilities extended to Dutch vessels in avoiding German submarine dangers.

At the end of March the British Government insisted that a certain percentage of Dutch merchant tonnage should carry cargoes to British destinations, and on the Dutch Government refusing it was reported that forty Dutch steamers in British ports were to be confiscated, if they could not be acquired otherwise. Many of these vessels had been detained from six to eight weeks. The holding back of the grain in their holds intensified the food shortage in Holland, where a rule reducing the bread ration went into operation on April 2.

The situation created by Germany's new submarine campaign had thus in the course of a couple of months developed several new issues, with the result that there was also a growth of hostile feeling against Great Britain. America's entry into the war brought a change over the whole aspect of things, but at this writing Holland's attitude is undefined.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From March 19 Up to and Including April 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

On March 21, a few days after the sinking of the American ships Vigilancia, City of Memphis, and Illinois by German submarines, President Wilson issued a proclamation calling Congress in extra session on April 2. On March 24 he ordered the withdrawal from Belgium of Minister Whitlock, all American Consular officials, and American members of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Mr. Whitlock and most of the relief workers left Brussels for Switzerland on April 2, but a few Americans who were working where the German Army was in operation, by agreement, remained two weeks to prevent military disclosures.

The State Department formally refused Germany's request to extend the Prussian-American treaties of 1799 and 1828.

President Wilson addressed the Congress on April 2, asking that body to declare that Germany had been making war upon the United States. A resolution recognizing and declaring a state of war was passed by both houses. President Wilson signed it April 6 and at the same time issued a proclamation notifying the world that war

had been begun and warning alien enemies to keep the peace.

Defensive war zones around the coasts of the United States were announced in an executive order.

A $7,000,000,000 war loan bill providing for a loan of $3,000,000,000 to the Allies was passed by Congress.

On April 15 President Wilson issued a proclamation to the people setting forth the necessity for the mobilization of all the industrial forces of the nation to help win the war. Another proclamation, issued April 16, warned alien enemies against committing treasonable acts.

The United States destroyer Smith reported that she was attacked by a German submarine on April 17 off the Atlantic Coast.

Several American ships were sunk by German submarines.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

On March 23 Germany declared a submarine blockade of the Arctic coast of Russia.

The British Admiralty announced that twenty-four British steamers were sunk in the war zone in the week ended March 18, nineteen in the week ended April 8, and nineteen in the week ended April 15. A dispatch from Berlin dated March 26 reported that twenty-five steamships, fourteen sailing vessels, and thirty-seven trawlers had been sunk within a few days. An additional list of thirty-four vessels sunk in March was given out April 1. Seven Italian ships were sunk without warning in the week ended April 15. The Norwegian Legation in London announced that in February and March 105 Norwegian vessels of over 228,000 tons were sunk and 106 persons killed and 222 missing. An official tabulation given out by the United States Government showed 686 neutral vessels, including 18 American, sunk by German submarines from the beginning of the war up to April 3.

Two Danish steamers were sunk outside the barred zone.

American losses for the month included the armed steamer Aztec and the unarmed ships Missourian and Seward. The schooner Marguerite was captured and presumably sunk.

Two British hospital ships, the Asturias and the Gloucester Castle, were sunk. The British steamer Alnwick Castle was torpedoed 320 miles from land. Four boats containing passengers reached Spain with ten dead. Other British losses included the horse transport Canadian and the steamships Crispin, Eptafolos, and Snowdon Range.

Three Belgian relief ships, the Camilla, the Trevier, and the Feistein were sunk and two others, the Tunisie and the Haelen, were attacked.

Spain protested against the sinking of the Spanish steamer San Fulgencio without warning and demanded an indemnity. Later the Spanish steamer Tom was sunk, also without warning.

Brazil severed relations with Germany after the sinking of the steamer Parana in which three lives were lost, and seized all German ships in Brazilian ports.

Argentina, on April 10, issued a declaration announcing that the Government supported the position of the United States with reference to Germany. A few days later two Argentine ships, the transport Pamra and the sailing vessel Oriana, were sunk. Germans were ordered from a suburb of Buenos Aires, and German ships in Argentine waters, which were found to be damaged, were placed under guard. Mobs in Argentina destroyed much German property.

Guatemala protested to Germany against the blockade note of Feb. 1.

Cuba announced on April 7 that a state of war existed with Germany, and German ships in Havana Harbor were seized.

Panama announced her support of the United States.

Costa Rica declared her approval of United States course.

Mexico declared neutrality; also Chile; Bolivia severed relations with Germany; Paraguay and Uruguay declared neutrality.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

March 23—Russians regain positions near the Beresina River east of Lida.

March 24—Russians prepare to meet huge concentration of Germans on the northern front.

March 27—Germans force Russians back by gas attacks in the Baranovichi region.

April 1—Russians repel repeated Austrian attacks near Kirlibaba.

April 4—Germans defeat the Russians and cross the Stokhod River near Helenin; capture Toboly bridgehead.

April 6—Germans occupy part of Russian trenches east of Plakanen, but are driven out by counterattack.

April 14—Germans bombard Brody.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

March 19—Germans retreat over eighty-five-mile front extending from south of Arras to Soissons; French take Ham, Guiscard, and Chauny; British advance slowly; Germans make slight gains at Verdun between Avocourt and Dead Man Hill.

March 20—French occupy Tergnier and reach the outskirts of Roupy; ruins of Coucy-le-Chateau destroyed by Germans; French beat off German attacks on the left bank of the Meuse.

March 21—Germans make a stand on the Arras-Cambrai-St. Quentin-La Fère line; French cross the Somme Canal at two

places, driving the Germans back to Clastres and Montescourt; British occupy forty more villages south and southeast of Péronne.

March 22—French cross the Ailette River at several points.

March 23—French force Germans back two miles between St. Quentin and La Fère; Germans inundate the district around La Fère.

March 24—French take two forts protecting La Fère on the west and drive Germans toward St. Quentin; British occupy Roisel.

March 25—French drive Germans back to the outskirts of Folembray and Coucy.

March 26—British capture Lagnicourt, west of Cambrai; French push on in Coucy forest and capture Folembray and La Feuillée.

March 27—French capture the forest of Coucy; British take Longavesnes, Lieramont, and Equancourt.

March 28—British press on north of Roisel and capture Villers-Faucon and the heights crowned by Saulcourt; Germans penetrate French first-line trenches west of Maisons-de-Champagne.

March 29—British capture Neuville Bourjonval.

March 30—British occupy Ruyalcourt, Fins, and Sorel-le-Grand; French recapture first-line positions west of Maisons-de-Champagne.

March 31—St. Quentin menaced on three sides as British take Vermand and Marteville; British advance up the Cologne River to within striking distance of the Scheldt, capturing eight villages; French push the Germans back on the Vregny plateau.

April 1—British capture Savy and Epehy.

April 2—British drive a wedge into the German positions on the ridge protecting St. Quentin from the west, capturing Holnon, Francilly, and Selency.

April 3—French storm the heights south and southwest of St. Quentin and capture Dallon, Giffecourt, and Cerizy, and heights south of Urvillers; British occupy Maissemy on the eastern bank of the Omignon River, Ronssoy Wood, and Henin on the Cojeol River.

April 4—French occupy Grugies, Urvillers, and Moy, south of St. Quentin; British take Metz-en-Couture.

April 5—Germans attack the French west of Rheims and force them over the Aisne Canal at some places; British capture Ronssoy and Basse-Boulogne east of Péronne.

April 6—British capture Lempire and advance toward Le Catelet; French retake part of positions lost north of Rheims.

April 8—British advance on a front of 3,000 yards north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road; Germans shell Rheims and French Government orders the civil population to evacuate the city.

April 9—British launch offensive on twelve-mile front north and south of Arras, penetrating German positions to a depth of from two to three miles, and capturing many fortified points, including Vimy Ridge.

April 10—British push forward as far as the outskirts of Monchy-le-Preux and capture Fampoux and its defenses on both sides of the Scarpe River.

April 11—British capture Monchy-le-Preux and heights dominating the country toward Cambrai.

April 12—British take Wancourt and Haninel, some positions north of the Scarpe River and drive the Germans from their last footing in the Vimy Ridge; French advance between Coucy and Quincy-Basse.

April 13—British capture Ancres and the town of Vimy, extending their line of advance from the Scarpe River to Loos, and push on west of Le Catelet; French attack the Germans south of St. Quentin.

April 14—British take Fayet, Gricourt, and Lievin, the western suburb of Lens.

April 15—French guns shell St. Quentin; Belgians penetrate Dixmude as far as the second enemy line.

April 16—French launch an offensive on a twenty-five-mile front between Soissons and Rheims, capturing the German first-line positions and taking over 10,000 prisoners and reach the second German line at six points in Alsace; Germans destroy St. Quentin Canal.

April 17—French pierce new German line on eleven-mile front from Prunay to Auberive, capturing important heights and support positions from Mount Carnillet to Vaudesincourt.

April 18—French again smash the Aisne line and capture Chavonne, Chivy, Ostel, and Braye-en-Laonnois, press forward north of Ostel, reach the outskirts of Courtecon, and take Vailly and Conde-sur-Aisne; British take Villers-Guislain, reporting 17,000 prisoners and much booty in three days' fighting, threatening German lines so as to make further withdrawals in Rheims region inevitable.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

March 20—French in Macedonia report the capture of Rashtani, Hill 1248, and the Snegoo monastery north of Monastir; British take prisoners at Brest and Poroy, east of Lake Doiran.

March 21—French driven from heights northeast of Tarnova and Anegovo.

March 24—Germans take Rumanian frontier ridge between the Solyomtar and Czobanos Valleys from the Russians.

April 2—Russians in Rumania repulsed on four-mile front on both sides of the Oituz Valley.

April 18—Germans burn Braila and Fokshani.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

March 19—Renewal of activity reported;

Austrian raids repulsed in the Giumella Valley and Lucati sector.

March 21—Austrians repulsed on Costabella Massif.

April 17—Intense artillery fire reported on the Julian front; Italians bombard Callano in the Lagarina Valley.

April 18—Italians shell Rovereto Station and trains on the Sugana Valley Railway.

ASIA MINOR

March 19—Russians in Persia occupy Harunabad; British cross the Diala River and occupy Bahriz and part of Bakubah.

March 21—Turkish force near Aden isolated from headquarters; another Arabian chieftain rises against the Turks; Russians cross the Mesopotamian frontier into Turkish territory to join the British.

March 23—Russians attack the Turks along the Shirwan River.

March 26—Russians pursue the Turks into Mosul Vilayet.

March 29—British rout a Turkish army of 20,000 in battle near Gaza.

March 31—British advance north of Bagdad and occupy Kalaat Felujah, Sheraban, Dely Abbas, and the areas of Deltawah and Sindirjah.

April 2—Russians occupy Miatague Peitaht and Serpoule and force the Turks toward the Mesopotamian border.

April 5—Russians occupy Khaninkin and Kasrichirin and get into touch with British patrols.

April 7—Russians land on Turkish territory on the Black Sea coast east of Samsoon.

April 12—British capture Turkish territory to a depth of fifteen miles in the region of Gaza.

April 14—Turks routed in battle north of Bagdad.

April 16—British drive Turks back to their positions on the Jebel Hamrin hills.

AERIAL RECORD

Italians bombarded the railway station at Galliano and brought down two Austrian airplanes.

Russian airplanes set Braila on fire April 1.

On April 7 large squadrons of British airplanes were sent up over the new German lines on the western front to photograph enemy positions. The greatest air battle of the war followed. Forty-eight German airplanes and ten captive balloons were brought down by the British, who lost twenty-eight of their own machines, but succeeded in taking 1,700 photographs.

Allied airplanes raided Freiburg April 14. Eleven persons were killed and twenty-seven wounded.

American Aviator Genet killed in France.

NAVAL RECORD

The French warship Danton torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea March 19, and 296 sailors were drowned.

On March 22 Berlin announced that the German raider Möwe had returned to her home port from a second cruise in the Atlantic in which she captured twenty-seven vessels.

England announced an extension of the boundaries of the North Sea danger area, cutting safety lanes off Holland and Denmark.

The French bark Cambronne arrived at Rio Janeiro March 30 carrying the crews of eleven steamers and sailing vessels sunk by the German raider Seeadler in the South Atlantic.

During the night of March 28-29 German warships cruised in the barred zone off the south coast of England and sank the British patrol trawler Mascot.

One German destroyer was sunk and another damaged off the Belgian coast April 8.

The American Line steamship New York struck a mine near the coast of England on April 10, but was only slightly damaged and reached her dock unaided.

The British hospital ship Salta was sunk by a mine in the English Channel.

A German submarine made an unsuccessful attack on the U. S. destroyer Smith on April 17, about 100 miles south of New York.

RUSSIA

The former Czar and Czarina were taken to Tsarskoe Selo. Other high dignitaries of the old régime were imprisoned. The United States extended partial recognition to the new Government on March 21.

The Central Committee and Parliamentary representatives of the Constitutional Democratic Party at Petrograd voted in favor of a republican form of government. A committee was appointed to settle the affairs of Poland and the Provisional Government announced its wish that Poland decide for itself the form of government it desired. Religious freedom was proclaimed April 4 and many other reforms are under consideration, including woman suffrage.

MISCELLANEOUS

Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the United States on April 7. Austrian ships in American ports were seized.

The German Emperor ordered Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg to submit to him proposals for the reform of the Prussian electoral law. Strikes in Berlin followed a reduction in bread rations. Thousands of workers left the munitions plants.

Greece presented a note to Italy insisting upon the withdrawal of Italian troops from Epirus to Avlona.

A new Cabinet was formed in France, headed by Alexandre Ribot.

Chinese troops occupied without opposition the German concessions at Tien-tsin and Hankow.

Allied Successes in France

Period from March 18 to April 17, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE past month has seen the most important developments in the European war since the first months of its progress. These have been principally three, all distinctly hurtful to Germany: The retreat on the western front, which includes the battle of Arras; the operations in the Near East, and, finally, the entrance of the United States on the side of the Allies. All theatres other than those mentioned have been extremely, ominously quiet.

The great German retreat was well under way as the review for April was being written, but it had not progressed to the point where any conclusions were admitted. The German press at the outset confused the entire issue. Its statements may then be ignored.

In the first place the German retreat was not voluntary, but was forced. The battle of the Somme, biting as it did deep into the German lines, produced a wedge which seriously threatened the Noyon salient. Only a little more, and the troops in this salient would have been unable to retire. The Germans saw the threat to this large body of men, so drew back from the danger before it had an opportunity actually to strike them. To this extent the retreat was a strategical move. That the movement was made with a view to shortening the lines and thereby strengthening them may be entirely possible as a subsidiary thought, but it was not the moving factor. The theory that von Hindenburg simply wished to draw the Allies out of the trenches into the open and then defeat them has also been exploded.

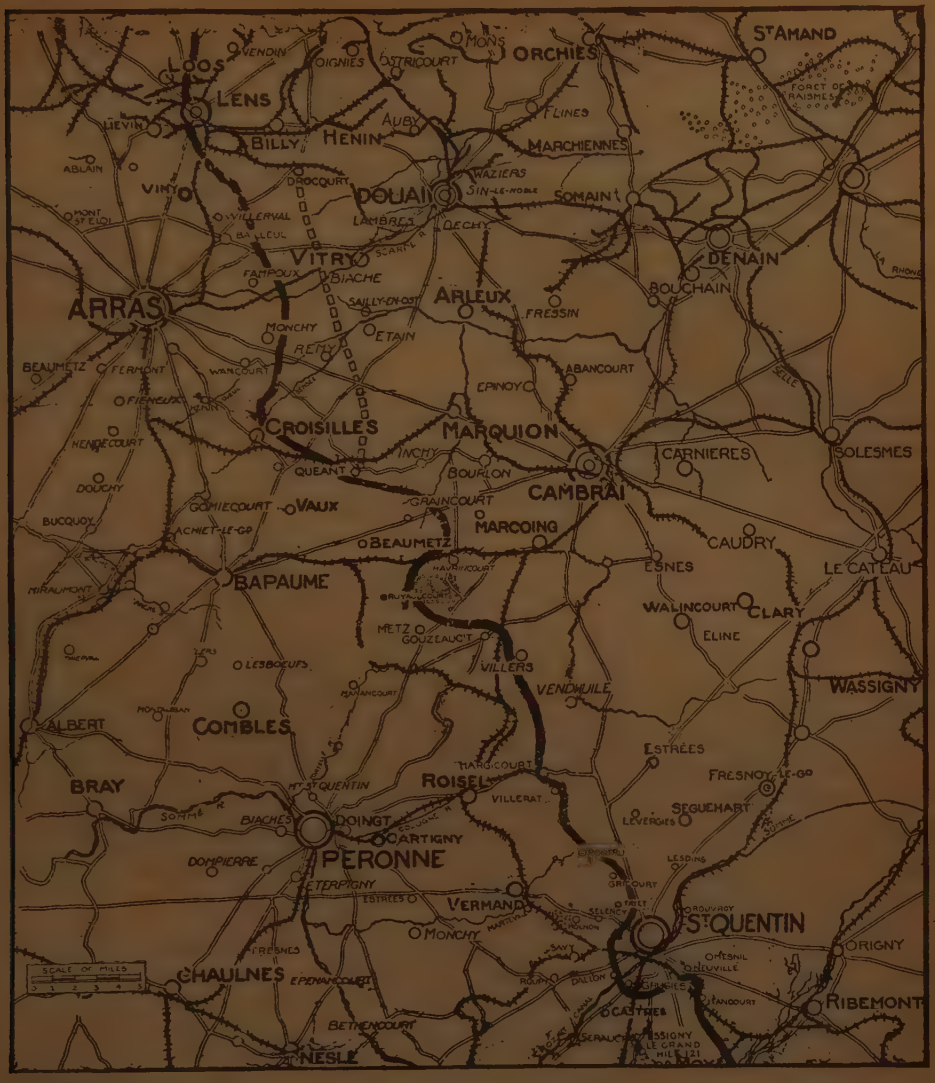
The matter of the withdrawal itself is most interesting. It was assumed in many quarters that the line on which the Germans would stand was through Laon, La Fère, St. Quentin, and Cambrai. This was a perfectly logical conclusion, as it had its basis in the existing railroads connecting these places. In fact, but little has happened since to give rise to any doubt that the German intention was different from that outlined. The distance from Noyon to the new line was very much greater than that from the Bapaume position to Cambrai. Nevertheless, it was the Bapaume line which first gave way.

This would indicate that the German retirement took place ahead of schedule time because of the British pressure along the Ancre, and the way in which the Germans have since been handled by both the British and the French would seem to increase the probability that this was the case. Nevertheless, the preparations for the retreat were thoroughly made and the requisite transport was at hand.

Rapid French Pursuit

The Germans, as they fell back, destroyed all the railroad lines, blew up the roads and roadbeds, and did all else that could in any way hinder the pursuit of the allied armies. That they went beyond this and, in a blind, ruthless orgy of destruction, razed to the ground every building however unadapted it might be to military purposes is beside the point. This is merely another interesting phase of German psychology. But in spite of the fact that the Germans were able to get away with small loss, the French and the British were apparently as prepared to follow as the Germans were to fall back. The French in particular did brilliant work in this respect. The pursuit on the southern part of the line, which was held by the French, was extremely rapid—much more rapid than any one had anticipated.

Not for a moment, it seemed, was con-



BATTLE LINE IN FRANCE, APRIL 18, 1917. THE WHOLE REGION FROM BAPAUME, PERONNE AND NESLE, AS FAR EAST AS THE BLACK LINE, WAS DEVASTATED BY THE GERMANS IN THEIR RECENT RETREAT

tact lost. The French engineers followed the Germans closely, reconstructing and rebuilding, and the French infantry and artillery pressed the situation closely. The pursuit evidently surprised the Germans, who, before they had an opportunity to stop and fight, found their line interfered with, if not actually cut. La Fère seemed to be the point at which the French advance was directed. Without fighting any heavy engagements the French reached and occupied the town of Tergnier, within two miles of La Fère. This completely eliminated the latter town as a point of German vantage.

Further south, along the Aillette River, the French came to their first stumbling block. This river stands as a guard to the great patches of wood south of the La Fère position, and is known as the lower and upper forests of Coucy and the Woods of St. Gobain. This river was crossed, however, after heavy fighting, and, finally, pushing ahead on the

southern end of the line, the French took the village of Coucy. The lower forests of Coucy were occupied, bringing the French to the edge of the forest of St. Gobain. Here the French came to a halt, as it was evident that they had reached the main defenses of the German line to which von Hindenburg had intended to retreat.

Further north the Germans were not so fortunate in checking the French. From just east of Tergnier, the French fought their way eastward, pivoting their line on the Tergnier position, and pressed the Germans back against the Oise River as far north as the town of Moy. This threw the French well to the east of St. Quentin and in a position to work their way, without meeting any natural obstacles, in rear of the town. This they did, driving due north from Moy until they had reached a point just south of Neuville. Their line then swung westward near the suburbs of St. Quentin, along all the high ground south of the city. This was certainly not in accordance with the German plan, as it brought every means of exit from the city directly under the fire even of the smaller French artillery.

The British Advance

The British, on the other hand, had a much more difficult road to travel. Because of the shorter distance which the Germans had to pass over, their retreat, after the line first began to give way, was much slower, and the pursuit was conducted with constant fighting, mostly of heavy rear-guard character. The British object was to prevent the use of Cambrai in the same way as the French had impaired if not destroyed the usefulness of St. Quentin.

The pivot of the German retreat in the north was a point on the southern tip of Vimy Ridge, a position before which so many French had lost their lives, and which was believed to be practically impregnable. No effort was made against it, the British expending all of their efforts toward reaching the line of the Scheldt River. Here the British gave the best indication of their fighting strength. Each day recorded a new advance of greater or less extent on the entire front from the Vimy Ridge to St. Quentin, where the British and French joined. The result was more than satisfactory to the British commander.

As this review is being written the British have thrown a loop around St. Quentin on the north and west which brings their lines so near to those of the French that it is impossible for the Germans to keep control or possession of the city much longer. More important still, the British are but a little over a mile from the Scheldt River, with the Germans in between. It seems certain that before these lines appear the Germans will have fallen behind the river, from which the British cannot force them except by a flanking movement, to be made at some time in the future.

While the fighting west of the Scheldt was at its height the British, after a terrific artillery preparation, suddenly launched an attack against the Vimy Ridge, the pivot of the German retirement. Here was the first positive indication that the Germans, in addition to being outgunnued and outmunitioned, outfed and outmanned, were also outgeneraled. The Germans gave out officially that by their retirement they had completely upset the British plan for an attack on the Somme and delayed any other attack indefinitely because of the necessity of reconstructing the transport system. The probabilities were, however, that the British never intended to attack on that section of the front affected by the German retreat. On the contrary, it now seems that the British commander, undoubtedly acquainted with the fact that a retreat was coming, had laid his plans for an attack which would produce the same result on the line north of Arras as the Somme had produced in the south.

In one day's fighting the Canadian troops, who held the centre of the attacking line, swept to the crest of Vimy Ridge and well over it, forcing the Germans down the eastern slope. It was here, too, that for the first time the Germans gave indications of going to pieces. There was a temporary demoralization in their ranks which manifested itself in the fighting, for, almost

immediately following the first attack, the British pushed this new wedge fully five miles into the German lines.

Since these early days the advance has been further extended, but the first blow netted five miles. The Germans were entirely unprepared for any such action as this. The amount and character of booty captured show how completely swept off their feet they were. Nearly 200 guns, some of them of large calibre, an enormous quantity of shell, 15,000 prisoners, loaded wagon trains and transports, all of which there was sufficient time to remove or destroy—these are the things which tell the story much more vividly than the official reports.

As this review is being written, (April 20,) the British are in the streets of the great coal mining centre of Lens, in possession of half of the town and fighting desperately for the other half. The advantage now on this section of the front all lies with the British. All of the high ground overlooking the coal fields and the great plain of Northern France now stretches out before them. Douai, which must now become a point on the new line, is in plain sight, with the Germans everywhere recoiling toward it. It may well be, from the desperate character of the fighting, that the battle of Europe is now being fought.

Turkish Armies in Retreat

In the Near Eastern theatre matters have gone very ill with the Turks. Beaten in every engagement by the British, the resistance offered to the Russians in Persia suddenly gave way, and, without any opposition, the Russians drove forward past the Persian frontiers into Mesopotamia and effected a junction with the British, cutting off in the process a considerable portion of the Turkish Army. This junction means the downfall of the Turkish opposition. Nothing approaching this in importance has happened in this theatre since the beginning of the war. It has been a long time coming, and has been most bitterly fought for, but its importance cannot be overestimated. Turkey is more than weakened. She is in danger of dismemberment even before the war closes. A successful revolution in Arabia, an uprising in Syria, defeats in the Holy Land, the loss of almost all of Armenia, the occupation of a great part of Mesopotamia—all these disasters have shaken Turkish rule in Asia to the very foundations. It is questionable how much longer the Sultan can hold out and keep his followers and his army loyal.

Finally, to complete the list of German disasters for the month, German barbaric cruelty and ruthlessness forced the United States to the admission that a state of war existed with the German Empire. America has a potential force of 15,000,000 men, can put up if need be seventy-five billion of dollars, and has the greatest resources for food and manufacturing of any nation in the world. The navy is nearly as large in itself as that of Germany, and if any one factor were needed to give to the world assurance of the solidity and permanence of democratic rule as opposed to autocracy, the action of this, the most pacific of great democracies, has furnished it.

German Version of the Month's Fighting

March 17 to April 17, 1917

FROM the official German standpoint the events in the western theatre of the war during April differ from the allied reports. The following summary of the month's fighting was compiled exclusively from the official reports issued by the War Office in Berlin and other German sources.

The Germans assert that the retirement at three different points on an eighty-five-mile front from south of Arras to Soissons on the Aisne, which was taking place in the middle of March and leaving a large number of towns and villages in the hands of the British and French, "was part of a definite plan." These strategic movements had been "prepared long ago and were carried out without being disturbed by the enemy, who followed in a hesitating manner." The "protecting troops, by perspicacious and energetic conduct, cast a veil over the abandonment of the positions and the departure of our troops." In the abandoned districts the means of communication useful to the enemy were destroyed.

The Berlin official report of March 22 said that spirited fighting in the district on both sides of the Somme and the Oise had "an issue favorable to us," and the next day's report contained the following:

"French troops, which on both sides of St. Simon had crossed the Somme-Crozat Canal, were repulsed by an attack against and beyond those sectors. The enemy suffered sanguinary losses and lost 230 prisoners, as well as several machine guns and carts.

"Between the Oise and the Aisne during the evening hours engagements developed west and south of Margival. Attacks by strong French forces were repulsed with heavy losses under our fire and by a counterattack."

German View of Retreat

An account of the German retirement given by a correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt was as follows:

"Till the last moment the exploding platoons remained in the towns and villages to finish the work of destruction, and then fight their way back the best they could. The general system of retreat was something marvelous. Every detachment knew exactly which way to turn. Every column had its way prescribed, and, despite this gigantic movement of man, beast, and truck, there were no blockades, no congestion anywhere, all arriving exactly at the prescribed hour. Messengers rode about to notify the different commands of the time to start, while at the same time gigantic motor cars distributed enormous quantities of explosives to the pioneer platoons.

"Wherever possible, without attracting the special attention of the natives or the Allies, houses were burned down days before the evacuation. Walls that would not fall were exploded when the Allies were in the heat of an artillery fight, suggesting the tremendous effect of their fire. These preparations took many days, but toward the end heavy fogs in the mornings and cloudy atmosphere in the afternoons permitted the burning of villages without concealment. And to think, the Allies never had the slightest idea of what was going on! They never interfered with the German plans of destruction, and never thought of shelling the German lines of communication, while endless columns marched over them. The last I saw was German machine-gun platoons disappearing among the ruins and German patrols taking what little part was left to await the Allies. Slowly, with enormous losses, the hostile hordes are now feeling their way through the dangers lurking all about them."

Another correspondent's story contains the following:

"The country behind the allied trenches had been covered with a great network of

railways and roads for heavy mortars which would enable them to move divisions and army corps with lightning speed and so concentrate unexpectedly on any weak spot of the German line they might discover while shamming a general attack along the whole front. Day after day German fliers watched the mountains of ammunition and provisions pile up at the British base, to which well-metaled white roads reached out from the trenches like tentacles of some ghastly monster to suck in the whole world for slaughter and destruction. Billions of dollars' worth of material, iron, wood, and cement, and the labor of a vast army was sunk in this ground between the British trenches and the base. All these gigantic preparations were conducted with truly English naïveté, for any other nation would have told itself that fliers watching them day by day would have long ago supplied the German General Staff with very exact data of what was going on.

"Then all of a sudden mysterious movements began on the German side. Soldiers, taking with them their kits and all other belongings, left the trenches and dugouts. The mountains of munitions grew rapidly less by the efforts of many hundreds of huge mortar carriers, of wagons drawn by eight horses, streaming incessantly, day and night, over the groundless roads which nobody now thought of repairing any more.

"Whole villages disappeared over night, their inhabitants being concentrated in a few singled-out towns and places where they were comparatively safe and from where they might easily reach their own people when the time would come. Of bush and trees, nothing was left standing that might serve the Allies as cover. Even the belongings were removed from the houses before the latter were leveled to the ground. Night after night the artillery rolled back in an endless chain, followed by regiment after regiment of silent gray war lords.

"Small troops armed with machine guns remained behind, however, and kept up a sham of trench war. So well did they succeed in deceiving the British that they often drew the British heavy guns to furious bombardments of what was already a deserted strip of land. Behind their new positions, ten to fifteen kilometers back, the Germans chuckled when they read in the British reports of the explosions of German munition magazines caused by the never-failing British gunfire. They knew only too well that another village had been leveled, another bridge blown up by the astute German pioneers.

"When finally the British hesitatingly felt their way into what were once the German lines, they discovered between the Oise and Arras a lifeless chaos which baffled all their zealous preparation of many months for the deadly blow that would now fall on the air."

A Successful Retirement

An official report on March 25 stated that "the German rear guards engaged with hostile forces near Beaumetz and Roisel and east of the Crozat Canal fell back after inflicting heavy losses, and that a French attack northeast of Soissons was repulsed." Again, on March 27, a French attack on the west bank of the Oise, near La Fère, "failed with heavy losses." "The German retirement continued to be conducted with the greatest success." On March 31, however, "between the road from Péronne to Gouzeaucourt and the lowland of Omignon Brook the English, in engagements in which they suffered heavy losses, advanced their line for a distance of from two to three kilometers."

Heavy fighting took place between Arras and the Aisne on April 1 and 2, "notably between the roads leading from Bapaume to Croiselles and Bapaume to Cambrai, as well as on both banks of the Somme, west of St. Quentin. The British and the French launched strong forces, which, because of the effect of our artillery fire, flowed back several times, and which only after considerable losses, which included fifty prisoners and some machine guns, gained ground because of our troops giving way, as had been ordered."

In the official report of April 9, describing the first day of the battle of Arras, it was stated that the enemy had forced his way into parts of the German positions. On April 10 the report said:

"In stubbornly resisting the superiority of the enemy two of our divisions suffered considerable losses. The British succeeded in penetrating our positions on the roads radiating from Arras, but did not break through."

The Frankfort Gazette stated positively that the German line had not been broken east of Arras and that the attack did not take the General Staff by surprise, but had been provided for in its plans. Heavy losses were admitted, but, said that journal, "the defense of the western front will cost us heavy sacrifices this year, but they will not be in vain."

The impression sought to be created by the German press was that the battle of Arras was an event of "only local importance, though lamentable in its results." "It had, however, been soon brought to a standstill and did not in any way affect the strategic situation. It was part of the plan of the Anglo-French command, foiled in its intentions of delivering a shattering blow on the Somme front, to roll up the new Hindenburg line by assaults on both flanks, at Soissons and Arras. Both attempts failed."

Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in an interview, avowed his confidence in the strength of the German fronts on the west and east, and expressed a conviction that the submarine campaign would not fail.

"Unfounded" Excitement

The official reports continued to speak of attacks repulsed with heavy losses during the succeeding days of the battle of Arras, but on April 13 the military critic of the Berlin Vossische Zeitung wrote that he had received many letters which proved that "the nerves of many readers are beginning to give way." He dwelt on the "unfounded" excitement which, he said, was spreading among those at home, and he warned the public not to judge the situation from single events, but to take events as a whole into consideration.

The German War Office report of April 15 stated:

"On the Arras battlefield, as the result of the removal of our line north of the Scarpe, only minor engagements occurred, in which the enemy suffered heavy losses. From the Scarpe lowlands to the Arras-Cambrai railway violent fighting occurred yesterday morning. British divisions in heavy masses attacked repeatedly, but were always repulsed with sanguinary losses. In addition to these British sacrifices, a counterthrust by our troops resulted in the capture of 300 prisoners and twenty machine guns."

That the fighting was no longer merely of local importance was indicated in the report issued at the end of the first day of the new French offensive, April 16: "On the Aisne a great French attempt to break through, with a far-distant object, has commenced after a ten days' mass fire. A bitter fight is proceeding on a forty-kilometer front around our foremost positions."

Finally, the report of April 17 says that "one of the greatest battles of the mighty war, and, therefore, also in the world's history, is in progress on the River Aisne." The report continues:

"In the Champagne this morning fighting between Prunay and Auberive developed, the battle line thereby extending from the River Oise into the Champagne. Our troops anticipate with entire confidence the coming heavy fighting.

"A great French attempt to break through yesterday, the object of which was far-reaching, failed. The losses of the enemy were very heavy. More than 2,100 prisoners remained in our hands. Where the enemy at a few places penetrated into our line fighting still continues and fresh enemy attacks are expected.

"On Monday afternoon the French threw fresh masses into the fray and carried out lateral attacks between the Oise and Condé, on the Aisne. The artillery fight which was continued today leveled the positions and produced wide, deep craters, rendering an obstinate defense no longer possible.

"The fighting no longer is against a line but over quite a deep and irregular fortified zone. The battle sways backward and forward around our foremost positions, our object being, if the war material is lost, to spare the lives of our forces and to inflict heavy sanguinary losses and thus decisively weaken the enemy. This was achieved."

United States Rejects German Protocol

WHEN Ambassador Gerard was about to depart from Berlin he was placed under pressure by the German Government to get him to sign a document confirming and enlarging the privileges of German citizens in the United States in case of war between the two countries, as defined in the half-forgotten treaty made with Prussia in 1799. The protocol which Mr. Gerard was asked to sign was an elaboration of Article 23 of the old convention, amounting practically to a new treaty, and requiring not only the approval of the State Department at Washington but also the confirmation of the United States Senate. Mr. Gerard protested against the methods used to get his support for this document, and emphatically declined to have anything to do with it. After some delay he was allowed to depart.

Text of German Protocol

The document was then forwarded by the Berlin authorities—through the Swiss Foreign Office at Berne—to the Swiss Minister at Washington, Dr. Paul Ritter, who handed it to Secretary of State Lansing on Feb. 10, 1917. The text of this communication, and of the agreement which Germany was so anxious to have the United States accept on the eve of war, is as follows:

The American treaty of friendship and commerce of the 11th of July, 1799, provides by Article 23 for the treatment of the subjects or citizens of the two States and their property in the event of war between the two States. This article, which is without question in full force as regards the relations between the German Empire and the United States, requires certain explanations and additions on account of the development of international law. The German Government, therefore, proposes that a special arrangement be now signed, of which the English text is as follows:

Agreement between Germany and the United States of America concerning the treatment of each other's citizens and their private property after the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article One—After the severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States of America, and in the event of the outbreak of war between the two powers, the citizens of either party and their private property in the territory of the other party shall be treated according to Article 23 of the treaty of amity and commerce between Prussia and the United States of the 11th of July, 1799, with the following explanatory and supplementary clauses:

Article Two—German merchants in the United States and American merchants in Germany shall, so far as the treatment of their persons and property is concerned, be held in every respect on a par with the other persons mentioned in Article 23. They shall, accordingly, even after the period provided for in Article 23 has elapsed, be entitled to remain and continue their profession in the country of their residence. Merchants as well as the other persons mentioned in Article 23 may be excluded from fortified places or other places of military importance.

Article Three—Germans in the United States and Americans in Germany shall be free to leave the country of their residence within the time and by the routes that shall be assured to them by the proper authorities. The persons departing shall be entitled to take along their personal property, including money, valuables, and bank accounts, excepting such property the exportation of which is prohibited according to general provisions.

Article Four—The protection of Germans in the United States and of Americans in Germany and of their property shall be guaranteed in accordance with the laws existing in the countries of either party. They shall be under no other restrictions concerning the enjoyment of their private rights and the judicial enforcement of their rights than neutral residents. They may accordingly not be transferred to concentration camps, nor shall their private property be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation except in cases that under the existing laws apply also to neutrals. As a general rule, German property in the United States and American property in Germany shall not be subject to sequestration or liquidation or other compulsory alienation under other conditions than neutral property.

Article Five—Patent rights or other protected rights held by Germans in the United States or Americans in Germany shall not be declared void, nor shall the exercise of such rights be impeded, nor shall such rights be transferred to others without the consent of the person entitled thereto, provided that regulations made exclusively in the interests of the States shall apply.

Article Six—Contracts made between Germans and Americans, either before or after the severance of diplomatic relations, also obligations of all kinds between Germans and Americans, shall not be declared canceled, void, or in suspension except under provisions applicable to neutrals. Likewise the citizens of either party shall not be impeded in fulfilling their liabilities arising from such

obligations, either by injunctions or by other provisions, unless these apply to neutrals.

Article Seven—The provisions of the Sixth Hague Convention relative to the treatment of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities shall apply to the merchant vessels of either party and their cargo. The aforesaid ships may not be forced to leave port unless at the time they be given a pass recognized as binding by all the enemy sea powers to a home port or a port of an allied country or to another port of the country in which the ship happens to be.

Article Eight—The regulations of Chapter 3 of the Eleventh Hague Convention relative to certain restrictions in the exercise of the right of capture in maritime war shall apply to the Captains, officers, and members of the crews of merchant ships specified in Article 7 and of such merchant ships as may be captured in the course of a possible war.

Article Nine—This agreement shall apply also to the colonies and other foreign possessions of either party.

Text of American Reply

The note in which the United States rejected the foregoing proposition was handed to the Swiss Minister at Washington on March 20, and is printed below in full. It places the refusal on the ground of Germany's own "flagrant violations" of the original treaty, and raises the question whether all the immunities granted by that treaty have not in effect been abrogated by the German sinkings of American merchant ships:

The Secretary of State to the Minister of Switzerland in charge of German interests in America.

Department of State,
Washington, March 20, 1917.

Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of Feb. 10 presenting the proposals of the German Government for an interpretative and supplementary agreement as to Article 23 of the Treaty of 1799.

After due consideration, I have to inform you that the Government of the United States is not disposed to look with favor upon the proposed agreement to alter or supplement the meaning of Article 23 of this treaty.

The position of the Government of the United States, which might under other conditions be different, is due to the repeated violations by Germany of the Treaty of 1828, and the articles of the Treaties of 1785 and 1799 revised by the Treaty of 1828. It is not necessary to narrate in detail these violations, for the attention of the German Government has been called to the circumstances of each instance of violation, but I may here refer to certain of them briefly and in general terms.

Since the sinking of the American ship William P. Frye for the carriage of contraband, there have been perpetrated by the German naval forces similar unwarranted attacks upon and destruction of numerous American vessels for the reason, as alleged, that they were engaged in transportation of articles of contraband, notwithstanding and in disregard of Article 13 of the Treaty of 1799 that "no such articles (of contraband) carried in the vessels or by the subjects or citizens of either party to the enemies of the other shall be deemed contraband so as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals." And that in the case of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port or further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

In addition to the sinking of American vessels, foreign merchant vessels carrying American citizens and American property have been sunk by German submarines without warning and without any adequate security for the safety of the persons on board or compensation for the destruction of the property by such action, notwithstanding the solemn engagements of Article 15 of the Treaty of 1799, that "all persons belonging to any vessels of war, public or private, who shall molest or insult in any manner whatever the people, vessel, or effects of the other party, shall be responsible in their persons and property for damages and interests, sufficient security for which shall be given by all commanders of private armed vessels before they are commissioned," and notwithstanding the further stipulation of Article 12 of the Treaty of 1785 that "the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent powers shall not be interrupted."

Disregarding these obligations, the German Government has proclaimed certain zones of the high seas in which it declared without reservation that all ships, including those of neutrals, will be sunk, and in those zones German submarines have in fact, in accordance with this declaration, ruthlessly sunk merchant vessels and jeopardized or destroyed the lives of American citizens on board.

Moreover, since the severance of relations between the United States and Germany certain American citizens in Germany have been prevented from removing from the country. While this is not a violation of the terms of the treaties mentioned, it is a disregard of the reciprocal liberty of intercourse between the two countries in times of peace and cannot be taken otherwise than as an indication of the purpose on the part of the German Government to disregard, in the event of war, the similar liberty of action provided for in Article 23 of the Treaty of 1799—the very article which it is now proposed to interpret and supplement almost wholly in the interests of the large

number of German subjects residing in the United States and enjoying in their persons or property the protection of the United States Government.

This article provides in effect that merchants of either country residing in the other shall be allowed a stated time in which to remain to settle all their affairs and to "depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance," and women and children, artisans and certain others may continue their respective employments and shall not be molested in their persons or property. It is now proposed by the Imperial Government to enlarge the scope of this article so as to grant to German subjects and German property remaining in the United States in time of war the same treatment in many respects as that enjoyed by neutral subjects and neutral property in the United States.

In view of the clear violations by the German authorities of the plain terms of the treaties in question, solemnly concluded on the mutual understanding that the obligations thereunder would be faithfully kept; in view further of the disregard of the canons of international courtesy and the comity of nations in the treatment of innocent American citizens in Germany, the Government of the United States cannot perceive any advantage which would flow from further engagements, even though they were merely declaratory of international law, entered into with the Imperial German Government in regard to the meaning of any articles of these treaties or as supplementary to them.

In these circumstances, therefore, the Government of the United States declines to enter into the special protocol proposed by the Imperial Government.

This Government is seriously considering whether or not the Treaty of 1828 and the revised articles of the Treaties of 1785 and 1799 have not been in effect abrogated by the German Government's flagrant violations of their provisions, for it would be manifestly unjust and inequitable to require one party to an agreement to observe its stipulations and to permit the other party to disregard them.

It would appear that the mutuality of the undertaking has been destroyed by the conduct of the German authorities.

Accept, &c.,

ROBERT LANSING.

Your Flag and My Flag

By WILBUR D. NESBIT

[A new national anthem that sprang into favor all over the country in the weeks preceding the declaration of war.]

Your flag and my flag!
And how it flies today
In your land and my land
And half a world away!
Rose-red and blood-red
The stripes forever gleam;
Snow-white and soul-white—
The good forefathers' dream;
Sky-blue and true blue, with stars to gleam aright—
The gloried guidon of the day; a shelter through the night.

Your flag and my flag!
To every and star and stripe
The drums beat as hearts beat
And fifers shrilly pipe!
Your flag and my flag—
A blessing in the sky;
Your hope and my hope—
It never hid a lie!
Home land and far land and half the world around,
Old Glory hears our glad salute and ripples to the sound!

Your flag and my flag!
And oh, how much it holds—
Your land and my land—
Secure within its folds!
Your heart and my heart
Beat quicker at the sight;
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed—
Red and blue and white.
The one flag—the great flag—the flag for me and you—
Glorified all else beside—the red and white and blue!

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended April 20, 1917]

War Council at Washington

THE heads of the French and British missions to the United States, Arthur James Balfour and René Viviani, are distinguished among the statesmen of their countries by the fact that both have been Prime Ministers. M. Viviani was Premier of France when the war broke out, and was later Minister of Justice under M. Briand. He was also a member of the joint Anglo-French mission to Russia in the weeks before the Russian revolution. Mr. Balfour was Prime Minister after the death of his distinguished uncle, the Marquis of Salisbury, in 1902. He has held office in the coalition War Ministries of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, as First Lord of the Admiralty, and later as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour is completely familiar with the two most vital Entente problems, the international question and the submarine question.

The hero of the joint mission is Marshal Joffre, the victor of the Marne, but for whose splendid work at the War Ministry France would have had no adequate army to oppose the German invasion; but for whose consummate strategy General von Kluck would in all likelihood have captured Paris and changed the history of the war. Marshal Joffre has been a great traveler, serving in Tonking, hard by the Philippines; in Western Africa, where he built a section of the railroad which joins the Senegal River to the Upper Niger; in the Sahara, where he first made a name by capturing Timbuktu; in Madagascar, where, under the late General Gallieni, he fortified a great harbor; but this is his first visit to the New World.

* * *

The Seven Billion Dollar Loan

BOTH houses of Congress passed without a single negative vote—the House on April 14 by 389 to 0, the Senate on April 17 by 84 to 0—a bill to finance the prosecution of the war against Germany. The bill authorizes the issuance of bonds to the amount of $5,000,000,000, of which $3,000,000,000 will be loaned to the nations comprising the Entente Alliance; also the issuance of Treasury certificates for $2,000,000,000 ultimately to be met by increased taxation.

The proposed bond issue is the largest in the history of the world. Both the bonds and the certificates are to bear 3½ per cent. interest. Bonds heretofore authorized, but not sold, for the acquisition of the Danish West Indies, the construction of an armor plate and nitrate plant, the Panama Canal, the speeding up of the naval program, the Alaskan Railroad, and the Mexican mobilization, authorized at an interest rate of 3 per cent., are convertible into 3½ per cent. bonds.

Under the terms of the bill the President and the Secretary of the Treasury are unhampered in making a loan of $3,000,000,000 to the Allies. The securities which the President shall purchase are not stipulated. The President is only to acquire "the obligations of foreign Governments" in an amount not to exceed $3,000,000,000. The obligations of the foreign countries are to be taken at par. Payment of the Treasury certificates will be provided for by new stamp and increased income taxes; also by increased taxes on profits and new customs duties on imports now on the free list.

* * *

The Military Service Bill

THERE was some hesitancy manifested in Congress over accepting the recommendation of the President for an obligatory army service bill. The Military Committee of the House at the first test vote subordinated the selective draft provision to a call for volunteers. Later, however, the President and Secretary of War renewed their arguments and with such force that it was generally agreed that the opposition had capitulated and that Congress would pass a selective draft bill, operative when the President finds volunteering insufficient, as follows:

First call, eligible men between the ages of 21 and 25; second call, 26 to 32; third call, 33 to 40.

On April 17 it was announced that army enlistments were averaging 1,434 men a day, and that the naval enlisted strength had reached 71,696 of the authorized strength of 87,500.

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The Virgin Islands

ON March 31 the transfer of the Danish West Indies to the United States was finally completed after half a century of effort. The Danish Minister, Mr. Brun, received a Treasury warrant on that day for $25,000,000 and wireless messages were sent to the Danish and American authorities in the islands to lower the Danish flag and raise the Stars and Stripes. "By giving you this warrant," Secretary Lansing is reported to have said, "I will save you the trouble of transporting forty-eight tons of gold."

The area of the islands is 138 square miles; the population in 1911 was 27,086, of whom large numbers are free negroes engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane. The name, the Virgin Islands, of which St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John are the chief, is neither new nor altogether distinctive, since a group of contiguous islets, of which Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Anagada, and Jest-Van-Dykes are the chief, have long borne, and still bear, the title of the British Virgin Islands, while Crab Island, one of the same group, already belongs to the United States. Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, Chief of Naval Intelligence at the Navy Department, assumed the duties of Governor at St. Thomas, having been appointed by Secretary Daniels. He will serve until a permanent Government has been determined upon by Congress, and in the meantime local laws will be administered.

It is noted as an interesting coincidence that Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia just fifty years and one day before the final transfer of the Danish West Indies, the purchase price having been $7,200,000, or less than a third of what has now been paid for the tiny Virgin Islands. Alaska has produced gold valued at more than $250,000,000, and has paid for itself a hundredfold.

* * *

Religious Liberty in Russia

UNDER the imperial rule, with the exception of restraints laid on the Jews, all religions might be freely professed within the Russian Empire, which includes 14,000,000 Mohammedans, about 450,000 Buddhists, and about 300,000 Pagans, largely in Northern Siberia. There are also 11,500,000 Roman Catholics, largely in Poland, and 3,500,000 Lutherans, in the Baltic Provinces. All these confessions have hitherto enjoyed freedom of profession and worship. On two sections of the population restrictions have borne heavily: on the Jews, numbering 5,200,000, and on Dissenters from the Orthodox Church, who, it is estimated, number more than 12,000,000. The restrictions on the Jews were largely a survival of the time when they were subject to Poland; laws were passed confining them to the regions they then occupied, and restricting the numbers who might inhabit Russian towns, study at Russian universities, practice professions, and so forth. All these restrictions have been removed.

A further measure of liberation applies to the Orthodox Church, which was formerly subject to the control of the Emperor. The Emperor, through the Procurator of the Synod, appointed all Archbishops and Bishops, though the Bishops had the privilege of proposing candidates. The new Government will leave the appointment of all Church officials in the hands of the Church, which, as a body, gave its formal adherence to the new order in the opening days of the revolution.

Those who will now enjoy greatly increased religious liberty in Russia are, therefore, in order of numbers, first the Orthodox Church, which wins self-government; next, the Dissenters from the Orthodox Church; and, thirdly, the Jews, to whom all positions and professions in the State are now open on equal terms with all other Russians.

New Figures in Russian Life

THE first step in the Russian revolution was taken in 1905, when, on Aug. 6, an elective body of representatives of the people was created, with the name of the State's Duma. On Oct. 17 the Duma was given wider legislative powers; inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, speech, assembly and association were guaranteed, and the Council of the Empire, transformed into a Legislative Council, was associated with the Duma as an upper house of the Legislature. The First and Second Dumas sat for only a few weeks each; the Third Duma completed its term of five years; the Fourth Duma was elected in November, 1912. In the Third and Fourth Dumas the men who accomplished the Russian revolution gained their administrative training and at the same time won the confidence of the Russian people.

M. V. Rodzianko, now President of the Duma, has attained high distinction as a leader in the liberal movement. Paul Milukoff, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, is the parliamentary leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party, which has fifty-five representatives in the Fourth Duma. He is widely known in the United States. Gutchkoff, the new Minister of War, and Kerensky, the Minister of Justice, are also tested parliamentarians. Prince Lvoff, the new Premier, was already widely known before the revolution as the head of the National Union of Zemstvos, which bear some resemblance to American State Legislatures, and which had formed a close organization among themselves to provide food, clothing and, to a large degree, munitions, for the active army. In this way the whole machinery of the new Russia was already in existence, first in the Duma and then in the Union of Zemstvos.

* * *

Release of the Siberian Exiles

THE return of thousands of political exiles from Siberia was one of the most dramatic aspects of the Russian revolution. This great act of liberation restored to Russia many of her ablest and most devoted men and women, who had worked, in their own way, for the ends which the revolution accomplished. Among these exiles, Catharine Breshkovskaya, who has spent the greater part of a long life in exile, and who has recently been enthusiastically fêted at the capital, is, perhaps, the most picturesque figure. Vera Zassulitch, whose activities date back to the days of the Terrorists who assassinated Alexander II. on the eve of his granting Russia a Constitution in 1881, is also universally known, in part from the writings of "Stepniak," the historian of the earlier revolutionists, a close friend of William Morris and of Prince Peter Kropotkin. Kropotkin also has returned to Russia after a long exile, passed for the most part in England, but including visits to the United States and France; as a philosophical biologist he gained universal recognition, laying particular stress on the principle of co-operation throughout nature.

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Difficulties in Russia's Path

THAT serious obstacles lie in the path of the new Government in Russia was indicated by the imprisonment of the editor of the Socialist newspaper Pravda, "Truth," for lending himself to pro-German intrigue, counseling the soldiers to throw down their arms, to make peace without delay, and to enter on the "social revolution," which would bring them unimagined prosperity. The new intrigue set on foot in April by Germany, of which the German Socialist Deputy Scheidemann is the instrument, to involve Russian Socialists in peace negotiations at Copenhagen, further shows that the agents of the Kaiser, the instant that they saw that intrigue through the Russian Court was blocked by the revolution, turned their attention to the Russian Socialists. It is a second revelation of the same danger of which the Provisional Government is acutely conscious. Peasant risings in Samara, demanding immediate division of all land, are symptoms of a similar menace. A partial satisfaction of this demand will be reached by the distribution of the imperial domain, consisting of more than a million square miles, an area equal to the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Holland,

Belgium, Denmark, Austria and Hungary; but there will still remain the menace of the Extremists, possibly reinforced by returned Siberian exiles, many of whom are philosophical anarchists.

* * *

The Kaiser and the German Empire

ACCORDING to the Constitution of the German Empire, dated April 16, 1871, the supreme direction of the military and political affairs of the empire is vested in the King of Prussia, who, as German Emperor, "represents the empire internationally," and can declare war if defensive, and make peace, as well as enter into treaties with other nations, and appoint and receive Ambassadors. But when war is not merely defensive the Kaiser must have the consent of the Bundesrat, or Federal Council. In this Federal Council of sixty-one members the Kingdom of Prussia has seventeen members; the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg have together fourteen, six Grand Duchies have eleven, five Duchies have six, seven Principalities have seven, three free towns—Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg—have one each, Alsace-Lorraine has three.

In the Reichstag, of 397 Deputies, Prussia has 236. In sharp contrast with the Prussian system, the Deputies are elected by universal manhood suffrage, with the result that, in the present Reichstag, there are 107 Socialists, ninety-one Centrists, ninety Liberals and Radicals, forty-four Conservatives, twenty-seven members of the German Party, eighteen Poles, and twenty Independents.

In the army Prussia greatly outweighs all the rest of the empire, providing sixteen of the twenty-five army corps, as against three for Bavaria, two for Saxony, one for Württemberg, two for Alsace-Lorraine, while there is also one corps of Prussian Guards. Under the Constitution of 1871, the whole of the land forces of the empire form a united army, under the orders of the Emperor, whom all troops are bound by the Constitution to obey conditionally. The Emperor is, therefore, responsible for every order given to any part of the German Army.

The Constitution and Government of Prussia

KAISER WILHELM, as King of Prussia, has given an undertaking to reform the Prussian Constitution at the end of the war. Under the present fundamental laws, the whole of the executive and much of the legislative authority is vested in the King, who appoints all Ministers by royal decree. The King's power in the executive department is, therefore, absolute. He also possesses the power of veto over all legislation.

The Herrenhaus, the upper house of the Legislature, is closely identified with the King, since Princes of the royal family and of two other branches of the Hohenzollerns are members, as are the heads of sixteen princely families and of the nobility formed by the King, with a number of life peers chosen by the King, who may further nominate an unlimited number of members for life, or for shorter periods. The King thus has it in his power to insure a majority for any measure he may wish passed in the Herrenhaus. The lower house has 443 members, elected indirectly, as follows: The indirect electors are divided into three classes: The first consists of all electors who pay the highest taxes, to the amount of one-third of the whole; the second, of those who pay the next highest amount, down to the limits of the second one-third; the third, of all who pay the lowest taxes. The indirect electors choose electors, who choose the representatives.

Under this system, which secures control to a wealthy minority, there were elected, in 1913, 202 Conservatives, 216 Centrists, Liberals and Progressives, 10 Socialists, and 15 others.

* * *

A World Shortage of Wheat

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his proclamation of April 16, drew attention to the fact that the United States will in the coming year be called upon not only to feed its own people and army, but also to make very large contributions to the feeding of England, France, and Italy; Russia, as a great wheat growing country, being probably able to feed itself. It is estimated that, in part owing

to the destruction by frost of large areas of Winter wheat, the United States will this year produce less wheat than in average years by at least 26,000,000 bushels, though a part of this may be made up by Spring sowing over the frost-killed areas. The whole of Canada's coming supply of wheat has already been bought by the British Government, Canada having produced in 1915 336,258,000 bushels of wheat, one-fifth of which came into the United States.

Certain causes have contributed to bring about this world-wide wheat shortage, such as the large amount of wheat and other foods destroyed by German submarines, the lack of tonnage to bring wheat to England from Australia, the unwillingness of the Argentine Republic to sell wheat to England, the closing of the Black Sea route, by which Russia's vast surplus normally reaches the rest of the world, the destruction of immense quantities of wheat during the devastation of Rumania. France faces a deficit of 127,000,000 bushels of wheat in the coming year, in part due to the lack of field labor, while the aggregate deficit of the Entente Allies for the coming year has been placed at from 190,000,000 to 216,000,000 bushels.

Two ways of meeting this deficit have been suggested, besides wider cultivation—the saving of the large percentage of wheat lost in turning it into white flour, and the cessation of brewing and distilling, thus turning millions of bushels into bread instead of liquor.

* * *

Night Plowing in England

EXTRAORDINARY measures have been adopted in England to meet the threatened shortage of food resulting from the submarine warfare on commerce. Two of the most picturesque of these new methods are the universal application of Sunday labor and the hastening of work on the farms by supplementing day labor by night shifts. Powerful motor tractors have taken the place of the older steam plows, already largely used in England; and these new motor-tractor plows are provided with acetylene headlights such as are used on automobiles at night. On one farm a motor tractor working continuously for five days and four nights plowed a tract of forty-two acres, about equal to one-sixteenth of a square mile. To cover the same tract with a horse plow would, it is estimated, have taken fifty-six days, more than ten times as long; while the motor tractor plow, working only eight hours a day, would have taken twelve days to complete the work. On the darkest nights two acetylene lamps are used; on moonlight nights no artificial light is needed. The plow cuts four furrows at once, like the American "gang plow," and the men work in five-hour shifts, with an interval of an hour between two shifts for oiling and adjusting the tractor.

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British War Pensions

THE schedule of the new War Pension Grants of the British Government are as follows, the rate being the maximum weekly allowance:

Disabled soldier, including children's allowance	$18.75
Widow with children	9.37½
Parent or guardian	3.75
Other dependents	1.25

It is estimated that the annual charge on the pension account in 1918-19 will be $125,000,000. The following are the allowances for the children of a totally disabled man:

First child	$1.25
Second child	1.12½
Third child	.80
For each child after the third	.62½

These payments are to be continued beyond the age of 16 in the case of apprentices receiving not more than nominal wages, or of children being educated at secondary schools, and may be granted or continued between the ages of 16 and 21 in the case of a child incapable through mental or physical infirmity of earning a living, provided the infirmity existed before the child attained the age of 16. Provision is also made for an alternative compensation to make up the deficit subject to a maximum of $12.50 a week, plus half of any earnings prior to the war between $12.50 and $25 a week.

In the case of slight injuries a gratuity averaging from $500 to $1,000 is granted

in place of a pension. Widows are to be given half what would have been awarded to their deceased husbands had they been disabled in the highest degree. In the case of a private soldier this means $3.87 a week. Allowances to widows are:

For the first child	$1.25
For the second child	1.12½
For the third child	.90
For each child after the third	.62½

The widow of a private with 8 children will get $9.80 a week. "Unmarried wives" with dependent children are to get $2.50 a week and children's allowances. If the unmarried wife has no dependent children she is to get $2.50 a week for the period of the war and twelve months afterward. It is provided that a parent shall receive up to the amount of pre-war dependents of one or more sons within a total of $3.75 a week.

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German Rule in Rumania

A DISPATCH from Jassy, the temporary capital of Rumania, reveals the first news of Rumanian affairs that has been permitted to leak out since the occupation of that country by the Germans. The dispatch is dated March 28, 1917, and says that in all parts of Rumania women, old and young, have been arrested on the pretext of being related to members of the Government. Elderly magistrates and doctors are also among those who have been seized and imprisoned. The majority are being sent to Bulgaria and Turkey. Among those arrested is the mother of the Prime Minister. The situation in the country districts, where the population is kept in a state of terror by robberies, fires, and incessant requisitions, systematically carried out, is worse than that in the towns.

A dispatch from Zurich dated March 26 says that approximately 1,100 Rumanians of Transylvania have been sentenced by Austro-Hungarian courts-martial to terms of penal servitude varying from thirty years to three years. The entire property of more than 600 Rumanians of Transylvania has been confiscated by the Hungarian Government. Practically all these victims of Hungarian persecution were Rumanians of position and education.

Among those condemned to death and executed was a priest, Father David Pope; the former sub-prefect of Kronstadt, M. Constantine Bojta; M. Yovan Koman, a professor; M. Romulus Kristelgan, headmaster of the school at Kronstadt; M. Pompilius Dan, a private tutor; Dr. Zacharius Mountean, advocate; M. Victor Pope, chemist; Father Koman Baka, a priest, and Dr. Nicholas Hamzea, physician—all of Kronstadt. Among other victims condemned to death and executed were practically all the principal Rumanian Intellectuals of Klausenburg.

* * *

Vast Quantities of Supplies

H. W. FORSTER, official Secretary of the British War Office, in moving the war estimates made some interesting statements to Parliament regarding the prodigious operations in equipping an army. As an illustration, he said, at the beginning of the war it was difficult to obtain horseshoes, which were procured from Canada and the United States, hence village blacksmiths were organized to make hand-made shoes. This output, at first, was 50,000 pairs a month; it is now 1,500,000. To illustrate the scale upon which supplies were required, he states that the War Office had to provide:

Gas helmets	25,000,000
Sand bags for the Allies	250,000,000
Khaki cloth, yards	105,000,000
Flannel, yards	115,000,000

The khaki cloth and flannel together measured 111,000 miles, enough to go four and a half times around the earth at the Equator. Another interesting statement was that the typhoid fever cases were fifteen times higher among those who had not been inoculated than among the inoculated, and the death ratio seventy times higher among those not inoculated.

* * *

Fighting a Billion Enemies

OMITTING China, which is giving every indication of an intention to enter the war on the side of the Allies, the Central Powers, with a population of 157,878,000, are at war with fourteen nations totaling a population of 1,003,681,000. This vast number is divided as follows:

ENTENTE-AMERICAN ALLIES	Area (Sq. Miles.)	Population.
United States	3,627,557	101,740,000
Philippines	115,026	8,643,000
Great Britain	121,316	46,407,000
British possessions	12,660,460	388,036,000
France	207,129	39,700,000
French colonies	3,998,713	49,725,000
Russia	8,361,708	174,100,000
Finland	144,249	3,197,000
Italy	110,688	35,598,000
Italian colonies	458,162	1,450,000
Japan, including Formosa and Chosen	245,641	72,818,000
Belgium	11,373	7,658,000
Belgian Congo	913,127	20,000,000
Portugal	35,499	5,958,000
Portuguese colonies	808,107	9,280,000
Rumania	53,934	7,508,000
Serbia	33,107	4,622,000
Montenegro	5,475	435,000
Cuba	45,881	2,469,000
Panama	32,330	337,000
Brazil	3,292,000	24,000,000
Total	34,282,082	1,003,681,000
CENTRAL POWERS		
Germany	209,793	68,059,000
German colonies	1,026,022	12,287,000
Austria-Hungary	261,023	51,505,000
Turkey	682,239	21,274,000
Bulgaria	44,056	4,753,000
Total	2,223,133	157,878,000

* * *

THE $5,000,000,000 bond issue authorized by Congress in April amounts to about one-tenth of the national income of the United States last year, as is shown by the following statistics of the financial strength of the country:

Annual national income	$50,000,000,000
Total bank resources	35,000,000,000
Individual deposits	24,000,000,000
Cash held by the banks	2,500,000,000
Total gold stock in the country	3,000,000,000
Available additional commercial credits on basis of present cash holdings	6,000,000,000

* * *

A British War Museum

A COMMITTEE has been formed by authority of Parliament to establish a national war museum. The idea is to reconstruct for future generations the story of the British share in the war. The chief categories of exhibits will be relics and records. There will be separate departments to illustrate the work of the sailors, soldiers, and munition workers. The nucleus of these collections is already in the hands of the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Ministry of Munitions. The aim will be to include examples of the following:

1. Material used by the British forces —guns, rifles, bayonets, trench weapons, tanks, submarines, &c.
2. Trophies captured from the enemy.
3. Souvenirs found on the battlefield.
4. New inventions employed in munition works at home.
5. Literature of the war—books, trench magazines, &c.
6. Maps of the war.
7. Music of the war—trench tunes, marching songs, &c.
8. Art of the war, including trench drawings.
9. Placards issued by the Government for recruiting, economy, &c.
10. Medals and decorations.
11. Autograph letters by distinguished actors in the war.
12. Civilian souvenirs, such as "flag-day" relics.

* * *

THE effect of the entry of the United States on the side of the Allies is shown by the following changes in foreign exchanges as quoted on April 12: Sterling, 4.76¾, against 4.73 9-16 low in 1916, and 4.50 low in 1915; Francs, 5.70¾, against 6.08½ low in 1916, 6.02 low in 1915. Italian lire rose 24 points in the week ending April 12, 1917. Rubles rose 20 points.

* * *

The Foreign-Born Population of the United States

THE number of citizens of foreign birth in the United States in 1917 is 14,500,000, while 20,500,000 native Americans have either a foreign-born father or a foreign-born mother, and 14,000,000 had both parents born abroad. Of the total 100,000,000 population of the United States 54,000,000 are of native white ancestry. Since the foundation of the Government the total immigration to the United States from Great Britain has been 4,000,000; from Germany, 6,000,000; from Ireland, 4,000,000; from Scandinavia, 2,000,000. Up to 1890, before the heavy influx began from Russia and Italy, the total immigration to the United States was 15,689,000, of

which one-third was German. After 1890, of the 17,000,000 immigrants only 1,023,000 were Germans.

The following tables compiled by the Geographic Magazine convey an idea of the distribution of the larger groups of foreign-born citizens:

CANADIANS

Massachusetts	360,000
Michigan	190,000
New York	125,000
Maine	75,000
New Hampshire	55,000
Illinois	50,000
California	50,000
Total in United States	1,101,000

ITALIANS

New York	470,000
Pennsylvania	190,000
New Jersey	115,000
Massachusetts	90,000
Illinois	75,000
California	60,000
Connecticut	55,000
Ohio	40,000
Total in United States	1,335,000

AUSTRO-HUNGARIANS

Pennsylvania	375,000
New York	360,000
Illinois	200,000
Ohio	160,000
New Jersey	100,000
Wisconsin	40,000
Minnesota	38,000
Michigan	38,000
Connecticut	37,000
Total in United States	1,680,000

ENGLISH, SCOTCH, WELSH

New York	195,000
Pennsylvania	170,000
Massachusetts	125,000
Illinois	90,000
New Jersey	65,000
California	60,000
Ohio	60,000
Michigan	55,000
Total in United States	1,145,000

GERMANS

New York	430,000
Illinois	325,000
Wisconsin	235,000
Pennsylvania	210,000
Ohio	190,000
Michigan	125,000
New Jersey	115,000
Minnesota	95,000
Iowa	85,000
Missouri	80,000
California	75,000
Indiana	70,000
Nebraska	70,000
Texas	60,000
Maryland	50,000
Kansas	45,000
Total in United States	2,640,000

RUSSIANS AND FINNS

New York	560,000
Pennsylvania	260,000
Illinois	150,000
Massachusetts	130,000
New Jersey	95,000
Michigan	70,000
Connecticut	55,000
Ohio	55,000
Minnesota	40,000
Wisconsin	35,000
North Dakota	35,000
Total in United States	1,669,000

IRISH

New York	370,000
Massachusetts	225,000
Pennsylvania	160,000
Illinois	90,000
New Jersey	85,000
Connecticut	55,000
California	50,000
Ohio	40,000
Rhode Island	35,000
Missouri	30,000
Total in United States	1,330,000

SCANDINAVIANS

Minnesota	240,000
Illinois	165,000
Wisconsin	95,000
New York	90,000
Washington	70,000
Iowa	70,000
North Dakota	70,000
California	50,000
Massachusetts	50,000
Michigan	37,000
Nebraska	37,000
South Dakota	35,000
Total in United States	1,209,000

In the omitted States the number of foreign-born citizens in the foregoing classifications is fairly proportional, ranging from 30,000 in the more populous States to 4,000 or 5,000 in the Southern and smaller States. The foreign-born seem to prefer urban life, as 23,000,000 out of 35,000,000 live in cities. Only one-fifth of the population of New York and Chicago is of native white ancestry. Less than a third of the populations of Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, San Francisco, Milwaukee, Newark, Minneapolis, Jersey City, Providence, St. Paul, Worcester, Scranton, Paterson, Fall River, Lowell, Cambridge, and Bridgeport are of native ancestry.

Though the foreign-born constitute one-seventh of the nation, nearly one-fourth of the arm-bearing strength of the country is represented in this class.

The Battle of Arras

Scenes of Infernal Splendor on the First Day of the New British Offensive

By Philip Gibbs

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle]

At dawn on Easter Monday, April 9, 1917, the British armies began a tremendous offensive on a wide front between Lens and St. Quentin, including Vimy Ridge, that great, grim hill which dominates the plain of Douai and the coal fields of Lens and the German positions around Arras. Philip Gibbs has depicted the terrors of that first day's fighting in the following memorable description:

TODAY began another titanic conflict which the world will hold its breath to watch because of all that hangs upon it. I have seen the fury of this beginning and all the sky on fire with it, the most tragic and frightful sight that men have ever seen, with infernal splendor beyond words. The bombardment which went before the infantry assault lasted several days, and reached a great height yesterday. When coming from the south I saw it for the first time. Those of us who knew what would happen today—the beginning of another series of battles, greater perhaps than the struggle of the Somme—found ourselves yesterday filled with tense, restless emotion. Some of us smiled with a kind of tragic irony because it was Easter Sunday. In the little village behind the battle lines the bells of the French churches were ringing gladly because the Lord had risen, and on the altar steps priests were reciting splendid words of faith—"Resurrexi et adhuc et cum sum, Alleluia."

The earth was glad yesterday. For the first time this year the sun had a touch of warmth in it—although patches of snow still stayed white under the shelter of banks—and the sky was blue and the light glinted on wet tree trunks and in furrows of new plowed earth.

As I went up the road to the battle lines, I passed a battalion of British troops, who are fighting today, standing in a hollow square with bowed heads while the chaplain conducted the Easter service. It was Easter Sunday, but no truce of God. I went to a field outside Arras and looked into the ruins of the cathedral city. The cathedral itself stood clear in the sunlight, with a deep black shadow where its roof and aisles had been. Beyond was a ragged pinnacle of stone, once the glorious Town Hall, and the French barracks and all the broken streets going out to the Cambrai road. It was hell in Arras, though Easter Sunday. The enemy was flinging high explosives into the city, and clouds of shrapnel burst above black and green. All around the country, too, his shells were exploding in a scattered, aimless way. From the British side there was a great bombardment all along Vimy Ridge, above Neuville St. Vaast and sweeping around St. Nicholas and Blangy, two suburbs of Arras, and then southwest of the city on the ridge above the road to Cambrai. It was one continuous roar of death, and all the batteries were firing steadily. I watched the shells burst, and some of them were monsters, rising in great, lingering clouds above the German lines.

There was one figure in this landscape of war who made some officers about me laugh. He was a French plowman who upholds the traditions of war. Zola saw him in 1870. I have seen him on the edge of another battlefield, and here he was again, driving a pair of sturdy horses and his plow across the sloping field, not a furlong away from a village where German shells were raising a rosy cloud of brick dust. So he gave praise to the Lord on Easter morning and prepared for the harvests which shall be gathered after the war.

Scenes Behind the Front

All behind the front of battle there was great traffic. All that modern warfare means in organization and in preparation for the enormous operation was here in movement. I had just come from the British outpost lines down south, from the silence of that great desert which the enemy has left in the wake of his retreat east of Bapaume and Péronne, and from that open warfare with village fighting, where small bodies of British infantry and cavalry have been clearing the countryside of rearguard posts. Here round about Arras was concentration for the old form of battle, the attack upon intrenched positions, fortified hills, and great natural fortresses defended by masses as before the battles of the Somme.

For miles on the way in front were great camps, great stores, and restless activity. Everywhere supply columns of food for men and guns moved forward in an endless tide. Transport mules passed in long trails, field batteries went up to add to the mass of metal ready to pour fire upon the German lines. It was a vast circus of the world's great war, and everything that belongs to the machinery of killing streamed on and on; columns of ambulances for the rescue, for that other side of the business, came in procession, followed by an army of stretcher bearers—more than I have ever seen before—marching cheerily as though in a pageant. In some of the ambulances were army nurses, and the men marching on the roads waved their hands to them, and they laughed and waved back. There were greetings which made one's heart go soft awhile. In the fields by the roadside men were resting, lying on the wet earth between two spells of long marching, or encamped in rest—the same kind of men whom I saw on July 1 of last year, some of them the same men, clean shaven, gray eyed, so young and so splendid to see. Some of them sat between their stacked rifles writing letters home, and the tide of traffic passed them and flowed on to the edge of the battlefields where today they are fighting.

I went up in the darkness, long before light broke today, to see the opening of the battle. The roads were quiet until I drew near to Arras, and then onward there was the traffic of marching men going up to the fighting lines.

In the darkness there were hundreds of little red lights, the glow of cigarette ends. Outside one camp a battalion was marching away, and on the bank above them the band was playing them out with fifes and drums. On each side of me as I passed by the men were densely massed, and they were whistling and singing and calling out jests and gibes—wonderful lads that they are. Away before them were the fires of death, to which they were going very steadily, with a tune on their lips, carrying rifles and shovels and iron rations, while the rain played a tatoo on their steel hats.

I went to a place a little outside of Arras on the west side. It was not quite dark because there was a kind of suffused light from the hidden moon so I could see the black mass of the cathedral city, the storm centre of this battle, and away behind me, to the left, the tall broken towers of Mount St. Eloi, white and ghostly, looking across to Vimy Ridge. The bombardment was now in full blast. All the British batteries, too many to count, were firing, a thousand gun flashes winking and blinking from hollows and hiding places.

All their shells were rushing through the sky as though flocks of great birds were in flight, and all were bursting over the German positions with long flames which rent the darkness and waved sword blades of quivering light along the ridges. The earth opened and great pools of red fire gushed out. Star shells burst magnificently, pouring down a golden rain.

Mines were exploded east and west of Arras and in the wide sweep from Vimy Ridge to Blangy southward, and voluminous clouds, all bright with the glory of infernal fire, rolled up to the sky. The wind blew strongly across, beating back the noise of the guns, but the air was all filled with the deep roar and slamming knocks of single heavies and the drumfire of the field guns.

The first attack was at 5:30. A few

minutes before 5:30 the guns almost ceased fire, so that there was a strange, solemn hush. We waited and our pulses beat faster than the second hands.

"They're away!" said a voice by my side. The bombardment broke out again with new and enormous effects of fire and sound. The enemy was shelling Arras heavily, and black shrapnel and high explosives came over from his lines, but the British gunfire was twenty times as great.

Around the whole sweep of his lines green lights rose. They were signals of distress and his men were calling for help. It was dawn now, but clouded and stormswept. A few airmen came out with the wind tearing at their wings, but they could see nothing in the mist and driven rain.

I went down to the outer ramparts of Arras. The eastern suburb of Blangy seemed already in British hands. On the higher ground beyond the British were fighting forward. I saw two waves of infantry advancing against the enemy's trenches. Protected by the barrage of field guns, they went in a slow, leisurely way, not hurried, although the enemy's shrapnel was searching for them.

"Grand fellows," said an officer lying next to me on the wet slope. "Oh, topping!"

Fifteen minutes afterward some men came back. They were British wounded and German prisoners. I met the first of these walking wounded. Afterward they were met on the roadside by medical officers who patched them up there and then before they were taken to the field hospitals in the ambulances.

From these men wounded by shrapnel and machine gun bullets I heard the first news of the progress. They were bloody and exhausted, but they claimed success. * * *

Advance of Four Miles

The British swept the Germans out of Arras and went on stolidly through the enemy's trench system to Feuchy, in the marshes below the River Scarpe, four miles east of Arras. The enemy was afraid of an attack, and in the night had withdrawn all but rearguard posts to trenches further back, where he resisted fiercely.

The enemy's trench system south of Arras was enormously strong, but the British bombardment had pounded it, and the infantry went through without much loss to the reserve support trench, and then on to a chain of posts in front of Harvest trench, which was strongly held, and, after heavy fighting with bombs and bayonets, to Observatory Ridge, from which for two years and a half the enemy looked down, directing the fire of his batteries against the French and British positions.

South of Tilloy there were two formidable positions, called the Harp and Telegraph Hill, the former being a fortress of trenches shaped like an Irish harp, the latter rising to a high mound. These were taken with the help of tanks, which advanced upon them in their leisurely way, climbed up the banks and over the parapets, sitting for a while to rest, and then waddling forward again, shaking machine gun bullets from their steel flanks and pouring a deadly fire into the enemy's position, and so mastering the ground.

North of the Scarpe—that is, northeast of Arras—the whole system of trenches was taken as far as the Maison Blanche Wood, and north again along Vimy Ridge the Canadians achieved a heroic success by gaining this high, dominating ground, which was the scene of some of the fiercest French battles in the first part of the war and which is a great wall defending Douai.

It was reckoned up to noon today that over 3,000 prisoners had been taken. They were streaming down to the prisoners' camps and to the British who pass them on the roads they are the best proof of a victorious day. After the retreat from Bapaume and Péronne, this news should be a thunderbolt in Germany, tearing the scales from the blind and raising anew a cry for peace.

Seven Days' Fighting at Arras

THE well-kept secret of where the British proposed to make a new thrust in the Spring was suddenly disclosed on the morning of Easter Monday, April 9. It was an offensive along a front of forty-five miles, having for its immediate objective Lens at one end and St. Quentin at the other. This is the struggle which has become known as the battle of Arras, although at the end of seven days' fighting the scene has shifted considerably to the east of the city which has given its name to the battle. The Hindenburg line, on which the Germans were relying when they fell back from the Somme, was pierced within a week, leaving them in the awkward position of having to form a new defensive line without adequate preparation.

The bombardment of the German positions during the four days preceding the opening of the offensive on April 9 was as intense and as sustained as the artillery fire before and during the other great battles on the western front. Eyewitnesses even declare that it has been more concentrated and destructive than at the Somme and Verdun. The British guns were very numerous, of great calibre, and supplied with such vast quantities of ammunition that their "curtains of fire" were terrible realties.

Fierce Aerial Fighting

The battle of Arras has eclipsed all previous battles in aerial operations. During the four days before the battle began British airplanes literally swarmed in the sky, and the fighting in the air was on far the largest scale up to date. The German aviators were outnumbered many times over. Throughout the battle the British airplanes were constantly active despite the most unfavorable weather conditions, with snow, sleet, bitterly cold wind, and rain. The whole week's fighting was carried out, not in pleasant April sunshine, but in wintry weather which added its own gloom to the horrors of war.

The principal object of the aviators was to photograph the enemy's new positions, and, incidentally, to bombard strategic points behind the German front. Other squadrons, protecting those whose business was reconnoitring and observation, also went up for fighting purposes only. Duels, skirmishes, and engagements of all kinds took place between the British and German airplanes for the mastery of the air. In the numerous fights that ensued, the British, according to their own reports, had twenty-eight machines missing, most of them shot down behind the enemy's lines. According to the German reports, the number of British airplanes destroyed was forty-four. On the other hand, the Germans lost fifteen airplanes and ten balloons, while the British drove to the ground thirty-one additional machines, which, according to Sir Douglas Haig's report on April 7, "must have been totally destroyed." That the British Flying Corps achieved its purpose was indicated by the statement that large tracts of the enemy's country for many miles in the rear had been photographed, over 1,700 photographs having been taken behind the lines.

The bombarding squadrons also were successful. Seventeen raids were carried out, and over eight tons of bombs were dropped on enemy aerodromes, ammunition depots, and railroads. The air fighting was wholly over enemy territory, and in one instance the British airmen penetrated fifty miles behind the German lines. The British established beyond question their supremacy in the air by reason of the much larger number of machines at their disposal and the greater dash and resourcefulness of their aviators.

Beginning of British Offensive

The British opened the battle on April 9 with a terrific offensive on a twelve-mile front north and south of Arras, penetrating the German positions to a depth of from two to three miles and capturing many important fortified points, including the famous Vimy Ridge, where the Canadians led the attack. In this first onset nearly 6,000 prisoners, mostly Bavarians, Württembergers, and Hamburgers, were taken, as well as large quantities of artillery and war material.

The line of advance extended from Givenchy-en-Gohelle, southwest of Lens, to Henin-sur-Cojeul, (the village of Henin on the Cojeul River,) southeast of Arras. All the fighting was against dominating positions on high ground, some of which had been held by the Germans for two years and were protected by wide belts of barbed wire.

The capture of Vimy Ridge was particularly important, because it protects the French coal fields lying to the eastward. Along the greater part of the front the advance of the British infantry was strenuously opposed. Near Arras the Germans made a determined stand. The famous redoubt known as the Harp was captured with virtually the whole German battalion defending it. Several "tanks" figured in this operation. Along the railroad running through the valley of the Scarpe the British made good progress, while on the Lens branch of the line they captured Maison Blanche Wood.

The first day of the battle ended with the British having accomplished their most successful day's work on the western front since the beginning of the war. The attack had hit the hinge of the recent German retreat from Arras to the Aisne and upset the plans of the German General Staff, who had expected the offensive to be renewed in the valley of the Somme. The capture of Vimy shifted the pivot of the whole German retreat and placed the enemy in a position of danger.

The second day of the battle, April 10, saw the British, despite heavy snowstorms and bitterly cold weather, continuing their advance along the greater part of the twelve-mile front from Givenchy to Henin, capturing many more prisoners and guns, with quantities of all kinds of war material. The infantry pushed forward as far as the outskirts of Monchy-le-Preux, five miles east of Arras, capturing a height protecting Monchy and threatening the entire German line south of the Arras-Cambrai road. Monchy was for a while the central point of interest in the whole world war.

Further north the British captured defenses on both sides of the Scarpe River. They also took the remaining positions on the northern end of Vimy Ridge, thus clearing it entirely of the enemy, and progressed in the direction of Cambrai and St. Quentin. The northern pivot of the Hindenburg line was now turned. The artillery support for the British infantry attacks was so thorough that casualties were proportionately light. The British artillery also made a record for long-range firing. Aided by information from the aviators, the gunners were able to concentrate their fire on German reinforcements ten miles away and so prevent them from helping to counterattack.

The prisoners, who numbered 11,000 at the end of the second day, were penned up behind barbed wire fences till they could be sent rearward. British troops waiting their turn to go up to the front congregated outside the fences and chatted amicably with those Germans who could speak English, and gave them chocolate and cigarettes. One observer says that all animosity between the soldiers disappeared the moment they were no longer trying to kill one another.

Unusually cold weather for the time of year, with a heavy fall of snow, greatly impeded operations on the third day, April 11. Nevertheless, the British kept on pushing forward and captured the village and heights of Monchy-le-Preux and the neighboring hamlet of La Bergère. Cavalry and a "tank" contributed to the capture of Monchy, one of the key positions between the Scarpe and Sensée Rivers, which the Germans had strongly organized. Fierce fighting took place in the village streets. The Germans fired from the windows and rooftops of houses, and made every effort to hold this vital position. The British made satisfactory progress at other points. They repelled two vigorous counterattacks and pressed forward down the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge. The chief result at the end of the third day was that the British had been able to consolidate their gains and move forward their artillery.

Germans Beaten Off

On the fourth day of the battle, April 12, the British made substantial progress east of Arras, capturing the villages of

COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ITS ADVISORY BOARD

This Council, Which Is Mobilizing the Nation's Resources, Consists of the Cabinet and a Civilian Advisory Board. Seated, Left to Right: Secretaries Houston, Daniels, Baker, Lane, and Wilson; Standing, Left to Right: Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Secretary; Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of Committee on Supplies; Bernard M. Baruch, in Charge of Raw Materials; Daniel Willard, Transportation; Dr. F. H. Martin, Medicine and Sanitation; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Science and Research; Howard Coffin, Munitions, and W. S. Gifford, Director of the Council.

(© *Harris & Ewing*)

NEW FRENCH "TANK" USED IN ATTACK ON ST. QUENTIN

This New Model of "Land Dreadnought," an Improvement on the British Armored Battle Car, Has a Wire Cutter in Front

(International Film Service)

Wancourt and Heninel to the southeast, some positions north of the Scarpe River, and driving the Germans from their last foothold on Vimy Ridge to the northeast. The work of straightening the new line was continued by clearing the enemy out of a number of "pockets." Monchy remained the central point of the battle. There the British attack and the German defense converged. The German troops were ordered to stop the British advance at all costs, and it was not until large numbers of British field batteries were brought into play that the Germans were definitely beaten off.

On the fifth day, April 13, a new turn was given to the battle of Arras. By a sudden sweep northward from their new positions east of the city the British drove the Germans back on a twelve-mile front, capturing six villages and seriously threatening the important coal-mining centre of Lens. This new line of advance extended from the Scarpe River to Loos, north of Lens. The town of Vimy was captured, as well as Ancre, which, with Lieven, protects Lens from the southwest. The depth of the advance was about a mile. Sir Douglas Haig's bulletin at the end of the day's fighting reported that the number of guns captured during the five days' operations had reached 166, and the aggregate prisoners 13,000. But the most significant statement by the British Commander in Chief was that the British were "astride" the Hindenburg line, which the Germans had believed impregnable.

The Germans were now forced to fall back in the direction of an emergency auxiliary line from Drocourt to Quéant, endeavoring at the same time to complete the new defensive positions on which they were compelled to rely once the Hindenburg line failed them. On April 13 the British also attacked on a wide front west of Le Catelet, from Metz-en-Couture, south of the Bapaume-Cambrai railroad, to north of Hargicourt, a distance of about nine miles.

On the French section of the front during the first five days of the battle there was no attempt at an offensive, the chief business of the French being to keep the Germans occupied while the British were making their great thrust at the Hindenburg line between Lens and St. Quentin. The French maintained a constant artillery fire between the Somme and the Aisne until the sixth day of the British drive. Then they launched a fierce offensive south of St. Quentin and, despite the desperate resistance by the Germans, succeeded in carrying several lines of trenches between the Somme and the railroad running from St. Quentin to the Oise. This was followed by a vigorous attack in co-operation with the British, who were advancing on the city from the northwest.

The battle of Arras had by the sixth day, April 14, really become the battle of Lens and St. Quentin. The Germans had now brought up large reinforcements to prevent the rolling up of the Hindenburg line, but the British pushed forward unchecked toward both Lens and St. Quentin. In the morning the town of Lievin, southwest of and adjoining Lens, was captured, with considerable quantities of war material. In the afternoon the British seized Cité St. Pierre, northwest of Lens, and advanced along the whole front from the Scarpe River to the south of Loos, and reached points two to three miles east of Vimy Ridge. South of the Scarpe attacks and counterattacks alternated all day. The British made further progress on a wide front north and south of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. At the southern end of the front the British fought their way forward south and east to within a few hundred yards of St. Quentin and carried the village of Fayet at the point of the bayonet. The French to the south of St. Quentin bombarded the German positions in front of the city and between the city and the Oise. At the end of the day's fighting the fall of both Lens and St. Quentin was imminent.

The battle raged with undiminished fury throughout the night and all next day, April 15, when between 4 and 5 in the morning the first British troops entered Lens. The occupation of the district around Lens marked the recovery for France of the country's most valuable coal fields. At the other end of the forty-five-mile line the British had practically won their way into the suburbs of St. Quentin, with the Germans making a stubborn last stand in the city itself.

The Canadians' Achievement On Vimy Ridge

TO the Canadians was given the honor of leading the attack on Vimy Ridge, where last year the French lost thousands of men in an attempt to hold that dominating height. Once before the British gained the crest of the ridge only to have to abandon it under a tremendous concentration of German guns. Throughout the Winter the Canadians held a footing on the ridge below the German lines, but early in the first day of the battle of Arras the Canadians were on top looking down on the plain of Douai. They carried the position with comparatively little fighting and few casualties, pushing from one line to the other in a rapid, methodical manner.

An observer who saw the Canadians set off at dawn to attack the German positions describes them as having gone away cheering and laughing through the mud, which made them look like scarecrows. They followed closely and warily the barrage of the British guns, the most concentrated artillery fire ever seen, and at the end of an hour had taken the first German trenches, including the whole front line system of defense above Neuville St. Vaast, by La Folie Farm and La Folie Wood, and up by Thelus, where they began to encounter serious resistance.

The Germans were intrenched in long, deep tunnels, but when the Canadians once reached the position with fixed bayonets the Germans were glad to surrender and escape from the British artillery fire that had been directed on them. Most of the Germans in the dugouts were made prisoner without even a show of fight. On Vimy Ridge alone the Canadians took more than 2,000 prisoners. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Canadians had occupied the whole of Vimy Ridge with the exception of a strongly fortified elevation on the left of Hill 145. Artillery fire which blew the barbed wire entanglements to pieces made the Canadian advance easier. One report described the top of the ridge as having been literally blown off by the British big guns. Another dispatch, that of The Associated Press staff correspondent, dated April 10, says:

"The Canadians did not for a moment underestimate the seriousness of the task before them in taking Vimy. They knew that the artillery had paved the way to success, but were frankly surprised when they saw what the guns had actually done. They found hundreds of Germans holding up their hands over the bodies of their fallen comrades and begging for something to eat. These men said they had been cut off for days from all supplies by the steadiness of the artillery fire. They could not retire; and no relief supply columns from the rear ever reached the neighborhood of where the shells had been falling in continuous showers.

Some of the stronger redoubts, manned by machine-gun detachments, in which were found men of the highest morale in the German Army, resisted for several hours. But, closing around them during the night, the Canadians silenced all resistance.

According to The Toronto Mail and Empire correspondent, Canadian artillery, as well as infantry, helped to take Vimy Ridge. On April 10 he wrote:

The Canadian artillery has played the strongest part which it has yet been called upon to do. The full story will probably show that the Canadian gunners, who have frequently earned special commendation in the final tests before proceeding to France, paved and maintained the way for the storming of the position, which, though much coveted, has hitherto been regarded as almost impregnable.

The military importance of this ridge has made it the centre of fierce struggles during the past two years, the Germans, the French, and the British all having heavy casualties at various times. This time, however, there is reason to believe that the Canadian losses will be moderate.

The capture of 2,000 prisoners by the Canadians is not surprising, as the whole ridge was honeycombed with dugouts, in which the Germans sheltered themselves.

Up to the present moment the great offensive had been held up just at the point below the Canadian lines, which fact caused Vimy Ridge to be styled the "hinge" of the enemy's retreat from the Somme, and the Canadians have been very impatient for the "hinge" to move. I also understand that Canadian cavalry enjoyed more scope in this action.

Anglo-Canadians are rejoicing at the good news, and Sir Robert Borden has sent a congratulatory message to General Byng, who commands the Canadian forces. The

entire press rings with the exploits of the Canadians, as it did at the battle of Ypres, but with more jubilation.

Further light is thrown on the work of the Canadians by the London correspondent of The Canadian Associated Press:

"Before midday one Canadian cage had 500 prisoners," said an informant reaching London today. "One of the first things which happened before daylight was the blowing up of an enemy ammunition dump on Vimy Ridge. The shock was momentarily paralyzing locally, but was a mere incident to what followed. The Canadians waited in the dark, with a cold rain pelting and a bitter wind driving over the desolate ground. The artillery had been pounding away for days, and every shell we sent over had its own particular spot to fall on, for the British airplanes had done wonderful scouting work in preparation for this.

'The scouting work and the artillery fire which followed made possible the results already achieved by our infantry. Our heavy guns were first brought there three days after Christmas. They were put in position in the morning and began firing the same afternoon. They have gone on ever since, so there is some idea of what is meant by artillery preparation.

"There is not the least doubt the results have given every satisfaction, not merely in a spectacular sense, which the mere civilian is able to appreciate, but in the more technical military sense. Competent sober estimates had reckoned that the Canadian divisions could not advance without losing a third of their strength, but this estimate has been entirely falsified. The casualty lists are heavy, but less heavy than any competent estimate imagined. The air service and artillery made this possible."

The Canadian press is able to vouch for the interesting fact that General Byng in the earlier stages of the war, and before he assumed the Canadian command, was in command of the English troops who were then holding the Vimy Ridge line.

At Vimy Ridge for the first time in history the Stars and Stripes appeared on a European battlefield. The story is told in an unofficial dispatch received at Ottawa from the Canadian Army Headquarters in Europe:

To a young Texan who came to Ontario to enlist and who is now lying wounded in the hospital belongs the honor of first carrying the American flag into battle in the European war, into which the United States, as a belligerent, has just entered. He went up to the assault at Thelus carrying the Stars and Stripes on his bayonet and fell thus.

As soon as King George learned of the first day's fighting he sent the following message to Sir Douglas Haig:

The whole empire will rejoice at the news of yesterday's successful operations. Canada will be proud that the taking of the coveted Vimy Ridge has fallen to the lot of her troops. I heartily congratulate you and all who have taken part in this splendid achievement.

Hill 145 was the only position that gave the Canadians serious trouble. It was an earthern fortress of the first importance, with many underground galleries and concrete emplacements for machine guns. Although isolated on three sides from the German lines, the enemy was difficult to dislodge, and it was not until the night that the Canadians after heavy and costly fighting succeeded in occupying it. The Germans hurried up reinforcements in an attempt to recapture a hill known to the British as the Pimple so as to have a vantage point to retake Hill 145. But the Canadians, on Thursday morning, (April 12,) suddenly launched an attack, and, in spite of fierce machine-gun fire from the German positions, made themselves masters of the hill and occupied the woods through which the Germans delivered their counterattacks.

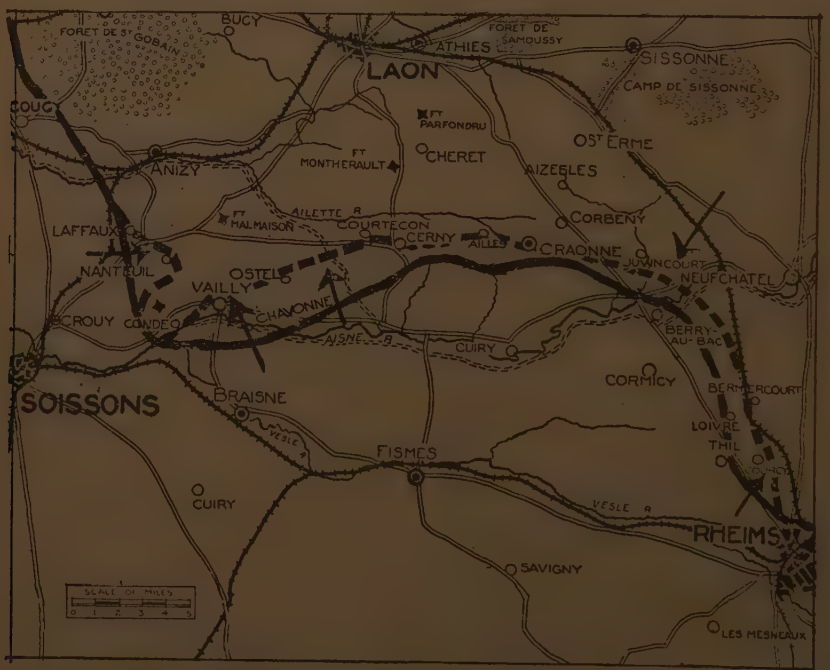
Thus already in the first week of the great British offensive the Canadians have established their place as an important factor in the battle of Arras, which is still in progress. They took nearly 4,000 prisoners and large quantities of guns and material during their exploits on Vimy Ridge, and have justified their choice for the vital task assigned to them. As the casualty lists indicate, not a few of the men in the Canadian regiments are citizens of the United States who went to Canada to enlist.

Great French Offensive Near Rheims

THE French on April 17 launched a new offensive which was regarded as the beginning of the most important advance they had made since the war began. For more than thirty months the historic City of Rheims had been a target for German guns, and the beautiful City of Soissons had been likewise in serious peril. The French line ran south from Arras, where it joined the British, to a point on the River Oise near Compiègne, and then ran eastward, passing Soissons, Rheims, and Verdun, to a point almost opposite Metz, and about forty miles west of that famous German fortified city; at that point it ran due south again to St. Mihiel, and then due west, crossing the Moselle near the German border. The blow struck on April 17 was on an eleven-mile stretch east of Rheims, and on the front between Rheims and Soissons. The French troops proved irresistible, advancing from one to two miles along a front of nearly forty miles. The advance on both sides of Rheims made that city a salient full of danger for the Germans, with a probability that they would be forced to withdraw much further from its neighborhood.

In the fighting, which was very bitter along the whole front from Flanders to Alsace, it was estimated that 4,000,000 men were engaged, 2,500,000 Allies and 1,500,000 Germans. It was reported that in the battles of April 14, 15, 16, and 17 over 35,000 German prisoners had been taken by British and French together, and that the German casualties exceeded 150,000; more than 200 guns were captured and an immense amount of booty; fully 800 square miles of French territory were released.

These events seemed on the 20th to be only preliminary to even greater conflicts, perhaps the most critical of the war.



MAP OF THE FRENCH LINE ON THE AISNE FRONT, APRIL 19, 1917

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

V.—The Submarine

This article is the fifth in a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—for the purpose of deducing the lessons furnished by the naval events of the European war.

SINCE the outbreak of hostilities the submarine has been a conspicuous naval weapon, and German science has developed it with characteristic energy, system, and thoroughness. Early in the war the more powerful allied navies practically swept the seas of all enemy merchant ships and contained the battle fleets of the Central Powers within comparatively narrow limits. Beyond these limits, except for a few raids on commerce by surface cruisers, the naval activities of both Germany and Austria have been restricted to the use of submarines.

Considering the disadvantages inherent in underwater navigation, the results attained have been truly astonishing. In the first days of the war one small German submarine sank three British armored cruisers in less than one hour; since then German and Austrian submarines are estimated to have sunk 230,000 tons* of naval vessels and 3,600,000 tons* of merchant shipping. On Oct. 7, 1916, the U-53 appeared in Newport Harbor, exchanged official calls, read the daily papers, sent dispatches, and departed a few hours after her arrival. The next day a submarine destroyed off Nantucket four British traders and one Dutch trader. A few months ago peaceful Funchal was suddenly bombarded by a German submarine.

The underwater mine layer has become an accomplished fact—it is disturbing to think of this huge mechanical fish secretly threading the ocean highways, laying its engines of destruction. In addition to all these, Captain König has smilingly introduced to us the Deutschland, a successful underwater blockade runner.

With this evidence of accomplishments it is not surprising that the submarine has seized upon the imagination. Nor has Germany, in furthering her ends, failed to take full advantage of the mystery surrounding underwater attack. It has been part of the German war plan to prepare and circulate submarine propaganda designed to strengthen hopes at home, and at the same time break down morale in enemy countries. This has resulted in a somewhat confused perspective; but it is important that the United States should search out the facts, reason to logical conclusions, and take the true measure of the U-boat.

Arm of the Weaker Combatant

The outstanding characteristic of the submarine, as the name indicates, is its ability to navigate below the surface of the water. This enables it to evade the enemy, to make a surprise attack, and to escape by hiding. These faculties are manifestly suitable for the weaker belligerent to use against the stronger enemy. Navies that dominate, that have power to seek and destroy in the open, are not dependent upon abilities to evade and to hide. It is for this reason that allied submarines have found their chief opportunity to strike in sea areas controlled by the fleets of the Central Powers, the Baltic, Dardanelles, and other waters close to Teutonic bases, while German submarines have been active in all other ocean areas within the cruising radius of their U-boats. Since the Allies control practically all the high seas, the

*Even the approximate accuracy of these figures is questionable, because of conflicting reports and the difficulty in determining whether a ship was sunk by a mine or by a torpedo in the instances where neither was seen.

field of the U-boat has been large, while the activities of allied submarines have been confined to the relatively narrow coastal waters controlled by Germany, Austria, and Turkey.

Without depreciating the utility of the submarine, it may be truly said that if the Allies had not possessed a single one they would still, in all probability, have been able to enjoy the incalculable advantages that surface control of the seas has given them. The German submarines, moreover, have not proved effective against enemy battle fleets; and in order to facilitate their commerce-destroying operations they have found it necessary, because of inherent weaknesses, to adopt methods in violation of the laws of civilized warfare. Before going deeper into the uses and limitations of the submarine it might be well to touch briefly upon some of the rules governing its legitimate employment.

Rules of International Law

The purpose of rules regulating ocean-borne intercourse in times of peace and governing both belligerent and neutral conduct in time of war is to carry out practically the principles of the freedom of the seas, and it need hardly be added that these principles are identical with those grounding all rules of right conduct at sea and on shore; namely, principles of liberty, justice, and humanity.

As weapons and other conditions change, new situations arise which may require modifications in these rules; but both in time of peace and in time of war reason calls for a general concurrence of Governments before a modified or new rule can become operative; and any belligerent instituting methods in violation of previously established regulations assumes the burden of proof to show that new conditions compel new rules in order to carry out the never-changing principles of the freedom of the seas.

There is little room for confusion of thought on this point. Unfortunately, however, it is the experience of wartime practice that military necessity and the doctrine of "might makes right" twist these rules into a bewildering tangle. One belligerent breaks a rule and attempts to justify his conduct. The enemy, as a matter of policy, turns a deaf ear to the arguments in justification, and, seeing only the broken rule, proceeds to retaliate by breaking another rule on the ground that military necessity forces him to resort to this act of reprisal. And so one act of reprisal leads to another until unconscionable degrees of lawlessness are reached.

It has been suggested as a possible solution obviating the difficulties of drawing up a set of good working rules to govern naval operations against commerce that one sweeping sanction of immunity might suffice by which all trade ships would be allowed to carry on their peaceful pursuits unmolested in time of war as in time of peace. The objection, however, to such a rule is, that when the world is divided between nations at peace and nations at war, this rule would satisfy peoples at peace and one side of the belligerents, but the other belligerents would find it discriminatory and would oppose it as an infringement upon their rights to use the seas in accordance with principles of equity and freedom.

To deny belligerents, moreover, their right to use the seas for suppressing enemy commerce and imposing economic pressure in order to hasten the settlement of their differences, would deprive the world of what is generally looked upon, when conducted according to the rules of civilized warfare, as a humane method of re-establishing conditions of peace. It may be added that those who aim at a world peace secured by a concert of power may reasonably assert that, while the freedom of the seas is a foundation principle on which to make a world peace secure, naval power, by instituting blockades, may at times prove a humane and effective means of compelling recalcitrant Governments to observe the provisions of this peace.

Certain Established Rules

During a war, the maritime interests of belligerents and neutrals are bound to conflict; and it is impossible to give either of them unlicensed use of the seas without restricting the freedom of the other. Hence a compromise is necessary,

and so long as nations recognize a state of war as involving conditions subject to law in which both belligerents and neutrals have rights, it is manifest that rules are required to define and guarantee these rights. It will not be attempted here to examine closely the many rules drawn to govern naval warfare, some of which were still subjects of controversy when the present war began; but, as an aid to the memory, a few of the recognized and established regulations affecting the use of the submarine will be briefly outlined:

1. A blockade to be binding must be effective; that is, it must be maintained by a force sufficient to render ingress to or egress from the enemy coast line dangerous.

2. A blockade must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts.

3. During the continuance of a state of blockade no vessels are allowed to enter or leave the blockaded place without consent of the blockading authority.

4. The prohibition of contraband trade with the attendant adjudging of penalties is a belligerent right. This right can only be exercised upon the high seas and the territorial waters of the belligerents and in accordance with the rules and usages of international law. (Contraband of war may be defined as articles destined for the enemy and capable of use as an assistance to the enemy in carrying on war either ashore or afloat.)

5. Lawfully commissioned public vessels of a belligerent nation may exercise the right of visiting and searching merchant ships upon the high seas, whatever be the ship, the cargo, or the destination. If the examination of ship's papers and search show fraud, contraband, an offense in respect of blockade, or enemy service, the vessel may be seized. Force may be used to overcome either resistance or flight, but condemnation follows forcible resistance alone. In exercising these rights belligerents must conform to the rules and usages of international law.

6. When a vessel in action surrenders, (usually indicated by hauling down the national flag or showing the white flag of truce,) firing must cease on the part of the victor. To continue an attack after knowledge of surrender, or to sink a vessel after submission, is a violation of the rules of civilized warfare only permissible in cases of treachery or renewal of the action.

7. Absolute contraband, including guns, ammunition, and the like, is liable to capture on the high seas or in the territorial waters of the belligerents if it is shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to the armed forces of the enemy. It is immaterial whether the carriage of the goods is direct or entails transshipment or a subsequent transport by land. Also there must be a trial and judgment of a prize court of the captor having proper jurisdiction in regard to the goods involved, whether destroyed or not.

Policy of "War Areas"

At the beginning of the war Great Britain might have taken advantage of the well-established case of our legal blockade of the Confederate States. A summary of the steps by which this civil war blockade was made legally effective will be found in the article, "American Tactics in the Present War," in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for November, 1916.

Instead of proclaiming a legal blockade of Germany, Great Britain in an Admiralty order, Nov. 2, 1914, announced military areas in the North Sea, trusting to British command of the sea, which at that time seemed undisputed. This was an unfortunate move, for the possibilities of the submarine were not considered; and Germany was able to retaliate by declaring all waters about Great Britain and Ireland a "war zone," beginning Feb. 18, 1915.

Great Britain at once realized her mistake, and by an Order in Council proclaimed a blockade of Germany, March 1, 1915. But the harm had been done, and the pernicious war area had been evolved. On Jan. 27, 1917, the British Admiralty announced that the area in the North Sea had been enlarged. This was modified Feb. 13, 1917. On Jan. 31, 1917, Germany sent to the neutral nations the "barred zone" note announcing unrestricted submarine warfare beginning on Feb. 1, 1917.

Armed Merchantmen

Merchantmen have the right to arm for defense. A merchantman may repel an attack by any enemy ship, but only a man-of-war can attack men-of-war.

According to international law the character of a ship is determined by her employment; and it is an established right of merchant vessels that they may carry arms—for defense only—without necessarily altering their status before the law as traders engaged in legitimate

peaceful pursuits. This right is well established by precedent, and although prolific of complications, it has on the whole operated to sustain the principles of freedom of the seas. Its usefulness was conspicuous in the days of piracy; and the "long toms" on board our clipper ships proved strong arguments in suppressing lawlessness.

In the heat of war, moreover, belligerents are inclined to infringe the privileges of noncombatants, and experience has shown that the right of merchant vessels to arm for defense has tended to prevent belligerents from unlawful interference with peaceful traffic. The belligerent right to stop, visit, search, and capture merchantmen is a high sovereign power, and it seems reasonable to require that the vessels authorized to exercise it should possess potential strength. It would be a somewhat absurd condition, inviting abuse and irregularity, if rules were so framed as to permit a fast enemy motor boat, manned by three or four men armed with rifles, to stop, search, and capture an ocean liner, without allowing the liner to attempt lawfully either flight or resistance. On the other hand, a motor boat, submarine, or any other duly commissioned and authorized man-of-war has the right to employ force to overcome resistance or to prevent flight; and the merchantman has no redress for damage sustained during attempted flight or resistance. In the majority of cases, it is obvious that prudence will influence merchantmen to surrender promptly in the face of a respectably powerful man-of-war rather than forfeit immunity by attempting flight or resistance.

If an armed merchantman of a neutral country on friendly terms with the warring nations should resist by force a belligerent man-of-war, the neutral Government would properly discountenance the act as incompatible with the relations of amity existing between the two countries. If, however, neutral rights are violated to an intolerable degree a state of armed neutrality may supplant the relations of amity, and under these unusual conditions a Government has the right and may be in duty bound to preserve its neutrality by using such force as the circumstances may require; but in this delicate situation care must be exercised that force is used only in defense of neutral rights.

Blockades and Submarines

From the beginning of the war submarines have helped to prevent a close blockade of the coasts of the Central Powers, and the inability on the part of the allied navies to institute a coast line blockade strictly in accordance with the established rules of international law has led to what is generally known as a distant blockade. The so-called Orders in Council regulating this distant blockade have lengthened the contraband lists and extended the doctrine of ultimate destination until Germany's commerce with noncontiguous countries has been practically cut off.

As the effectiveness of the blockade increased, military necessity demanded that Germany do something to counteract it. The only weapon her navy could use was the submarine. Underwater attack against the blockading battle fleets met with little success; but the unscrupulous use of the submarine as a commerce destroyer brought better results. The vigorous protest of neutrals against the violation of their rights caused Germany, for a time, to make an effort to comply with the rules and usages of international law; but this effort proved ineffectual. The vulnerability of the submarine, with the increasing efficacy of the ways and means developed to safeguard merchantmen from its attack, presented to the German Government the alternative either of suffering a curtailment of submarine effectiveness or of abandoning lawful methods. Germany's decision to take the latter course was announced to the world by official notification that within a war zone embracing large areas of the high seas her submarines would sink all ships, neutral or belligerent, without warning. It was further announced that a weekly neutral steamer here and there would be spared, provided Germany's orders respecting cargo and behavior were carefully observed.

In tracing the developments leading to

this decision it is interesting to follow the various measures of retaliation adopted by both sides and to note the part taken, either directly or indirectly, by the submarine; the creation of danger zones, the indiscriminate use of mines and torpedoes, the lengthened contraband lists—all the various successive moves by which the belligerents, actuated by the policy of military necessity, have trespassed more and more upon the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. But in spite of the scientific triumph of the modern U-boat, and notwithstanding the toll of shipping sacrificed, a careful study of all sides of the question seems to lead to the conclusion that in the end the submarine will not vindicate the expectations of those who hail it as a decisive factor of modern war. The submarine may be able to prevent a close blockade by the enemy; but it does not seem to be able either to break the grip of a distant blockade or to establish an effective submarine blockade as a countermeasure.

The Submarine's Limitations

Submarines are of many different types and sizes, which may be divided into two general classes: the smaller coast-defense submarine of moderate cruising capacities, and the larger seagoing submarine with greater fighting and cruising abilities. The first-mentioned class comprises the five-hundred-ton to eight-hundred-ton submarines, and includes the familiar E, F, G, H, K, and L boats of our navy. Germany uses these types chiefly in the North Sea, Baltic Sea, and other home waters. The other and more modern class includes the larger U-boats operating on the high seas.

The most recent of Germany's large submarines may be described as the fighting consorts of the Deutschland. Although little is known positively about them, the following approximate characteristics may be attributed: tonnage, 2,000; Diesel engines of 6,000 to 8,000 horse power, giving a surface speed of 18 to 20 knots and a submerged speed of 12 to 14 knots; a cruising radius at most economical speed of about 7,000 miles; and an armament of one or two small calibre (three inch or four inch) guns in addition to about sixteen torpedoes.

These are formidable craft, capable of doing much damage, especially if operating from a secret base supplied and provisioned by ships like the Deutschland. But they have difficulties to overcome. The problems of submarine navigation have not all been satisfactorily solved. When submerged the speed is slow, making it necessary to rise to the surface in order to overtake even moderately fast freighters. It is then that the trader's guns for defense become dangerous.

Moreover, the distance the submarine can go below the surface on a stretch is still comparatively short, probably 150 miles for the newest U-boats is an overestimate. When the limit is reached the submarine either has to remain stopped or come to the surface to recharge her batteries. If the submarine is forced to keep below the surface, besides having a reduced speed, she cannot use her guns and therefore has to draw upon her limited supply of expensive torpedoes. Nor is it an altogether easy matter to manoeuvre a submarine by periscope so as to score a hit on an alert merchantman.

Advantages of Armed Ships

Suppose a submarine on the edge of the war zone, either stopped or cruising slowly on the surface looking for merchantmen. Smoke is sighted, say, at twenty-five or thirty thousand yards. The submarine would probably manoeuvre to get in the path of the quarry and then submerge at a range of about fifteen to twenty thousand yards before there were likelihood of her being sighted by the supposedly armed trader. If the merchantman should come straight on, to destroy her is comparatively easy; but if, instead of this, a zigzag, irregular course should be steered, the submarine would have to estimate the changes through her periscope and manoeuvre to keep ahead of the merchantman, with consequently more likelihood of being discovered and less likelihood of getting near enough for a sure shot. If the periscope should be seen by the trading vessel, she would probably open fire and turn away. Shots

splashing in front of a submarine's periscope would hamper her manoeuvring abilities and the chances of getting a hit in a stern-on target steering a zigzag course would, unless close aboard, hardly be worth expending a torpedo. To catch the trader, unless a slow one, the submarine would have to come to the surface and risk destruction by gun fire.

All these limitations contribute to make the submarine vulnerable and less effective. Although nets, aircraft, and the lighter submarine chasers will not be as competent against seagoing submarines as against the smaller coast submarines, both because of the greater size of the former and because of the rougher weather and sea conditions to be contended with, still they may do some good while more effectual methods are being developed. Undoubtedly the United States Navy will be of great help in solving this problem—but it would be improper at this time to discuss our navy's share in the game.

Until means of neutralizing the submarines are found they will take great toll from merchantmen. It is folly not to realize that they are destroying many vessels, and not to acknowledge that merchantmen run risks, especially under conditions of poor visibility at night, in fog, and in mist. Early dawn is also a critical time for the trader. But it is probable, as schemes of co-operation are developed between the submarine-hunting navies and the shipping they are trying to safeguard, that these dangers will be lessened.

Future of the Submarine

The question of the future of underwater craft is conjectural, but it is possible to make some tentative deductions from the trend along which development has so far proceeded.

The submarine is always asking for a greater cruising radius, more speed, better habitability, and more power. It is also reported that new designs call for an increased number of torpedoes, together with guns and armor protection for surface fighting. There is perhaps a new type of submarine under construction or possibly already afloat, some idea of which might be had by conceiving a sort of submersible monitor of about 4,000 to 6,000 tons displacement, carrying a turret mounting two six-inch guns so attached to the hull as to present when firing only armor-protected parts above the water. A division of these submersible monitors, accompanied by a few Deutschlands fitted as troop-carrying and supply ships, might set out from a blockaded coast, steam to distant parts, and there seize, fortify, and hold with considerable tenacity an advance base from which to operate against commerce. Such an expedition might do a lot of damage unless met and defeated by the determined measures of an equally enterprising adversary.

The evolution of the submarine appears to be toward the submersible battleship; but the consensus of naval opinion at present seems to be that a super-submersible capable of navigating under the water and also strong enough to fight battleships on the surface involves an almost prohibitive cost, which would be out of proportion to the advantages gained. By increasing the tonnage of the submarine its mechanical difficulties are aggravated. On the other hand, the large tonnage of the surface battleship is like a reserve of wealth, which may be expended in any desirable way; if underwater attack is a serious menace to the battleship some of this tonnage can be drawn upon to supply suitable protection, such as a series of outer and inner bottoms so constructed and subdivided as to make the ship practically nonsinkable; or, if attack from the air is dangerous, reserve tonnage may be drawn upon for aero defense—and so on. In estimating the value of the submarine in wars to come it would appear safe, therefore, to assume that in future struggles for control of the seas the rôle of the submarine will always be secondary to that of surface ships.

Summary of Results

In making a brief survey of the naval activities of the war it is seen that the submarine has been of no great value to the superior navies controlling the seas, but has been practically the only effective

naval weapon of the inferior fleets. When used against the enemy battle squadrons it has influenced strategy and tactics and scored a few minor successes in sinking some of the older men-of-war, but generally speaking has produced no very important results. When used against merchant ships the submarine has been unable to attain effectiveness while complying with the rules and usages of international law, but by resorting to unscrupulous methods it has become a dangerous commerce destroyer; and the suppression of this evil must be one of the tasks of the navies at war with Germany.

The war has shown that the chief tactical value of the submarine is for defense, to hold the enemy at a distance. The fleet submarine has also demonstrated an offensive value which may be useful in attaining a tactical advantage. In addition, it is not to be denied that the submarine has raised havoc with both neutral and belligerent commerce. But the submarine blockade has not proved effective, and the lawless methods of the U-boat have aroused a worldwide condemnation. The reactive effect of Germany's submarine war on commerce may easily prove so damaging as to more than counterbalance any temporary advantage gained.

It may be inferred, therefore, that the United States needs submarines both to help defend her coasts and to operate as a tactical subdivision of the fleet. A lesson also learned is that, although the submarine is not now, and probably never will be, a dominating factor in naval warfare, it should be squarely faced as a serious menace which to combat successfully under certain circumstances might demand our utmost ingenuity and energy.

Secret U-Boat Orders to German Newspapers

THE following document, which is believed to be authentic, indicates the method used by the German Government to obtain unanimous press support for the present submarine campaign:

General Command, Seventh Army Corps, Dept. 11d., No. 1149.

Münster, February, 1917.

No. 545: NOTICE

To Newspaper and Editorial Offices, &c.

CONFIDENTIAL. NOT TO BE COPIED.

SECRET

Newspapers are requested to act on the following advice when discussing unlimited "U" boat war:

1. Opinions regarding the usefulness of the measures and of the time chosen, after the decision has been made, would have the effect of weakness and lack of harmony, would encourage the enemy, and perhaps induce wavering neutrals to come in.

2. For the beginning of the concluding struggle absolute internal unison is essential. The determined approval of the entire people must ring out from the press.

3. It is a question, not of a movement of desperation—all the factors have been carefully weighed after conscientious technical naval preparation—but of the best and only means to a speedy, victorious ending of the war.

4. Toward America it is advisable to use the outward forms of friendliness. Unfriendliness would increase the danger of America coming in—the breaking off of diplomatic relations, even active participation, hangs in the balance. The attitude of the press must not increase this danger.

5. The navy, fully conscious of its power, enters into this new section of the war with firm confidence in the result. It is recommended that the phase be called unlimited, not ruthless, "U" boat war.

6. Material, personnel, and appliances are being increased and approved continually; trained reserves are ready.

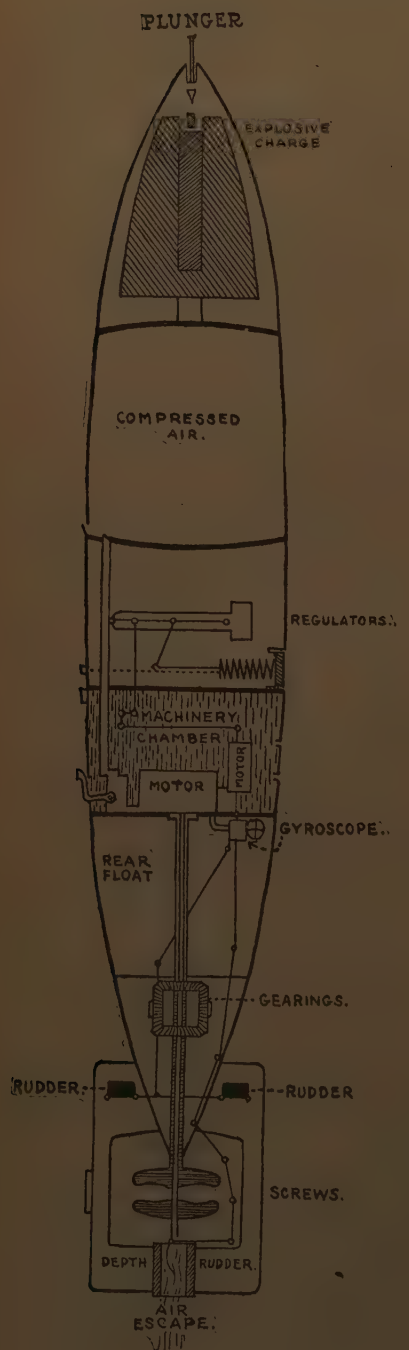
7. England's references to the perfection of her means of defense, which are intended to reassure the English people, are refuted by the good results of the last months.

8. Each result is now much more important, because the enemy's Mercantile Marine is already weakened, the material used up. Much colored personnel.

9. The psychological influence should not be underestimated. Fear amongst the enemy and neutrals leads to difficulties with the crews, and may induce neutrals to keep ships in harbor.

10. "U" boat war is now exclusively a part of the combined method of waging war, therefore a purely military matter.

A Submarine Torpedo: What It Is and How It Works



NEARLY all the belligerent powers are now manufacturing their own torpedoes, and the type of all is the same, differing only in details. A glance at the Whitehead torpedo, which is manufactured at Fiume, Austria, and which has long been the only one in use, will give a clear idea of the working of these engines of destruction. After being fired from a tube in the side of a torpedo boat or submarine, the torpedo travels under its own power until this is spent, or until it strikes an object and explodes. The vessel launching it must stop its engines in order to get any accuracy of aim.

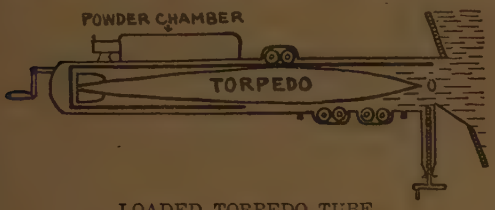
In its external appearance the torpedo is a spindle-shaped tube of sheet steel furnished with a "tail" that gives no clue to the wonderful mechanism inside it. The most powerful type in use measures 21 inches in diameter and about 20 feet long. It weighs 3,000 pounds. The cost of a torpedo is upward of $1 a pound; even for one of medium size $2,000 is a moderate price.

The torpedo contains its own motive power, which is compressed air. It is divided into compartments which screw into each other, and which may here be examined in the order in which they are placed.

The "charge cone" at the apex is filled with an explosive—usually moist guncotton—in which is placed a tube of dry guncotton furnished with a fulminating cap preceded by a plunger. When the plunger strikes a solid object it explodes the charge. The earlier model of torpedo contained fifteen or twenty pounds of guncotton, but the largest today contain more than 225 pounds of this or some other powerful explosive.

Behind the charge cone is the compressed-air chamber, with a capacity varying from 12,000 to 20,000 cubic inches and in direct communication with the motor. The air in it is usually compressed to 150 atmospheres. The machine

chamber contains the motor which operates the screws and the auxiliary motor that controls the depth rudder. While the other compartments of the torpedo are water tight, the machine chamber is



LOADED TORPEDO TUBE

pierced with holes through which it is filled with sea water, thus keeping the motor cool. The rear cone, also called the rear float, contains a considerable quantity of ordinary air. Here is found the gyroscope—whose function is to keep the torpedo going straight in its original direction—with its auxiliary motor, the screw shafts, and a compartment for gearing.

The screws turn in opposite directions, the force being transmitted through two concentric shafts. These shafts are hollow; it is through their tubes that the compressed air escapes on emerging from the motor, producing the bubbles that betray the track of the torpedo on the surface of the water. This track, visible to the naked eye at 800 or 1,000 yards, can scarcely be seen 100 yards away if the sea is rough. The "tail" is formed by a frame, inside of which the screws and rudders move.

As the torpedo propels itself and guides itself by its own power, the firing of it has no other object than to launch it in the water in the right direction. The process differs according as the torpedo is fired from the surface or under water. Both methods are used in torpedo boats and battleships. To fire the torpedo from the surface a cannon tube is used, charged with one-half to two-thirds of a pound of powder. This tube is usually installed on the deck, mounted on a truck that permits it to be aimed like an ordinary gun.

Firing under water is the only method that can be used by submarines. Every navy maintains secrecy regarding its apparatus for this purpose, but the machinery all belongs to one of two types—(1) a shuttle tube manipulated inside the ship, with the muzzle fitted into the hull; (2) a cradle fixed in the water at the side of the ship and containing the torpedo, which goes forth under the propulsion of its own screw after this has been started from the interior of the vessel. The Armstrong tube, which is

FIRING THE TORPEDO

represented in the accompanying diagrams, belongs to the former class.

The effects of a charge of 200 pounds of guncotton exploding against the side of a vessel are likely to vary according to the point struck, the depth below the surface, and the strength of the hull. The best torpedoes travel to a distance of six miles, with a speed of about twenty-five knots; by limiting the range to two or three miles a speed of thirty-five knots can be obtained, or about twenty yards a second. Within 500 or 1,000 yards there is a chance of hitting the target; at 2,000 yards the chances are meagre, and beyond 3,000 yards the probable lateral deviation is more than 150 meters.

British Foreign Policies and the Present War

By Thomas G. Frothingham

1878

"A free outlet for the undeveloped resources of Russia would have given England the trade of the world. England should have given Constantinople to Russia."

THE above was the comment of the writer's father on the terms of the Congress of Berlin, (1878.) My father was of an old firm of Mediterranean merchants. This great sea from ancient days has been the pulsating heart of the commerce of the world, and in the seventies its merchants were wise beyond their generation.

These words have proved prophetic—and the results of England's mistake are far-reaching. Her conduct, which led to the Congress of Berlin, made Germany a dominating power in Europe and maintained the Turkish Empire. Both were intended to be buffers against imaginary Russian encroachments—and both are now vindictively fighting against England.

The Past in a New Light

England had emerged from her period of stress through the first half of the eighteenth century with the strongest national life of all the nations. From the adventurers of the Elizabethan times, through the stern assertion of the nation by Cromwell, and from the seafaring colonists of England, there had sprung a national growth unique in history. There were lapses under the indolent Stuarts, but the trend had been toward maritime and colonial supremacy. The last half of the eighteenth century saw England with the dominion of the seas and enlarged colonial possessions.

England strained her resources in the Napoleonic wars, but it is doubtful if her course was altogether wise. She came out of these wars with an apparent increase of prestige and power on the sea. But all her influence had been thrown to revive the empires of Europe. Of these Prussia, Austria, and Russia were destined to have an evil effect on England's future, Prussia and Austria as enemies and Russia as an imaginary foe, against whom England has wasted her energies for a hundred years.

After the downfall of Napoleon there was for England a long time of great prosperity and increased power. England seemed to have gained all her ends, and, with her established command of the seas and consequent control of commerce, she seemed assured of the commercial supremacy of the world.

Unfounded Suspicion of Russia

But after the war of 1828-29 between Turkey and Russia, which resulted in the independence of Greece, (announced by Turkey in 1830,) there grew up in the British mind a great suspicion of Russia and hostility against Russian occupation of Constantinople. A more false position would have been hard for England to find. As the commercial clearing house of the world and the great common carrier, she would have been assured of Russia's trade, and the development of Russia would have opened great markets for English goods—but all England could see was the bogey of military Russia.

This unreasoning opposition to Russia became a mania with the English, and the resultant harm to England can only be measured by the present war.

It is hard to justify the attitude of the men who controlled the destinies of England. Instead of realizing that the opening of the Dardanelles to Russia meant a flood of wealth to England, Russia was pictured as an avalanche ready to overwhelm British interests in the Near and Far East.

All this was entirely at variance with the characteristics of the Slav. Yet the

"Eastern question" in British eyes became a question of anything to serve as a barrier against Russia. The relations between England and the French Empire became very cordial, and these two powers in the Crimean war (1854) saved the Turkish Empire from the onslaught of Nicholas I. of Russia and maintained Turkish rule over the outlet from the Black Sea.

In view of the lesson that England has received and her recent views, as given out by Balfour, it is really pathetic to realize that England went to war in 1854 to prevent the independence of Serbia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, the provisional occupation of Constantinople, and a Russian protectorate of the Christians of the Greek Church in the Turkish Empire! Yet such is the fact—and shutting up Russia in the Black Sea was actually regarded as a British triumph! The result of the war was to leave Russia crippled and constricted behind the barriers of the Dardanelles. All her vast commercial possibilities were lost to England. From this time on it was a repetition of the same story. All England's efforts were concentrated on trying to hem in Russia.

British Politics to Blame

No great democratic nation with the vitality of England would have been so blind to its real interests if there had not been some factor that befogged the public mind. This is found in the machinery of English politics. Members of Parliament are not elected for any definite term of office. The only limitation to the life of a Parliament is the seven-year provision of the Septennial act of 1716. Consequently, a Government is not placed in power for any term of office, nor is it dependent on representatives elected at stated times. On the contrary, the Ministry has tenure of office as long as it can command a majority of Parliament. This makes any Government a target for the Opposition, and the result has been a constant effort to raise a "question" on which the Ministry in office might be defeated. This system has led to the manufacture of issues, to the rise and fall of Ministers from artificially pumped up "questions," and this accounts for the long tenure in office of such "statesmen" as Palmerston, Russell, Disraeli, and Salisbury. Almost all of England's mistakes in the Victorian period are branded with the names of these men—and all were acclaimed as victories at the time.

A constant stream of useless issues attracted the attention of the British public, and kept England from seeing the real stakes in the great game she was playing—her supremacy of the world through control of the sea and unrestricted commerce. If it had not been for the constant bickering over what were then considered the important politics of Parliament, the public mind of England would surely have grasped Great Britain's real interests abroad, of which the most important was freeing commerce for England's profit.

The "Eastern question" became a distorted fetich, to which were sacrificed England's treasures gained through her greatest era. Palmerston, Russell, Disraeli, and Salisbury were the high priests of this cult, and by catchwords and incantations deluded their followers to disaster.

German Growth Stimulated

With Russia shut in as a result of the Crimean war, there followed the most mistaken period of English history. The projects of Louis Napoleon were given full headway—and the aggrandizement of Prussia was unrestrained.

England encouraged Denmark to the breaking point in the Schleswig-Holstein question in 1864—and then left Denmark to lose both provinces, which were acquired by Prussia after the war of 1866.

All this greatly strengthened Prussia. A look at the map will show that these provinces made possible the great double naval base connected by the Kiel Canal, which has proved of such great value to Germany in the present war. Lord John Russell presided over this inexcusable foreign policy,* which made Prussia a

*Black is the ingratitude of mankind! There is no statue of Lord Russell, the great benefactor, the true founder of the German Navy, standing Unter den Linden in Berlin.—Lord Redesdale.

dangerous power in Europe, with a military equipment perfected in the war of 1866. Louis Napoleon dragged unprepared France into fighting this well-armed antagonist—and the victorious war of 1870 created a united Germany.

The impetus of the united strength of Germany evolved from the war of 1870 has never been understood by outside nations. For Germans the war of 1870 has been their text and their inspiration. The next generation of Germans modeled the life of Germany, military, civic, commercial, scientific, and social, on the efficiency of the war of 1870. This is the key to united Germany, and the fact that its States are united should not be any longer doubted.

Nor is it reasonable to think of Germany as merely ruled by a military caste. On the contrary, Germany has made itself a remorseless machine with a full belief in the efficiency of such a system. But the whole mechanism is interlocked with militarism, and if her armies fail to win victory, faith in the structure will disappear. Then there will be a new order in Germany.

With all this great potential national life, Germany emerged from the war of 1870 poor in financial resources. Germany had practically spent in advance the indemnity exacted from France. The French Nation made a wonderful revival from this tax and became prosperous at once, but Germany was hard pressed for funds for her development.

In the meantime Russia had recovered her strength, and the new revolt of the Balkan Slavs (1875-76) had again aroused her to action. The fearful toll of massacre taken by Turkey from Bulgaria caused a great sensation in England, but the Disraeli Government, in power at the time, set against this the "ambitions" of Russia, and England resumed her task as watchdog of the Turkish Empire in Constantinople.

Britain's Greatest Mistake

It is comment enough on the intelligence of British politics at the time to note that the overturn in Parliament, resulting in placing the Disraeli Ministry in power, came from "the question of university education in Ireland." From this petty issue Disraeli and Salisbury were evolved as England's representatives in the Congress of Berlin, (1878,) the greatest of all England's mistakes in her history.

In the Russo-Turkish war, Russia had broken down the obstinate resistance of the Turks. Her victorious army was advancing on Constantinople, and it was evident at the end of 1877 that the Turks would not be able to save the city. With this victorious advance of the Russians came great alarm in misguided England, and there was a cry to save Constantinople. This was the outbreak of the "jingo" policy. The atrocities in Bulgaria were forgotten, and all who said that Turkey was not England's ward were ignored.

Disraeli fanned these fires to the utmost. Early in 1878 the neutral British Ambassador was recalled from Constantinople and a strong pro-Turk was substituted. The British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles and a war credit of £6,000,000 was asked of Parliament.

In the meantime Turkey had sued for peace, (Agreement of Adrianople, Jan. 31, 1878,) but England maintained her hostile attitude, and in the Peace of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) Russia did not make the occupation of Constantinople a condition. Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were freed from Turkey. Bulgaria remained tributary to the Porte, but received a Christian Prince.

These terms were unsatisfactory to England, and she still threatened war, having made a secret treaty (June 4) to protect Turkey against Russian conquest. For this England was to receive Cyprus, (occupied July 11, 1878.) Germany was secured as a mediator, and the representatives of the powers met at the Congress of Berlin, (June 13-July 13,) under the Presidency of Prince Bismarck—an ominous choice to preside over the settlement of Great Britain's destinies!

Errors of Berlin Congress

By the terms of the treaties drawn up at the Congress of Berlin the Balkan States received less territory than in the Peace of San Stefano. Russia was left still cut off from the Dardanelles. Ger-

LATIN-AMERICAN WAR LEADERS

DR. WENCESLAU BRAZ
President of Brazil

DR. LAURO MULLER
Brazilian Foreign Minister

MARIO G. MENOCAL
President of Cuba

RAMON M. VALDES
President of Panama
(Photo Harris & Ewing)

HUNTING U-BOATS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

A French Dirigible Watching for Submarines That Are Under Water, and Calling Destroyers by Wireless

A French Naval Seaplane Which Can Rise Into the Air and Destroy Submarines by Means of Special Bombs

(French Official War Record)

many, under the leadership of the great Bismarck, had become a dominant power. England had assumed guardianship of Turkey, and received Cyprus—a mess of pottage for the fairest inheritance in the world!

Yet all this was proclaimed as a British triumph.* Disraeli and Salisbury were pictured as conquerors. The fact that Germany and Austria made their alliance the next year (1879) was not noticed.

From this time on England and Germany drew closer together. English money was loaned to Germany for her pressing financial needs, and while England imagined she was building up a barrier against Russia, Bismarck was using these resources to build up an organized foreign trade. Before England realized her error much of her trade, even in her own colonies, had been taken away by Germany. Even in the late eighties British "statesmen" had not waked to the true situation—and at this time Salisbury ceded Heligoland to Germany!

This last disastrous gift to Germany was a fitting culmination of Salisbury's career. The fortified island and the Bight of Heligoland have given Germany a naval base that has done incalculable harm to England.

Beginning of Antagonism

In the nineties the commercial expansion of Germany, at the expense of England's foreign trade, began to alienate the English from Germany. The British merchants began to realize that English trade was the greatest sufferer from German competition, but this feeling was slow to spread through the nation. The Kaiser's indescreet letter to Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid in South Africa was the thing that aroused British hostility to Germany. Great Britain at last awoke to the fact that Germany was not a "friendly nation."†

There was an immediate change in feeling toward the United States. The bitterness over the Venezuela matter disappeared, and Great Britain chose the United States for a friend—a choice she should have made long before.

This change of heart on the part of Britain was strikingly shown in the Spanish-American war at Manila Bay, where the German fleet was threatening our fleet under Admiral Dewey, (1898.) The British Admiral intimated to the German Admiral that, in case of hostilities, the British would take the part of the Americans. From that time Great Britain and Germany drew further apart and open enmity replaced friendship.

Yet even then England did not see the light in regard to Russia. The next phase was the Russian "threat" in the Far East. This was the period that followed "Russia at the Gates of Herat." Again Russia was painted as an avalanche ready to overwhelm the British possessions. Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia were made so important that all other interests were forgotten, and England was ready to make use of any possible means to do harm to Russia.

The occasion for another British mistake grew out of the Russian lease in Manchuria. Port Arthur was thought a great military base, with a huge Russian army collecting for sinister designs. Consequently England largely financed the Japanese in their war against Russia —with the same obsession of trying to gain another buffer against Russia's imaginary military plans.

Then the curtain was drawn aside and revealed actual conditions—instead of the imaginary ones—and the war showed that Russia's "military preparations" had consisted in having no "great army" in the East, but in building the great open warm-water port of Dalny to let out her trade. This port was destroyed by Japan's victory—to England's immediate loss of trade. England has now realized that, in again cramping Russia, she has created another rival in the East, which has already hurt her trade and influence.

Created the War Situation

So it has continued to the present war. England is now confronted with a situation of her own making. She is clean of

*A volcanic triumph such as has rarely, if ever, been equaled in diplomacy.—Lord Redesdale.

†So called by Salisbury at the time of the cession of Heligoland.

blame in bringing on the war by any wrong acts or by any breach of faith. The events have shown plainly enough that the war is the act of Germany, and that her brutal invasion of France through Belgium had been planned for years in advance. Nothing can remove this stain from Germany, but the unnatural conditions that inexorably brought on the war were made by England.

England has shut in Russia—to England's own great loss. Her policies have made Germany a dominating power, and she has maintained the Turkish Empire. Both Germany and the Turkish Empire are now her deadly foes. She has built up Japan into a military power, and Japan is, at the best for England, only a half-hearted ally and a disturbing influence in Britain's Eastern colonies.

These disastrous results of British policies in the Victorian days of power and opportunity must be faced and no longer ignored. Great Britain is paying a fearful price for the mistakes of the era that should have sealed her dominion, and the nation is now fighting desperately to correct those mistakes.

Our sympathies and our friendship should be with Great Britain in this struggle. There are ties of kinship, and England has lately shown a most friendly feeling toward the United States. We should also remember that England stands for democracy against the autocracy of Germany. On the other hand, the unthinking comment that "England is fighting our war" only blurs the issue and arouses prejudice against Great Britain in many parts of our country. The truth is that England is fighting her own war—not ours. American friendship should be given to England, not demanded as a payment.

There is another very grave aspect of the question. Russia is now one of the Entente Allies, but it is evident that Great Britain, from her conduct toward Russia, has no hold on Russia from any point of view. How can there be any real feeling of friendliness for England in Russia?

France, with the exception of the misguided episode of Louis Napoleon, has held a different course. France has shown a friendly feeling for Russia, and formed an early alliance with her. Consequently the feeling of Russia for France is a very different thing. France has played a chivalrous part in the great drama, and the strange religious spirit of Russia recognizes this. The only safety for the structure of the Entente Allies is through France. England must do the best she can to remedy her past mistakes, but France is the keystone of the allied arch.

The writer was brought up in a belief in France as the most serious nation on earth, and taught that in any crisis the spirit of France would rise to the occasion. This has proved more than true in the present war. The whole nation gave itself to the task of repelling the invader with a devotion so intense that it was silent. And it is only by degrees that this silent, unselfish strength has been appreciated in America. The wrongs of Belgium won a ready response from our country, but it has taken a longer time to realize the magnificent response of France in her ordeal. There was no propaganda or group of writers to urge the cause of France. Her glory has been told by her deeds, not by her words—and there is no measure to the admiration that Americans should give to France.

America in the War

Since writing the above the United States has been forced into this war by the hostility of Germany. Our position is very different from that of any other nation involved. The conditions that have brought on the war were not in any way made by us. We have not committed any hostile act. We have preserved a strict neutrality—and we have attempted to bring about peace between the warring groups. Our President has stated our aims and objects so plainly that there is no trace of selfishness in our entering the war.

After long patience we have been driven into a declaration of war by repeated hostile acts of Germany. These acts have been not only Germany's brutal defiance of humanity on the seas, but Ger-

many's proved attempts to incite Japan and Mexico to war with us, to disrupt our country and take away its territory. The Zimmermann note would be held a cause of war by any nation on earth. If ever a country was justified in entering a war, the United States is justified and in the right—and we should have faith that this right will prevail.

So clear is this, that it seems it must influence the German Nation. Already it is apparent that the President's wise distinction between the German people and the German autocracy is having an effect on the German public mind. The sudden promises of future reforms, even by the Kaiser himself, seem to indicate this, and to give grounds for hope that the German people may throw down the evil structure they have built, and that a new Germany may offer peace and good-will to the world.

If this comes, the lesson of the results of artificial conditions in Europe must be remembered—that harsh and oppressive terms are not lasting, and that permanent conditions will never be found with religions ruled by hostile religions, nations dominated by other nations, races ruled by alien races.

Aerial Fighting on the French Front

Lord Northcliffe visited the western front in February and wrote of the splendid archievements of the allied flying corps, which counts many Americans among its membership:

Very rarely do the Germans venture over our lines, and one has to be very far forward nowadays to get a good view of a fight between the Allies and the enemy in the air. I have had that good fortune several times. Air fighting in 1914 bears as much resemblance to air fighting in 1917 as an old steam automobile to a six-cylinder of today. There is a perpetual match in speeding up between the enemy and the Allies. Four or five miles an hour extra pace means everything. It is not the increase of engine power to over 200 horse power that has brought about the change so much as the wonderful progress of the art of flying itself, and it is just here that the Anglo-Saxon and the Frenchman beat the slower-minded German. It is just this reason why the German soldiers' letters are so full of complaint about the overcautious German airman.

When Pégoud invented looping the loop people asked, "Why? What is the use of it?" Pégoud was a very considerable inventor as well as a flier, is the answer. Looping the loop is a useful manoeuvre, and it has been succeeded by that extraordinary development, the nose dive, in which the airman seems to fall like a stone for thousands of feet, till the spectator's hair rises from his head in horror. Suddenly the machine flattens out, scoots away, and you find that it is only a trick after all. I talked with one of our wounded boys—he was just 19—who had fallen 8,000 feet owing to his rudder wire connection being shot through. By a miracle his machine straightened itself out automatically within a hundred yards of the ground, and the boy is alive and will fly again. I asked him his sensations; he is probably the only man in the world alive who has fallen 8,000 feet—more than ten times the height of the Woolworth Building, New York City, 750 feet. He said that for a long time—what seemed like hours—he knew that he was falling, and falling at a tremendous speed, and then he lost consciousness, as in a dream, and found himself being picked out of the wreck of his machine by people who thought that he was dead.

At the beginning of an air fight there is manoeuvring for position and feinting as in boxing. There are, as a rule, two men in each machine—a pilot and an observer—except in the smaller types, in which the wings are clipped down to nothing to get extra speed and climbing power. Knowledge of engine and plane power, quickness of decision, and accuracy of shooting with the Lewis gun are essential to the pilot. His observer is provided with some form of pistol, and often with bombs.

The rival planes, like giant hawks, hover around, above, or below each other, till one more expert or more daring than the other manoeuvres his opponent into a position from which he has either got to fight or flee. The knockout blow is usually a sudden descent on the enemy, accompanied by accurate machine-gun fire. Sometimes it becomes a duel with Browning pistols, in which the men are so close that they can see each other's eyes. The thing is over before you realize it. One machine is off and away, and the other whirls and crashes down, down, down to earth.

Rasputin, Nemesis of the Czar

An Amazing Career Which Bore Directly on the Russian Revolution

THE extraordinary career of the charlatan priest, Rasputin, with his baneful influence at the Court of the Czar, was one of the contributing factors which made the Russian revolution such an instant success. The story of this impostor would be unbelievable if it were not vouched for by trustworthy witnesses. The full record of his criminal career, however, will not be unveiled until the war has ended and the new Government consents that the documents be published.

A trustworthy Russian, whose reliability is vouched for by the conservative London Post, related a brief history of Rasputin's abominable career to the editor, which was printed as follows in March, 1917:

Gregory (Grishka, pronounced Greeshka) Rasputin, aged 44 this year, was a native of Siberia, a common mujik of the village of Pokrovsky, in the district of Tjumen, in the Province of Tobolsk. Like his father, (who is still alive,) he was employed as a fisherman. Uneducated in every sense, he was, in the English sense, illiterate, though before his death he could write a labored and woefully ungrammatical scrawl. His speech to the end remained that of his class. His manners were disgusting even for a mujik; probably he exaggerated his shocking habits in order to emphasize his importance in society. As a young man he was reputed a drunkard, a thief, and a general rascal in his native village; a "shameless one" he was called, even by his fellow-mujiks. Indeed, the local tribunals still hold in solution, so to speak, two criminal charges against him of theft and of perjury, which were stopped by administrative order. For boon companion in his early days he had another drunkard and disorderly person, a small working market gardener, who is now a Bishop of the Pravoslavny Church.

"Rasputin" appears to be really a nickname; the man's real name was Novikh, and "Rasputin" (which may be Englished as "Ne'er-do-weel son") was tacked on to it by his fellow-villagers for good and sufficient reasons. The whole name sounds to Russian ears very much as to English ears would sound "Jacky Ne'erdoweelson Jones," or something else equally common sounding, plus the special nickname so thoroughly earned of "Rasputin." "Grishka" (the contemptuous diminutive of Gregory) is the name for him that has been on every Russian's lips for many years past, and figures in lampoons which were secretly circulated—for "Rasputin" could be neither printed without incurring very heavy penalties nor safely spoken aloud in society without risking some form of reprisals.

Russian "Holy Men"

It must be remembered that Russia, like India, is full of "holy men," and in Russia a proportion of these are arrant rascals, wandering up and down the land, leading a "gospel life" on endless pilgrimages to holy places, collecting money for nonexistent charities; a lazy, sensual life of secret self-indulgence in the most appalling vices, veiled by some striking outward acts of severe asceticism, such as going barefoot or half naked in snow and frost, or carrying massive fetters visibly about their persons.

Grishka, then, went on pilgrimage from holy place to holy place, and collected considerable sums of money for his own use. He built himself a good house in his village, bought a fish pond, and stood drink to his fellow-villagers, and endeavored to ingratiate himself with all men, but very particularly with all women, especially innocent girls who were also young and pretty. He had a wife several years older than himself, and at the time

of his death a boy and two girls, all three grown up, declared themselves from their likeness to him to be obviously his own children. In the big, new eleven-roomed house, built out of fraudulent "collectings" from pious millions on his pilgrimages, Grishka gave his wife three rooms, reserving the others for as many selected young women, his "disciples" and "devotees," or, in plain English, his mistresses. Here were practiced abominations, over which—as not infrequently is the case in Russia—was thrown a pseudo-religious cloak, in accordance with the sect-teaching of such immoral "holy men."

Abnormal Power Over Women

It was in this period of his life that Rasputin discovered his almost miraculous power over women. Doubtless, like the ordinary libertine, he had the gift of knowing instinctively the likely victim. Yet even allowing for this, one can only stand aghast at a power which seemed to have a compelling influence over the whole sex, from Princesses to peasants. Fathers and brothers in his village complained to the authorities about his many seductions of girls, and on many occasions he was severely beaten. He nearly got into serious trouble in the course of his pilgrimages for seducing nuns, and frequently was ignominously kicked out of monasteries of the better class for his misbehavior. Nevertheless his reputation as a "Saint" was growing, and increased especially after visits to the capital, where he had found powerful protectors.

From this point onward his career, so far as it was associated with this power over women, became almost incredible. It is a fact that ladies bearing ancient historic names, wives and daughters of the great, began to seek Grishka out in his far-away Siberian village. He removed his court to Tjumen, some sixty miles away, and practiced his religious exercises, and taught that there was in him a portion of the Divine, with whom all that would be saved must be one in the flesh and in the spirit. Such methods of corruption are common enough in Russia; it was not in kind but in degree that Rasputin's practice of them was so astonishing. The creature was invited to dine with the great—possessors of historic titles and high places in the world—who watched him eat with the fingers of both hands, like a primeval beast. Those fingers were often licked clean by hysterical devotees sitting beside him, guests of great historic houses and themselves of high rank or title, to whom the animal would hold out his hands with a curt command like that of an ancient Roman to his lowest slaves.

This part of the man's story sounds incredible, but it is true. There were even genuinely honest women who feared the creature, and in that fear suppressed a natural curiosity. They resolutely avoided all chances of meeting the man, who was making and unmaking Ministers of State and high dignitaries of the Pravoslavny Church; making and marring the fortunes of hundreds directly and of millions indirectly. As for men, his followers were of two classes. They were either those who gladly mortified the flesh in his "religious" exercises, or they belonged to the large class of place hunters and favor seekers.

The fascination of the man lay altogether in his eyes. Otherwise he looked simply a common mujik, with no beauty to distinguish him; a sturdy rogue, overgrown with a forest of dirty, unkempt hair, dirty in person (dirt is holiness in some countries) and disgusting in habits. His language oscillated between the stock-in-trade odds and ends of Scripture and mystic writ and the foulest vocabulary of Russian, which of all white men's tongues is the most powerful in the expression of love and affection and of abominable abuse. But the eyes of this satyr were remarkable—cold, steely gray, with that very rare power of expanding and contracting the pupils at will, regardless of the amount of light present. He possessed without doubt the very strong, natural hypnotic powers which seem always to go with that peculiarity. It was this that in the first place differentiated Grishka Rasputin from the hundreds of other "holy" rascals of erotic type known to history and in daily life in that unfathomable land of Russia.

In the rest of his wonderful career Rasputin was indebted to several aiding

circumstances, among them, as is now universally believed, the guiding hand of Germany. Grishka was the "obscure influence hostile to Russia" referred to in identical language by the United Nobility of Russia, the State Council, the State Duma, the United Zemstvos' organization; language, in fact, composing the single cry of the whole nation, which, save for three brief days soon after his death, dared not mention the dread name aloud. The high authorities sternly forbade, and the nation obeyed.

Into this story of the public status of Rasputin, as distinct from his personal character, there would enter, were it fully displayed, the question of his support by the Pravoslavny Church in Russia, the most powerful instrument of State governance. And with that would also have to be related the incidents leading up to the authority which Rasputin came to acquire with the Empress, through his pretensions—possibly backed by his hypnotic powers—to wield a miraculous influence over the life and well-being of the Grand Duke Alexis, the heir to the Russian throne. It will be enough to say that—however it came about—on several occasions when Rasputin was sent away or absented himself in ostentatious pique at some disfavor some ill did occur to the boy. And thus it was that Rasputin was given rooms at the palace at Tsarskoe Selo in the apartments occupied by Mme. Virubova, favorite Lady in Waiting to the Empress, and his personal safety was in charge of the special corps known as the "Palace Police," who are responsible for the safety of the sovereign.

Protected at Tsarskoe Selo

To the Empress, Rasputin was a saint, a divine agent, a miraculous guide. No stories about him were ever listened to; they were slanders due to jealousy of his exalted position, inventions of enemies, not of the saint himself but of the dynasty, and the like. Hence that influence which made and unmade Ministers of State and Bishops of the Pravoslavny Church, and dispensed patronage to thousands from highest to quite little people. A lady of birth is credited with having been the mainspring of this venal conspiracy; but Rasputin himself, with all the shrewdness of the mujik, was unsparing of his enemies. Kokovtsov, Premier Minister of Russia, once succeeded in getting him banished from the Court; he returned, and Kokovtsov was dismissed with remarkable suddenness. The Adjunct Minister of the Interior, who controls the police of the empire, Dzhunkovsky, incurred his enmity, (knocked him down, it is said, for unparalleled impudence by word and gesture,) and Dzhunkovsky had to go. Samarin, barely appointed Procurator of the Holy Synod, showed plain intentions of cleansing the Pravoslavny Church from these malign influences and filthy practices, but was dismissed before he had time to act. Stürmer's was perhaps the worst of Rasputin's appointments, and it immediately led to rebellion throughout Turkestan.

The Murder on the Moyka

From this appointment of Stürmer dates the belief that Rasputin was manipulated from and in the interest of Berlin. But, like other "holy" rascals in Russia, he took from all and sundry and for every kind of service. Getting military appointments and exemptions from war service was a fruitful source of income to Rasputin. Frequently he would play the kindly benefactor, doing deeds of charity by assisting poor supplicants, and dipping heavily only into the pockets of the rich. In fact, there was neither limit nor bottom to the wickedness which he contrived to execute in every walk of life. Every man in Russia would gladly have seen Rasputin butchered any time these five years past, and many would have done the deed with their own hands if they could have come at him through the protective cordon (the same as for the sovereign) of the "Palace Police." In the end he was assassinated with their own hands by men of such rank as has not for over a hundred years in Russia taken an active part in like bloody deeds. Not since the murder of the Emperor Paul have persons of their rank who assassinated Rasputin thus imbrued their hands in blood.

Color was given to the story of Ras-

putin's assassination being a political murder by the presence at it of a member of the Right Party in the Duma, who took a leading part in the disposal of the corpse. He has been credited with engineering the affair, and in consequence has won an unprecedented popularity throughout Russia. Rasputin was invited on the night of Dec. 17 (30) by a gentleman in an automobile—a private car—who brought a note, said to be in the hand of a lady devotee of Grishka, and took him to the house on the Moyka of the young Prince Y., Count S. E. There a distinguished party was assembled. Y., it ought to be remarked, is heir to the richest patrimony in Russia. It is said that he can ride behind horses from end to end of European Russia and sleep on his own land every night. There were present, among others, the Grand Duke D. P. and two sons of the Grand Duke, who married the Emperor's sister. In the company, as has been said, was the Duma member whose activity at the front with his feeding points and other organizations has made his name a household word throughout the empire.

About 6 in the morning, when most of the party had dispersed and Rasputin was almost certainly beastly drunk, according to his later habit, a number of shots were fired in the house, and Rasputin was brought out bleeding, in volumes indicative of his alcoholized state, and put into a motor. Whether or not he was then dead seems uncertain; he certainly had mortal wounds in the side of his head and trunk. He was driven off some way and flung over a bridge. The Grand Dukes appear to have gone home, and Prince Y., having reported the whole affair to the Minister of Justice, attempted later to leave by train for the Caucasus or some other of his estates, but was stopped at the station. An abandoned motor soaking in blood was found miles out of town; it belonged to a Grand Duke.

Rasputin's Body Discovered

The entire police and detective force of the capital was afoot and raked through all the houses of ill-fame, gypsy singers' haunts, and, in fact, every conceivable place else, until the finding of a bloodstained golosh brought them to a deserted part of one of Petrograd's smaller rivers. The ice, of course, was several feet thick, but it is the custom in Russia to cut openings where water is obtained and linen is rinsed by laundresses. Divers went down and found nothing; eventually the body was picked out near the bank. Orders had been given to break up the ice if necessary all the way to Kronstadt, but the body must be found. When it was discovered it was secretly interred at Tsarskoe Selo.

The Emperor meanwhile had arrived in haste from the front. For three days extremely guarded references to an "interesting murder" appeared in the press: alongside were printed seemingly inconsequent biographical notes about the chief actors in the tragedy. Officially, however, nothing whatever was allowed to appear beyond the statement of death ("ended his life," not said how!) and the fact that the body had been found. After these three days not even the most distant references were any longer possible. The Grand Duke D. P. took upon himself the whole responsibility, and Grand Dukes are above the law. Under these circumstances the officials found that murder was committed, but that "the evidence was insufficient," and so on.

The Grave of Rasputin

A correspondent of The Associated Press visited Tsarskoe Selo on March 27 and had an opportunity to see Rasputin's grave, from which the body had been removed and burned by the revolutionists. He found the spot on the edge of a ravine beyond a desolate and roadless plain covered with deep snow. His narrative continues:

"The grave is surrounded by an unfinished log chapel, which adherents of the monk, with the monetary assistance of the former Empress, planned to raise over Rasputin's remains. Beside the chapel nave are half a dozen tiny cells for pilgrims, and near the end is the ten-foot hole from which the revolutionaries disinterred the body.

"The chapel was filled with soldiers,

some of whom were inscribing ribald remarks on the log walls. One of the inscriptions reads: 'Here lay Rasputin; foulest of men, the shame of the Romanoff dynasty, the shame of the Russian Church.'

"As the correspondent was reading the inscriptions he heard loud shouts. Looking down into the grave, he saw a little brown Siberian soldier on his haunches, doing the Russian squat dance. The soldiers told the correspondent that Countess Hendrikoff, at the request of the former Empress, had offered a large sum to the guards if they would have the grave covered so as to prevent its further desecration.

"The superstitious belief that the health, and even the life, of Grand Duke Alexis, the young heir apparent, depended on the presence of Rasputin is explained in the following extraordinary manner by the Russky Slovo:

"Rasputin, according to the newspaper, stated in confidences to friends at convivial moments that he was able to fortify this superstition with the help of Mme. Virubova, lady in waiting to the Empress, and M. Badmaef, Court physician, until the Empress was absolutely convinced that the life of her son depended on the monk. Whenever Rasputin was absent for any length of time from the Court Mme. Virubova, according to the monk's story as given by the newspaper, obtained poisonous powders from the physician and contrived to place them in food brought to Alexis. The result was that during Rasputin's absences the delicate health of the young heir apparent grew steadily worse, until Rasputin was summoned back to the Court, when the powders were stopped and Alexis became immediately better.

"Rasputin always announced that forty days after his death Alexis would fall ill. This prophecy came true with startling accuracy, being caused, the newspaper declares, by Mme. Virubova administering another powder to the little Grand Duke in the hope of continuing the tradition of Rasputin's influence over the imperial family and preparing the way for a successor to him."

Mme. Virubova was placed under arrest by the Revolutionary Government early in April and confined at the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Russia's First Month of Freedom

THE record of the Russian Provisional Government in the first month showed steady and consistent progress along the path it had struck out on its sudden accession to power after the overthrow of the old régime. On the one hand, it went ahead rapidly with the work of introducing internal reforms and cleaning out the abuses of the old system; on the other, it set itself sternly to the task of bringing the organization of its military strength to the highest possible point of efficiency for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Central Powers.

The ability of the men in control of the Government was partly explained in a statement made by the Minister of Justice, Kerensky, to an American correspondent. "Our aim is," he said, "to use talent wherever we can find it." The Russians themselves never doubted their capacity for self-government once they were given the chance. "We knew what we could do," Premier Lvoff declared on March 21. "We have gone ahead and done it, and now, a week after the revolution began, the whole country is in smooth running order. The bureaucratic obstacle is gone, the new Russia is before us. The future is so brilliant I hardly dare to look into it."

As the days succeeded it became more and more apparent that public opinion in Russia was overwhelmingly in favor of a republican form of government similar to that of the United States, with perhaps a greater measure of local autonomy. The sentiment in the large cities was republican from the very start. Not only were the extreme radicals in favor of a republic, but even the Constitutional

Democratic Party, of which Milukoff is the leader. The Central Committee and the Parliamentary representatives of this party, at Petrograd, voted in favor of a republican form of government; and meetings of peasant communities also declared themselves unanimously for a republic.

On March 21 the Government ordered that the ex-Czar and Czarina be imprisoned in Tsarskoe Selo. The same day Dr. Milukoff, the Foreign Minister, stated that nothing stood in the way of a new commercial treaty between Russia and the United States, now that Russia was on the point of granting full and equal rights to the Jews.

Recognized by the United States

The next day, the American Ambassador, David R. Francis, accompanied by his entire staff, went to the Marinsky Palace to convey the formal recognition by the United States of the new Russian Government: America was thus the first country to welcome Russia into the family of free nations. Addressing the Council of Ministers, Ambassador Francis said:

I have the honor, as the Ambassador and representative of the Government of the United States accredited to Russia, to state, in accordance with instructions, that the Government of the United States has recognized the new Government of Russia, and I, as Ambassador of the United States, will be pleased to continue intercourse with Russia through the medium of the new Government.

May the cordial relations existing between the two countries continue to obtain. May they prove mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

Professor Milukoff, Foreign Minister, replied for the Council of Ministers, saying:

Permit me, in the name of the Provisional Government, to answer the act of recognition by the United States. You have been able to follow for yourself the events which have established the new order of affairs for free Russia. I have been more than once in your country and may bear witness that the ideals which are represented by the Provisional Government are the same as underlie the existence of your own country. I hope that this great change which has come to Russia will do much to bring us closer together than we have ever been before.

I must tell your Excellency that during the last few days I have received many congratulations from prominent men in your country, assuring me that the public opinion of the United States is in sympathy with us. Permit me to thank you. We are proud to be recognized first by a country whose ideals we cherish.

On March 23 Great Britain, France, and Italy also extended formal recognition of the Russian Provisional Government through their Ambassadors at Petrograd.

Former Czar a Prisoner

The former Czar Nicholas's arrival at Tsarskoe Selo the day after his arrest, in the custody of four members of the Duma, caused no stir. The crowd that had gathered at the station looked on silently, and even the residents of the Court village, whose livelihood depended upon the imperial patronage, remained cold and unmoved. Nicholas was turned over to the Tsarskoe Selo commander and taken to the Alexandrovsky Palace, where a strict guard was established. He and his wife are being kept under close surveillance. He is allowed to walk in the garden only twice daily and only in the presence of the palace commander, Kotzebue. For many days he was in close attendance on his son, who was very ill with measles. He took some recreation by shoveling snow. He wept occasionally, but was quite submissive. At church he was the first to kneel when a prayer was offered up for the new Government.

Along with Nicholas and Alexandra there were 200 other inmates, courtiers, and adherents of the old régime, who were held prisoner in the palace. These were subsequently transferred to the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in consequence of alleged plotting against the new Government, and the former Czar and Czarina were thus isolated.

Meanwhile the cleansing process was prosecuted with energy. Every day members of the Secret Police, the Black Hundreds, and spies were put out of harm's way. Up to March 25, 4,000 had been arrested and imprisoned in Petrograd alone. It was these elements that had created the counter-revolution in 1905, and their elimination freed the Government from a source of danger to the

stability of the new-won liberty and the effective prosecution of the war.

Reform Measures

Simultaneously with the internal reforms the War Office began vigorously pushing the work of military reorganization under the leadership of War Minister Gutzkov, and introduced measures of radical reform. Among those contemplated was the concentration of the supreme direction of the army in a war council consisting of the Ministers of War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs, who would be in constant touch with the Ministers of Railways and Agriculture, the last to give special advice and information in the matter of food supplies.

The Russian War Office renewed its youth. Under the old régime new ideas, dictated by the obvious necessities of the war and the bitter experience of all the Allies, had fallen for the most part on stony soil. Intrigue, inertia, and a score of other deadening influences presented insuperable barriers to effective reform. Now all the reserves of youth and intelligence have been enlisted, and reforms long overdue have been put into effect.

The removal of Grand Duke Nicholas from the post of Commander in Chief of the Russian armies was officially confirmed on March 28, and General M. V. Alexieff, Chief of the General Staff, was appointed his successor. All members of the imperial family and all officers friendly to the autocracy were likewise removed from army posts, and all the Grand Dukes were forbidden to leave the military district of Petrograd.

New Oath of Office

On March 28 all the Ministers of the Provisional Government took the following oath of office in the Senate:

In the capacity of a member of the Provisional Government created by the will of the people and at the instance of the Duma, I promise and swear before Almighty God and my conscience to serve faithfully and justly the people of the Russian State, sacredly guarding its liberty, rights, honor, and dignity, inviolably observing in all my acts and orders civil liberty and civic equality, and in all measures intrusted to me, suppressing any attempts, direct or indirect, toward the restoration of the old régime.

I swear to apply all my intelligence and strength completely to fulfill all the obligations assumed by the Provisional Government before the eyes of the people. I swear to take all measures for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in the shortest possible time on the basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, to transfer to the hands of the Assembly all the authority provisionally exercised by me in conjunction with other members of the Government, and to bow before the people's will as expressed by that Assembly concerning the form of government and the fundamental laws of the Russian State.

May God help me in the fulfillment of this oath.

One of the most-hated features of the old bureaucratic Government was its system of raising revenue. The burden fell most heavily upon the peasants, who were taxed to the starvation point. As the Russian population is largely agricultural, the prosperity of the country depended chiefly upon the welfare of the peasants. Consequently, their oppression greatly retarded Russia's normal development. The new Government began to grapple with this problem at once.

Important Financial Program

Tereshchenko, the Minister of Finance, outlined his financial program on March 29 as follows:

The country is full of capital, which has grown out of the increased industrial activity since the beginning of the war, and my plan is to institute immediately a new system of taxes based on war profits. Since 1915 all industrial enterprises of the country have shown most remarkable increases in earnings and have issued millions of new shares. It is only proper that the Government should have a more adequate share in these profits.

In the past, revenues have been obtained only in a casual manner by the Ministry of Finance, and, although they far exceeded the financial loss to the Government occasioned by the suspension of the liquor traffic, they have not been properly or thoroughly applied to the resources of the country, which ought to contribute largely to the expenses of carrying on the war.

This new revenue will enable the country to meet at least the accumulating interest on outstanding loans. Russia will have to depend, of course, upon foreign loans, and, judging by the sympathy and support with which the new Government has been greeted by its allies and in the United States, there should be no difficulty in arranging a basis for a continuance of financial assistance abroad.

A not inconsiderable item of expense was saved by the elimination of the

"pocket money," so to speak, that the imperial family formerly drew from the State revenues. This amounted to no less than $20,000,000 annually. On March 30 the Provisional Government, in compliance with a demand made by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, through the Socialist Cabinet member, Chkheidze, confiscated all the imperial lands and monasteries, which yield an annual revenue of 25,000,000 rubles. Three days before the Grand Dukes and Royal Princes had, of their own accord, given up their crown lands and other official property to the Government.

Despite the war, the economic organization of the country proceeded apace. The growth of the trade-union movement took on tremendous proportions. An eight-hour day was introduced in Petrograd, and a central board of arbitration appointed to settle trade disputes. The eight-hour day was also introduced in other cities and throughout the country. The fever of organization spread even to the peasants. They formed a council of peasants' Deputies modeled after the Council of Workmen and Soldiers.

Not to Claim Constantinople

That free Russia has no desire to annex Constantinople was the inference drawn from a statement made by the very influential Minister of Justice, Kerensky, that the Dardanelles should be "internationalized." This view was further strengthened in the declaration of Premier Lvoff on April 10:

"The new Government considers it its duty to make known to the world that the object of free Russia is not to dominate other nations and forcibly take away their territory. The object of independent Russia is a permanent peace and the rights of all nations to determine their own destiny."

On April 7 Kerensky declared that if the German people would follow the example of Russia and overthrow their monarch, "we offer the possibility of preliminary negotiations." He added, however: "We are not going to assist in making a separate peace." Kerensky's statement was in accord with an appeal adopted on March 28, at a meeting of workmen's and soldiers' Deputies, addressed to the laborers of all countries, but mentioning especially the Central Powers, "to throw off the yoke of autocratic rule as the Russian people have overthrown the imperial autocrat and refuse to serve longer as an instrument in the hands of Kings, capitalists, and bankers."

A party of Russian radicals who arrived at Stockholm from Switzerland on April 13 were said to be planning a peace congress in Stockholm, and to have won the support of German radicals and some French Socialists. Lenin, a prominent Russian Socialist, who had lived in Switzerland, was their leader. The fact that their mission was synchronous with the German Socialist majority leader Scheidemann's alleged departure for Stockholm to meet envoys of the Russian Government, and that the Russian radicals were permitted to pass through Germany from Switzerland, was taken to mean that the plan had the backing of the German Government.

Poland and Finland Free

In its policy toward dependent nationalities the new Government announced that Poland was to receive complete independence with the right to determine its own form of government and its relation, if any, to Russia. The Polish Deputies thereupon surrendered their seats in the Duma. On March 29 the Provisional Government appointed a committee with Alexander Lednitsky, a Pole, as Chairman, to make the necessary arrangements for the separation of Poland from Russia and to determine the relation of the State to the Roman Catholic Church.

In Finland the Governor, Sein, was removed. On March 21 a manifesto was issued by the new Government completely restoring the Finnish Constitution and annulling all edicts and administrative rules and regulations. A liberal was appointed Governor, and the Finnish Diet was convened. On April 13 M. Kerensky, the Russian Minister of Justice, was present at the meeting of the Diet, and in a speech greeting the "free Finnish people" in the name of the Provisional Russian Government declared that Russia

would do everything in its power to make it certain that Finland should remain free forever.

The Speaker of the Diet, M. Talman, requested M. Kerensky to inform the Russian people of the Diet's gratitude for the fraternal greeting. He said that henceforth a complete agreement, on the basis of reciprocal confidence, would prevail between the two peoples.

To the Armenians, Kerensky expressed himself in favor of an autonomous Government for them under Russia's protection. The promised emancipation of the Jews became an accomplished fact on March 25, when, according to advices received at the Russian Embassy at Washington, absolute equality of the Jews was proclaimed by the new Government. Jews are permitted to reside wherever they please, they have access to all posts in the navy and army, and are unrestricted as to educational advantages and the owning of property. A number of Jews were made officers in the army, says a cable dispatch of April 12, the first city claiming that distinction being Odessa, and 250 Jewish students entered the military officers' school. On March 27 it was announced, according to telegrams to Russian correspondents at Copenhagen, that the Jewish advocates, Grusenberg and Winawer, were appointed members of the Russian Senate and of the Supreme Court. They were the first Jews who ever obtained a seat in a Russian tribunal.

On April 4 full religious liberty was proclaimed and all laws discriminating against any creed or religion repealed. Premier Lvoff promised a delegation of women on April 4 that women would be given the right to vote.

Return of Siberian Exiles

One of the most dramatic and picturesque events of the revolution was the return of the political exiles and prisoners from Siberia. A full hundred thousand of them were released, and their progress from the prisons, mines, and convict settlements across Siberia to Russia was one grand triumphal march. Everywhere they were met by wildly cheering crowds, fêted by reception committees, and called upon to deliver speeches. So great was their haste to leave that many of them did not even wait to change their prison garb or have their chains struck off.

The most celebrated of the ex-exiles were two women, Catharine Breshkovskaya and Marie Spiridonova. Catharine Breshkovskaya is known as the grandmother of the revolution. She has grown old in Siberian prisons and exile. Forty-four years of her life were spent there. Escaping once, she braved the Russian authorities again, and, though by that time an old woman, she fought dauntlessly side by side with the younger generation in the new movement that led to the unsuccessful uprising in 1905. Again she was thrust into exile. When she reached Petrograd from Siberia the 1st of April, she was met at the railroad depot by a military band and representatives of the Government and carried through the streets. A similar reception was given her in Moscow on April 5. Here the soldiers and the reception committee carried her out into the street on their shoulders.

Equally popular was Marie Spiridonova, who, though still young, suffered a martydom perhaps even greater than Breshkovskaya's. She was tortured with a refinement of cruelty that is unprintable. One of the lesser harms done her was the disfiguring of her face for life. The two bureaucratic agents who inflicted the torture were later assassinated by revolutionists.

Signs of Unrest

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, after a prolonged session at Petrograd, adopted a resolution on April 16 affirming the necessity of its continuing to exercise influence and control over the Russian Provisional Government, and appealing to the whole democracy of Russia to rally around the council as the only organization capable of counteracting any reactionary move.

The resolution at the same time appealed to democracy to support the Provisional Government so long as it continued to develop the conquests of the revolution and abstained from any aspirations for territorial expansion.

On the same day a dispatch from Tash-

kent, Asiatic Russia, announced that General Alexei Kuropatkin, Governor General of Turkestan, his assistant, General Yerofeiff, and General Sivers, Chief of Staff, had been arrested by the Council of Soldiers' Delegates. General Buroff, commanding the First Siberian Brigade, and General Tsuomillen, commanding the local brigade, also were placed under arrest and confined to a guardroom. The officers are charged with distributing arms to Russians in various districts for defense against natives in the event of an attack. This action was held to be of a provocatory character. The Cossack guards of General Kuropatkin appeared at the meeting of the Soldiers' Delegates and announced that they would not defend him.

General Kuropatkin was in chief command of the Russian forces in Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese war and was for a while Commander in Chief of the Russian northern armies in the present war.

The news from Petrograd up to April 20, at which date this record closes, indicated a gradual subsidence of unrest and a tendency among the workingmen to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government. Industries which had been closed since the outbreak were being reopened, the soldiers were becoming more amenable to discipline, and there were indications that the moderates would be able to keep the radical revolutionists in check; but the feeling of general unrest had by no means yet disappeared.

Warning of Russia's Revolution

Paul Milukoff's Address

THE following document, read in the Duma by Professor Milukoff on Feb. 28, a week before the outbreak of the revolution, contained a warning that has become historic in the light of what followed:

We are nearing a point in our conduct of the war when the supreme effort of the nation will be required in order to secure victory. We are at a moment of crisis in the great war. The military resources of the enemy are nearing exhaustion; his morale is getting lower; and just at the moment when we ought to develop the highest power of resistance and endurance, we are beginning to see the consequences of the inactivity of our Government in organizing the nation for the supreme effort.

We might be told that the Government alone is not responsible for the faults of our machinery of war; that our past, our whole history, are the causes of our backwardness. To this I say most emphatically, No. The Government and the Government alone is responsible for it. The Government concentrated all its efforts on the internal war. At a moment when the whole nation is straining to get ahead and demands of the Government a clear road to victory, the Government is drawing it back. The nation is united in its supreme effort against the external foe; but the Government returns to the old internal war in order to insure its own safety.

Every day voices from all parts of the country are reaching us, addressed to the Duma. The people in the provinces tell us: "Act boldly and act instantly; the country is with you." These voices enable me, even in the present dark state of affairs, to retain my hope, to refrain from any pessimism, and I warn you not to be led into pessimism. In England and France the people have found themselves; the same may already be said about Russia.

When the nation finds that, in spite of all its sacrifices, its destinies are being endangered by a clique of incompetent and corrupt rulers, then the people become a nation of citizens; they become determined to take their case into their own hands. Gentlemen, we are approaching that point. In everything we see around us, we hear the echo of the patriotic anxiety which fills our own hearts. It is in this alarm and not in silence and reconciliation that I see a promise of salvation for the country. You know well that I can say no more from this tribune. You know that this alarm is well-founded, and you know that the Duma alone is not in a position to remove the causes of this alarm; but I firmly believe in the active patriotism of the nation.

I believe that the people will not allow its forces to be flouted in the present critical struggle, and I believe that when once the popular idea that Russia cannot conquer with the present Government ripens in the mind of the nation, the nation will triumph in spite of the Government.

German Raiders in the Atlantic

Twenty-six Merchant Ships Captured by the Möwe in a Second Expedition

THE German auxiliary cruiser Möwe, (Seagull,) commanded by Count zu Dohna-Schlodien — the same sea raider that had captured the Appam and fourteen other merchant ships a year before—stole out through the Kiel Canal and the North Sea late in November, 1916, and added a still more destructive chapter to its record. The British Admiralty got the first inkling of the depredator on Dec. 2 and sent out a general warning on Dec. 8, but, though several vessels were known to be missing, the operations of the raider continued to be shrouded in mystery.

The true state of affairs came to the public on Jan. 16, 1917, when the captured Japanese steamer Hudson Maru landed at Pernambuco, Brazil, with 287 men taken from six ships that had been sunk at various points between the Azores and the Brazilian coast. On Dec. 31 the captured British steamer Yarrowdale had arrived at Swinemünde, Germany, with 469 prisoners taken from one Norwegian and seven British ships in the South Atlantic, but the German Government did not announce the fact until Jan. 19. Even then the name of the sea raider remained in doubt. Finally, on March 22 a Berlin dispatch announced the recent return of the Möwe from a second successful raid among enemy shipping. The Möwe herself had brought in 593 prisoners, including fifty-seven Americans from the crew of the British horse transport Esmeraldas.

The total number of ships sunk or taken as prizes by the Möwe on this raid was at least twenty-six, aggregating 125,000 tonnage, and carrying to the bottom many millions of dollars' worth of foodstuffs, munitions, and general cargo. The property loss was estimated at between $15,000,000 and $20,000,000. The total number of prisoners landed by the Möwe and the two prize ships not sunk was 1,389. A few lives were reported lost. Fifty-nine of the men on the Yarrowdale were American sailors, some of whom had been employed on armed British merchantmen. These the German Government was inclined to hold as war prisoners, on the ground that all armed ships are warships; but this threatened cause of international controversy disappeared when the Americans were released on March 9 and returned by way of Switzerland. They filed charges to the effect that they had been roughly treated and half starved in Germany.

List of the Victims

The vessels reported captured by the Möwe were the following:

Voltaire, British steamer, with crew of 93 men, sunk on Nov. 21.

Pallbjörb, Norwegian steamer, bound from America to France with a cargo of food.

Mount Temple, British steamer with 7.5-centimeter gun, 9,792 tons gross, with provisions, parcels, and horses.

Duchess of Cornwall, British sailing ship of 152 tons, with fish.

King George, British steamer of 3,852 tons gross, with explosives, provisions, and parcels.

Cambrian Range, British steamer of 4,200 tons gross, with wheat and parcels.

Georgic, British steamer with 12-centimeter gun, 10,000 tons gross, with wheat, meat, and horses.

Yarrowdale, British steamer of 4,600 tons gross, with ammunition, provisions, and war materials.

St. Theodore, British steamer of 5,000 tons gross, with coal.

Dramatist, British steamer of 5,400 tons gross, with ammunition and fruit.

Nantes, French sailing ship of 2,600 tons gross, with saltpeter.

Ansières, French sailing ship of 3,100 tons gross, with wheat.

Hudson Maru, Japanese steamer of 3,800 tons gross, with parcels.

Radnorshire, British steamer, with 12-centimeter gun, 4,300 tons gross, with coffee and cocoa.

Minieh, British steamer of 3,800 tons gross, (listed at 2,890 tons gross,) with coal.

Netherby Hall, British steamer of 4,400 tons gross, with rice and parcels.

Jean, Canadian sailing ship of 2,115 tons gross, with sugar.

Staut, Norwegian sailing ship of 1,200 tons gross, with whale oil.

Brecknockshire, British steamer, with 12-centimeter gun, of 8,400 tons gross, with coal.

French Prince, British steamer of 4,800 tons gross, with coal.

Katherine, British steamer of 2,900 tons gross, with wheat.

Rhodanthe, British steamer of 3,000 tons gross, in ballast.

Esmeraldas, British steamer of 4,680 tons gross, in ballast.

Otaki, British steamer of 7,400 tons gross, (listed at 9,575 tons gross,) with 12-centimeter guns, in ballast.

Demeterton, British steamer with 7.5-centimeter guns, 6,048 tons gross, with food.

Governor, British steamer, with 12-centimeter guns, of 5,500 tons gross, in ballast.

"The Möwe is a finely masked cruiser of 12,000 tons," said one of the released neutral sailors. "It is impossible to discover anything unusual about her before the rail drops down and the guns are uncovered. The Möwe is also carrying sails, which prevent any view of the deck. The cruiser is quite new and armed with four big guns and two smaller ones. She has four torpedo tubes."

German Official Statement

The following official statement was issued at Berlin under date of Jan. 19, 1917:

The English steamer Yarrowdale, of 4,600 tons, was brought into harbor on Dec. 31 as a prize by a prize crew of sixteen men. She had aboard 469 prisoners, namely, the crews of one Norwegian and seven English ships which were captured by one of our auxiliary cruisers in the Atlantic Ocean.

The cargoes of the captured vessels consisted principally of war material for our enemies from America and foodstuffs, including 6,000 tons of wheat, 2,000 tons of flour, and 1,900 horses. The Yarrowdale had on board 117 motor lorries, one motor car, 6,300 cases of rifle cartridges, 30,000 rolls of barbed wire, and 3,300 tons of steel bars, besides a large quantity of meat, bacon, and sausages.

Of the vessels sunk three of the British were armed. Among the crews of the captured vessels are 103 subjects of neutral States, who, as well as enemy subjects, have been removed as prisoners of war in so far as they had taken pay on armed enemy vessels. The commander of the prize crew is Deputy Officer Badewitz.

The bringing in of the Yarrowdale has been kept secret up to this time for military reasons, which, in view of the British Admiralty statement of Jan. 17, were no longer operative.

When Lieutenant Badewitz was asked how he succeeded in bringing the Yarrowdale through the North Atlantic and the North Sea with a crew of only sixteen men and with more than 400 prisoners on board, he replied:

"For such an action you need only to exercise coolness and determined, blunt carelessness, especially if you have to deal with Englishmen. In addition you need to have a handful of smart boys like mine who have their hearts in the right place and revolvers in their pockets. Then you can fetch the devil from his own house. The discipline was first-rate. Whenever the order to go below was issued, the whole crowd of prisoners hurried to the lower decks, running like hares."

Lieutenant Badewitz said he and his officers never left the bridge of the Yarrowdale, and all preparations had been made to sink the ship at a moment's notice from the bridge. All on board, he said, knew that the vessel would be sunk in case of a mutiny. Explosive charges had been placed in the hold, with electric connections that would enable the vessel to be sent to the bottom by touching a button, and this would have been done rathe rthan allow the vessel to be captured by British patrols.

Life on the Moewe

The crew of the Norwegian steamer Pallbjörb gave this interesting account of their experiences:

"One day at the end of November the Pallbjörb saw a large steamer approaching. The stranger changed her course and began manoeuvring in such a manner that the Norwegian thought the crew must have gone mad. Suddenly the vessel came toward the Norwegian steamer and when a few yards away let down her bulwarks, disclosing four large guns. At the same time a German flag was hoisted and an order given to the Pallbjörb to stop. Thirty naval officers and sailors then boarded the Pallbjörb, seized 500 boxes of food, and then sank her. The Captain protested, saying his ship did not carry contraband; but the German officers declared that they disregarded the contraband regulations.

"On board the Möwe was the crew of

ninety-three from the British steamer Voltaire, which was sunk on Nov. 21. On Dec. 6 a Newfoundland trawler was stopped and sunk while on a journey to Gibraltar with fish. The same evening the C. P. R. liner Mount Temple, with a cargo of 750 horses and 5,000 tons of merchandise, was stopped by seven shots. The steward and one sailor were killed, and another sailor had both his legs smashed. The crew, numbering 107, were taken on board. The Mount Temple was finally sunk by bombs, the horses struggling for life in the icy water.

"In the evening of Dec. 10 the large White Star liner Georgic, having on board 1,200 horses, was brought to a halt by shots. Great panic prevailed on board and fifty of the men jumped into the water without their clothes on, but only one of them was drowned. The vessel was then blown up by bombs. Hundreds of horses, swimming toward the Möwe, made desperate efforts to clamber on board, but the German sailors, standing with loaded revolvers, killed them as they reached the ship.

"On Dec. 11 the British steamer Yarrowdale was encountered. As there were already 500 men on board the Möwe, the Captain decided that his latest capture must go to Germany with his prisoners. For a whole day after leaving the Möwe the Yarrowdale was in communication with her by wireless. The Yarrowdale at last got the order to go northward, and the ship then made for the south coast of Iceland, Norway, the Cattegat, &c., and was compelled by storm to anchor near Hveen Island, in the sound, where a German patrol ship appeared. It was at this spot that two British sailors attempted to escape, but they were discovered. They offered violent resistance, and bit and scratched the enemy. The next day the Yarrowdale anchored in Swedish waters and a Swedish destroyer appeared. The 500 prisoners were commanded to go below. The Swedish officer came on board, but failed to find anything suspicious. Meanwhile the Germans stood with their revolvers leveled against the prisoners in the hold.

While the Möwe was still busy it was known that one or more auxiliary raiders were at work in the same region. The captured British steamer St. Theodore was said to have been fitted out with guns from the Möwe, and there were rumors of a German raider named the Venetia assisting in the work of destruction. A circumstantial account of the sinking of the Venetia by the British cruiser Glasgow on Jan. 25 was told by an officer of that warship.

Exploits of the Seeadler

More tangible, however, was the news brought to Rio Janeiro on March 20 by the French bark Cambronne. A new raider, the Seeadler, (Sea Eagle,) was at work in the South Atlantic and had already sunk eleven vessels. The Cambronne, one of the Seeadler's victims, brought 277 men from the crews of other captured vessels in addition to her own crew of twenty-two. She had encountered the raider on March 7 at a point two-thirds of the way across to the African coast, and had been commanded, after receiving the refugees on board, to proceed to Brazil, a voyage of twenty-two days.

The Seeadler had left Germany on Dec. 22, escorted by a submarine. The commander declared to his prisoners that the German Emperor and the Crown Prince alone knew of the expedition. The vessel's guns and two gasoline launches had been concealed in the hold while she was running the British blockade. On sighting a merchantman the raider would first hoist the Norwegian flag, which would be replaced by a German flag when her prey was within reach of her guns. The commander presented to the Captain of each ship he sank an engraved certificate setting forth the circumstances in which it had been destroyed. The prisoners all said they were well treated aboard and no loss of life had occurred. Five were Americans. The ships sunk, as reported by the American Consul General at Rio de Janeiro, were the British steamers Lady Island, Gladys, Royal Hongar, and sailing vessels Pintors, British Yeoman, Terse; Italian vessel Buenos Aires, and French vessels Charles Gounod, Antoine, Rochefaucauld, and Dupliex, all between January and March in the neighborhood of Madeira and Cape Verde Islands.

Democratic Progress in Germany

THE news of the Russian revolution was hardly known in Berlin before the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, appeared before the Prussian Diet, on March 14, and delivered a speech which startled the empire from end to end, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, April, 1917, Page 37.) "Woe to the statesman who cannot read the signs of the times!" were his words of warning. After the Chancellor's speech declaring that there must be reforms, the debate became tempestuous, the Socialists seizing the opportunity to attack Junkerism and demand the abolition of the Herrenhaus, the Prussian House of Lords. "We are no longer serfs," said Deputy Leinert, a Socialist, "whom the King can buy and sell or order to bleed and die at the word of command." Amid cheers Leinert spoke of the coming time when Junkerism would be swept off the earth. The speech of another Socialist, Adolf Hoffmann, provoked so much commotion that it was cut short, but before he was silenced he made the following remarks:

We shall refuse to vote for the budget. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg is merely the fig leaf of military absolutism. Militarism bears the responsibility for the bloodshed in Europe, and only when militarism and despotism are removed will the people breathe freely. Force of arms will not lead to a decision and peace. Distress, desperation, and general collapse will do it.

When both enemies are equally strong the threat of crushing is sheer nonsense. Germany, despite many successes, has not conquered. The German peace proposal with its tone of victory was bound to cause vexation and distrust. She should have communicated her peace terms and thereby dissipated her enemies' distrust.

The revolution in Russia should be a warning to our rulers. The German submarine warfare is opposed to the laws of humanity and international law.

The floodgates of democratic agitation were now open. Philipp Scheidemann, leader of the majority of the Socialist Party in the Reichstag, which had stood behind the Government since the beginning of the war, came out in an article in Vorwärts on March 19 with the bold statement, "The whole world sees among our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians." There was a stormy scene in the Reichstag on March 22, when the Socialist Deputy Kunert charged the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor with having been the originators of the war. Another sign of which way the wind was blowing was the election to fill the seat in the lower house of the Prussian Diet which had been vacated by Liebknecht. Dr. Franz Mehring, a member of the anti-war Socialist minority, who at one time had been placed under "preventive arrest," was easily elected, though opposed by a representative of the Socialist majority. The ever-growing scarcity of food was a constant contributor to the popular discontent, and when it was announced that after April 15 the bread ration was to be reduced by one-fourth, it seemed that the breaking point would soon be reached.

But the Junkers, the Prussian Herrenhaus, were not to be easily moved even by the most solemn warnings. They declared against reform of the three-class system of voting for the Diet and all proposals whatever for increasing popular rights. The language of the noblemen who spoke on March 28 was reminiscent of the old days of the divine right of Kings. "My highest war aim," said Count von Roon, "is to maintain the Crown and the monarchy as high as the heavens." Others asserted they would stand by the "good old Prussia." That the power of the Junkers was still very great was shown by the fact that their opposition induced von Bethmann Hollweg to decide that political reform must be postponed till after the war. This decision he announced in the Reichstag on March 29, and instantly there were outbursts of indignation, not only by the Socialists, who are leading the fight for German democracy, but also by such moderates as the National Liberals. The Socialist leader Georg Ledebour made a historic speech, in which he said:

Kerensky [the new Russian Minister of

Justice and a Socialist] is now the most powerful man in Russia, yet he was lately only the leader of a small faction. We are few in the Reichstag, but behind us stands the industrial revolutionary population, true to democratic principles.

We regard a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany. History is now marching with seven-league boots. The German people, indeed, shows incredible patience. The Reichstag must have the right to a voice in the conclusion of alliances, peace treaties, and declarations of war. The Imperial Chancellor must be dismissed when the Reichstag demands it.

The speech was interrupted by shouts of "High Treason!" Gustav Noske, another Socialist, referred to the "deplorable events" at Hamburg, Magdeburg, and elsewhere, indicating that there had been food riots, the reports of which had been suppressed by the censorship. References to the Russian revolution were frequent, and more than one speaker reminded von Bethmann Hollweg of his words, "Woe to the statesman who cannot read the signs of the times." Finally, despite the Government's intention to postpone reform questions till after the war, the Reichstag adopted by 227 votes against 33 a resolution appointing a committee of twenty-eight members to consider the whole subject of constitutional reform.

The Kaiser, who had kept silent during all this agitation, was roused by President Wilson's message and the declaration of war which followed it, to come out openly in favor of reform. On April 7 it was announced that he had ordered the Imperial Chancellor to submit to him certain proposals for the reform of the Prussian electoral law, to be discussed and put into effect after the conclusion of peace. The text of the Kaiser's order follows:

Never before have the German people proved to be so firm as in this war. The knowledge that the Fatherland is fighting in bitter self-defense has exercised a wonderful reconciling power, and, despite all sacrifices on the battlefield and severe privations at home, their determination has remained imperturbable to stake their last for the victorious issue.

The national and social spirit have understood each other and become united, and have given us steadfast strength. Both of them realized what was built up in long years of peace and amid many internal struggles. This was certainly worth fighting for. Brightly before my eyes stand the achievements of the entire nation in battle and distress. The events of this struggle for the existence of the empire introduce, with high solemnity, a new time.

It falls to you as the responsible Chancellor of the German Empire and First Minister of my Government in Prussia to assist in obtaining the fulfillment of the demands of this hour by right means and at the right time, and in this spirit shape our political life in order to make room for the free and joyful co-operation of all the members of our people.

The principles which you have developed in this respect have, as you know, my approval.

I feel conscious of remaining thereby on the road which my grandfather, the founder of the empire, as King of Prussia with military organization and as German Emperor with social reform, typically fulfilled as his monarchial obligations, thereby creating conditions by which the German people, in united and wrathful perseverance, will overcome this sanguinary time. The maintenance of the fighting force as a real people's army and the promotion of the social uplift of the people in all its classes was, from the beginning of my reign, my aim.

In this endeavor, while holding a just balance between the people and the monarchy to serve the welfare of the whole, I am resolved to begin building up our internal political, economic, and social life as soon as the war situation permits.

While millions of our fellow-countrymen are in the field, the conflict of opinions behind the front, which is unavoidable in such a far-reaching change of constitution, must be postponed in the highest interests of the Fatherland until the time of the homecoming of our warriors and when they themselves are able to join in the counsel and the voting on the progress of the new order.

Specifying the reforms that were necessary the Kaiser said:

Reform of the Prussian Diet and liberation of our entire inner political life are especially dear to my heart. For the reform of the electoral law of the lower house preparatory work already had been begun at my request at the outbreak of the war.

I charge you now to submit to me definite proposals of the Ministry of State, so that upon the return of our warriors this work, which is fundamental for the internal formation of Prussia, be carried out by legislation. In view of the gigantic deeds of the entire people there is, in my opinion, no more room in Prussia for election by the classes.

The bill will have to provide further for direct and secret election of Deputies. The merits of the upper house and its lasting significance for the State no King of Prussia will misjudge. The upper house will be better able to do justice to the gigantic demands of the coming time if it unites in its midst in more extended and more proportional

manner than hitherto from various classes and vocations of people men who are respected by their fellow-citizens.

The election of the twenty-eight members to the Committee on Reforms was fixed for April 24, the date on which the Reichstag was to resume its sittings after the Easter recess.

Reply to the Dardanelles Report

THE report of the Special Parliamentary Commission on the Dardanelles Expedition, which had criticised Lord Kitchener, former Premier Asquith, and Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, was the subject of a vigorous attack in Parliament on March 28, 1917. Speeches were made by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, in which the fairness of the report was challenged and its political use severely rebuked. Mr. Asquith paid a glowing tribute to Lord Kitchener, who had been represented as "a solitary, taciturn autocrat," who took no counsel with any one and insisted on having everything his own way. This Mr. Asquith denied. Lord Kitchener was, indeed, a masterful man and a formidable personality, but the fact was that at the outbreak of war all the General Staff went to France and no soldiers of experience were left in the country. The Government, therefore, in all military matters was bound to defer to Lord Kitchener's unrivaled authority, and no man ever had a heavier burden to carry. Mr. Asquith also revealed the fact that, at the outbreak of war, Lord Kitchener was the only man he ever thought of asking to become Secretary of State for War.

Mr. Asquith, in replying to the criticism that there had been a delay of three weeks in sending reinforcements, said that the delay had been due, not to any vacillation or hesitation, but to two main considerations—first, that the Russian position was so bad at the time that Lord Kitchener feared the Germans might withdraw divisons from the eastern and send them to the western front, and, second, that both the British and French headquarters were putting the strongest pressure on him to dispatch the Twenty-ninth Division to France. Those were "grave and weighty reasons," said Mr. Asquith, and, he added, "it is so easy to be wise after the event." He held that the Commissioners had not given sufficient weight to these considerations when they passed their censure.

He dealt at some length with the criticisms of the report on his own neglect to summon a War Council between March 19 and May 14. His answer to this was that he had been in daily and hourly consultation with Lord Kitchener and Mr. Churchill, and that the operations were in the hands of the naval men on the spot. But there had been no fewer than thirteen meetings of the Cabinet in that period, and at several the Dardanelles operations had been discussed at length. As for the rôle of the experts at the War Council, Mr. Asquith declared that he had never known them to show the least reluctance to give their opinion, whether invited or uninvited, and though Lord Fisher was known to be averse to the Dardanelles operations, it was not on the ground that they were impracticable, but that his preference was for a different operation in a totally different sphere. Lord Fisher, said Mr. Asquith, was in a minority of one, but he explicitly agreed to undertake the naval operations.

According to Mr. Churchill, everybody on the War Council knew of Lord Fisher's objections, but knew also that they were not objections based on the impracticability of "forcing" the Dardanelles—a very different thing from "rushing" the Dardanelles, which no one ever contemplated. Lord Fisher, insisted Mr. Churchill, never objected to carrying out the operations until the Admiral on the spot changed his mind and advised that the naval attack should not be proceeded with. Mr. Churchill did not conceal his own desire to press the attack with the navy alone, but he was overruled, and then the fatal delays took place.

Toward the close of his speech Mr. Churchill intimated that if naval reinforcements had been furnished the result might have been different, as the Turkish ammunition was about exhausted at the time of the retirement. He likewise affirmed, in a detailed review of the proceedings of the War Council, that the plans for a purely naval attack had received the considered approval of all the naval authorities, including the Admirals on the spot, Sir Henry Jackson, Admiral Oliver, and the French Naval Staff, and that Lord Fisher himself had agreed to carry it out. He contended that this naval attempt to force the Dardanelles was not a rash enterprise foisted upon an unwilling Admiralty, but was the plan of the naval experts themselves.

Mr. Asquith by no means conceded that the expedition was a failure. On the contrary, he asserted that "it absolutely saved the position of Russia in the Caucasus; it prevented for months the defection of Bulgaria to the Central Powers; it kept at least 300,000 Turks immobile; and, what is more important, it cut off and annihilated a corps d'élite, the whole flower of the Turkish Army. The Turks have never recovered to this moment from the blow inflicted upon them, and it is certainly one of the contributory causes of the favorable developments which we have happily witnessed in the events in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia."

Mr. Churchill, in his defense of the expedition, asked: "What was gained, not what might have been gained, by the naval attack? Was ever any demonstration in the history of the world more potent? The relief to the Grand Duke in the Caucasus was instantaneous. The whole attitude of Bulgaria was changed for the time in our favor. Greece had almost joined us. Lastly, there was Italy. During the progress of the naval attack those negotiations were begun which finally, in the hands of Mr. Asquith, who dealt for all the Allies, culminated in Italy's entrance into the war at the moment when her entrance was most needed and before she could be discouraged by the defeats of the Russians in Galicia, which began a few weeks later. These are the results of failure. Think what might have been the consequences of success. It is a torment to dwell upon them and to think how near was the naval attack to success. Was there even really a reasonably fair chance of its succeeding if it had been persevered in and pushed on?"

Writing War History in France

A contributor to Le Temps of Paris has placed on record the measures which self-conscious France is taking to aid the future historian. The article is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

INSTINCTIVELY we are watching ourselves live in these heroic days. We feel, indeed, that the passionate curiosity of future centuries will be concentrated upon our acts and movements; we have become conscious of the consideration and respect which coming generations will lavish upon the men and things of today. We are secretly flattered by the thought, and, without going so far as to strike a pose before the painters of history, we are beginning discreetly to prepare their palettes and brushes.

We throw furtive glances in the direction of the mirror that reflects our silhouettes, and try negligently to straighten our cravats. "We men of the middle ages," cries a foreseeing hero of a mediaeval operetta. "We witnesses of the great world cataclysm," already some of our contemporaries are thinking. And, flying the altruistic flag, they are working conscientiously for posterity. The explorers of the past, who later shall undertake a voyage around the great war, will bless the enlightened zeal of these men. They will find themselves in the presence of a fabulously rich mine of documents. We have recently mentioned

the interesting project of Messrs. Honnorat and Alexandre Varenne, intended to bring together in one place complete collections of the newspapers and reviews that have appeared during the war. This plan, formulated after thirty months of war, might seem purely platonic: is it not too late to collect and classify all the fugitive papers scattered in the blast of the tempest? Not at all.

In the first year of the great conflict a wide-awake Minister of Public Instruction asked all the Mayors in France to gather carefully all printed documents relating to the war. He begged them particularly to "collect the newspapers," and explained the exceptional interest attaching to these "mirrors in which are reflected the successive moods of the nation" and the necessity of preserving "the least manifestations of public spirit and the slightest traces of emotion or serenity, as the case may be, with which the people receive administrative measures, or other war news, whether from France or from abroad. * * * At so important a time in our national history this country has assumed an attitude too profoundly honorable for one to neglect preserving proofs of it taken from life, day by day, which posterity must needs accept. On this score it is really desirable to save the whole contemporary product from oblivion."

A series of circulars developed and organized this noble undertaking. Not only are all our Mayors collecting the local newspapers, the public and private posters, the social and religious documents, the industrial pamphlets, the cartoons, postcards, and photographs of the war period, but in the smallest village of France the representative of the Institute has been invited to take notes methodically of all the events he witnesses. He is to gather up and preserve the "oral tradition" which, in our country districts, is usually the sole depository of the past. He will thus perpetuate remarks, anecdotes, and significant examples and traits, which will constitute an incomparable documentary treasury for those who shall wish to study the soul of France as it is today.

At this moment thousands of attentive pens, under these official orders, are blackening little pieces of paper measuring—our organizers think of everything—"fifteen centimeters by ten." France is an immense classification cabinet, in which these slips of paper are being tirelessly placed on file. They will form an admirable Golden Book of the mind and conscience of our nation.

There is a certain grandeur in this order for the mobilization of a nation's memory. Who will dare henceforth to speak of our lack of foresight? We are leaving nothing to chance. Our papers are in order. History may enter: she will find us waiting for her.

A Song of Sunrise

[On the Morning of the Russian Revolution]

By GEORGE E. WOODBERRY

To those who drink the golden mist
  Whereon the world's horizons rest,
Who teach the peoples to resist
  The terrors of the human breast—
By burning stake and prison camp
  They lead the march of man divine,
Above whose head the sacred lamp
  Of liberty doth blaze and shine;
O'er blood and tears and nameless woe
  They hail far off the dawning light;
Through faith in them the nations go,
  Sun-smitten in the deepest night—
Honor to them from East to West
  Be on the shouting earth today!
Holy their memory! Sweet their rest!
  Who fill the skies with freedom's ray!

Arab Revolt Against Turkish Rule

Proclamation of the Ulema of Mecca Denouncing the "Janissaries" at Constantinople

THE Ulema of Mecca, the orthodox religious authorities in the holy city of the Moslems, has sent out a proclamation to the faithful which is reproduced herewith as one of the documents of the war. It marks yet another step in the growing revolt in Arabia, which threatens to deprive the Turkish Empire permanently of that historic realm and of the holy cities of Islam. The revolt began in June, 1916, with the rising of El Husein ibn Ali, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, against the rule of the Young Turks on account of their German alliance. He proclaimed Arabia's independence on June 27. In the next two months he and his followers captured all the principal cities on the Red Sea littoral and began to administer a region—desert, oases, and towns—of 24,000 square miles with a population of 3,000,000. Since then he has ruled an increasing section of Arabia under the title of King of the Hedjaz.

Early in September the French and British Governments dispatched a delegation of French Moslems to the Grand Sherif of Mecca for the purpose of congratulating him on his deliverance from Turkey, and of conveying to him a substantial sum of money to aid his revolt. To cover the expense of the expedition the French Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 29, 1916, for 3,500,000 francs, at the same time disclosing the fact that the French Government had furnished a vessel to enable the British and French Moslems to resume their pilgrimages to Mecca by way of Jedda. Thousands of pilgrims took advantage of this free service, those in October alone numbering 30,000. Among these was Si Kaddor ben Ghabbit, the Moroccan adviser of the Sultan of Turkey. He found a new, hygienic Mecca, free of the assassins and robbers of former years, and declared on his return that the new Kingdom of Arabia was destined to revive the Moslem world in all its former glory and power.

Since then the movement has spread to the interior of Arabia, and has been marked by extensive defections of native tribes from Turkish rule. Peace has been made between two powerful leaders of rival tribes, Emir Arab ar Rawleh, from near Damascus, and Hakim ibn Mahid-Hakim, Emir of the great Anzeh tribe in the vicinity of Aleppo. These two chiefs, formerly enemies, have united and agreed to raise a large troop of horsemen to fight the Turks. The importance of this step is indicated by the fact that the Anzeh and Shamr tribes together are said to number 4,000,000 souls.

It is also asserted that the Sheik Khazai Khan has sent a deputation to the Sherif—otherwise Suleiman I., King of the Hedjaz—announcing his co-operation in the revolt and his readiness to respond to a call for men and money. Thus a large portion of the Mohammedan world, which refused to respond to the Sultan's call for a holy war against the Entente, is now actively lining up against Turkey and the Central Powers.

On Dec. 2, 1916, the United States Government received the following communication from the new kingdom, whose capital is Mecca. It was signed by Fuad el Khatib, Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

In the name of justice and international law we enter a solemn protest to the civilized world against the band of Unionists and affiliates which inflicted all manner of cruelty on the women and children of the innocent population of Alawali and is now repeating its elaborate acts of cruelty even at Medina by sentencing the harmless people and those of Alawali that are still alive to death by hanging and to forced labor.

The echo of these atrocities has been brought to the men in charge of our Army of the West, whose vanguard is in touch with the enemy, by a delegation, comprising every class of the people, that came to them to appeal to the Arabian Government for

protection against such inhuman, heinous crimes.

The Arabian Government, which has shown every regard for the Turkish prisoners of El Taif, including the Vali, commanders, officers, and soldiers, in spite of the misdeeds committed by them and of their setting fire to the houses of Princes, notables, and inhabitants after plundering them, draws your attention to the matter so as to protect itself from blame for any retaliation it may be compelled to apply.

Orthodox Protest from Mecca

A long and important "Proclamation to the Faithful," issued by the Ulema or high priesthood of Mecca, reached the outside world in March, 1917. It adds religious sanction to the rebellion of the holy places against the rule of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople. The text in English is as follows:

We, the elders and lawyers of the House of God, are among those whom God has permitted to serve the faith and defend its truths. The world and its treasures, in comparison with truth, are not worth the wing of an insect, for there is no other purpose for man in this life except to prepare for eternity.

The Moslem soul rejoices in beholding the Grand "Kaaba" in the first streak of dawn and in the shadow of evening, and he is sanctified by dwelling in the land blessed by the Prophet of God, (the peace of God be upon him.) Can such a man allow his faith to be scorned or see evil befall the things that are holy? Even so it is with us who dwell in this holy place.

We have discerned the hearts of the usurpers of Osman's empire. We have learned their evil purpose with regard to our faith, we have beheld their crimes and wickedness in this our holy land, and our faith has shown us the path of salvation, and in its name we have acted according to our duty to ourselves and the Moslems of the world.

Every Moslem who would consider this matter should seek its cause and ascertain the nature of evil against which we rose in arms, when we found words were of no avail.

As for us, we are absolutely certain that the secret committee of the Young Turk Party has notoriously disobeyed God. No words stayed their hand from crime, and no opposition prevented the evil consequences of their actions. Let no one think that we speak vain things. There stand the facts and events which every man by inquiry can ascertain for himself. We shall bring forth these facts and lay them before the Mohammedan world when necessity demands. Now we content ourselves with begging those of our brethren who oppose us to send some reliable person or persons to Constantinople, the capital of the Unionists, and there witness personally, as we have ourselves witnessed, Moslem women employed by the Government and exposed in public places unveiled before men of strange nations. What do our true Moslem brethren who oppose us in haste think of this matter, an example of an evil that will greatly injure us if it increases and of which we publicly complain?

Would the obedience of people who do such a thing, (and it is the least of their crimes against Islam and Moslems,) be a true obedience or would it be disobedience to God? Never, by the God of the "Kaaba," never. To obey them is to disobey God. Far from it that any of the faithful should consent to this.

We endeavored to please God and avoid a rebellion so long as it was possible. We rebelled in order to please God, and He gave us victory and stood by us in support of His law and religion, and in accordance with a wisdom known to Him which would lead to the uplifting of this people. Every Moslem heart in the Ottoman Empire, even among the Turks in Anatolia and among the members of the Turkish royal family in the palaces, prays God for our success, and God always answers the prayers of the oppressed and the righteous. There is no doubt about it, that if the inhabitants of those countries which the Unionists have lost through their alliance with Germany in this war had revolted against those oppressors, just as we did, they would have no more been regarded as belligerents and would thus have saved their countries for themselves. But if things should continue as they are, no territory will remain for this empire.

If you keep this in mind and remember what the Indian paper Mashrek wrote on Sept. 12 and 19 on the subject of the disqualification of Beni Osman to be the Khalifas of Islam, you will understand that we have risen in order to avert these dangers and to put the Islamic rule on a firm foundation of true civilization according to the noble dictates of our religion. If our revolution were only to preserve the integrity of our country and to save it from what has befallen other Islamic countries, it is enough, and we are amply justified.

We call the attention of those who oppose us to the necessity of saving the other countries from the calamities into which their inhabitants have fallen and to deliver them from the destruction and ruin into which those criminal hands are dragging them, if any true religious enthusiasm is left at all. We have done what we ought to do. We have cleansed our country from the germs of atheism and evil. The best course for those Moslems who still side with and defend this notorious gang of Unionists, is to submit to the will of God before their tongues, hands, and feet give witness against them.

It is a great mistake to suppose that in rising against this party we are rising against a legitimate Khalifa possessing all the legal or, at least, some of the conditions qualifying him to be such.

What does the Mohammedan world say of

the Beni Osman who pretend to be Khalifas of Islam, while for many years they were like puppets in the hands of the Janissaries; tossed about, dethroned, and killed by them, in a manner contrary to the laws and doctrines established in the books of religion on the accession and dethronement of Khalifas—which facts are recorded in their history? History is now repeating itself. To those Janissaries, grandsons have appeared in these days who are repeating the acts enacted in the days of Abdul Aziz, Murad, and Abdul Hamid. The murder of Yussuf Izzedin, the Turkish heir apparent, is too recent to be forgotten.

Those who oppose us and side with the Beni Osman should do one of two things: (1) Consider the Janissaries and their grandsons as the final authority on the question of the Khalifat, which we do not think any reasonable man would do, because it is against the laws of religion; or (2) consider those Janissaries and their grandsons as void of authority on the Khalifat question, in which case we should ask them, "What is the Khalifat and what are its conditions?"

Therefore, it remains for those who oppose us to repent, to come to their senses and unite with us in appealing to the Moslem world to use all effective measures for the strengthening of Islam and the restoring of its glory.

We want those who are present here to tell you who are far away that we shall confess before Almighty God, on the last day, that today we do not know of any Moslem ruler more righteous and fearing God than the son of His Prophet who is now on the throne of the Arab country. We do not know any one more zealous than he in religion, more observant of the law of God in words and deeds, and more capable of managing our affairs in such a way as would please God. The people of the Holy Land have proclaimed him their King simply because, in so doing, they would be serving their religion and country.

As to the question of the Khalifat, in spite of all that is known of the deplorable condition in which it is situated at the present moment, we have not interfered with it at all and it will remain as it is pending the final decision of the whole Mohammedan world.

Salams to all who hear what is said and believe the good in it. May God lead us all into the path of right.

Proclamation to the People of Bagdad

FOLLOWING is the official English text of the proclamation issued by General Sir Stanley Maude to the people of Bagdad Vilayet, when he captured the historic city on March 11, 1917:

1. In the name of my King, and in the name of the peoples over whom he rules, I address you as follows:

2. Our military operations have as their object the defeat of the enemy and the driving of him from these territories. In order to complete this task I am charged with absolute and supreme control of all regions in which British troops operate; but our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators.

3. Since the days of Halaka your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation, and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking, your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men, and squandered in distant places.

4. Since the days of Midhat, the Turks have talked of reforms, yet do not the ruins and wastes of today testify the vanity of those promises?

5. It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it is also the wish of the great nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science, and art, and when Bagdad City was one of the wonders of the world.

6. Between your people and the dominions of my King there has been a close bond of interest. For 200 years have the merchants of Bagdad and Great Britain traded together in mutual profit and friendship. On the other hand, the Germans and Turks, who have despoiled you and yours, have for twenty years made Bagdad a centre of power from which to assail the power of the British and the allies of the British in Persia and Arabia. Therefore, the British Government cannot remain indifferent as to what takes place in your country now or in the future, for in duty to the interests of the British people and their allies, the British Government cannot risk that being done in Bagdad again which has been done by the Turks and Germans during the war.

7. But you people of Bagdad, whose commercial prosperity and whose safety from oppression and invasion must ever be a matter of the closest concern to the British Government, are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon you alien institutions. It is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realized, and that once again the people of Bagdad shall flourish, enjoying

their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and their racial ideals. In Hejaz the Arabs have expelled the Turks and Germans who oppressed them and proclaimed the Sherif Hussein as their King, and his Lordship rules in independence and freedom, and is the ally of the nations who are fighting against the power of Turkey and Germany; so, indeed, are the noble Arabs, the Lords of Koweit, Nejd, and Asir.

8. Many noble Arabs have perished in the cause of Arab freedom, at the hands of those alien rulers, the Turks, who oppressed them. It is the determination of the Government of Great Britain and the great powers allied to Great Britain, that these noble Arabs shall not have suffered in vain. It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth, and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord.

9. O people of Bagdad, remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavored to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by your dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her allies, for there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment. Therefore, I am commanded to invite you, through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army, so that you may be united with your kinsmen in north, east, south, and west in realizing the aspirations of your race.

Italy's Military Progress in 1916

An Official Summary

THE report of the Italian Supreme Command for the period of September to December, 1916, contains this birdseye view of the actual results of the whole year's operations, under date of Dec. 26:

Looking back on the year which is drawing to its close, the Italian Army has reason for legitimate satisfaction and pride in all the efforts made, the difficulties overcome, and the victories achieved.

The development of its military power was effected in the Winter of 1915-16, thanks to the wonderful work of reorganization and production, in which the whole nation participated. In the Spring we sustained in the Trentino the powerful, long-prepared Austrian offensive, which the enemy with insolent effrontery styled a punitive expedition against our country. But after the first successes, which were due to the preponderance of material means collected, above all in artillery, the proposed invasion was quickly stopped and the enemy was counterattacked and forced to retire in haste into the mountains, leaving on the Alpine slopes the flower of his army and paying bitterly the price for his fallacious enterprise not only here but also on the plains of Galicia.

Our army did not rest after its wonderful effort. While maintaining a vigorous pressure on the Trentino front, in order to gain better positions and to deceive the enemy as to our intentions, a rapid retransfer of strong forces to the Julian front was made. In the first days of August began that irresistible offensive which, in two days only, caused the fall of the very strong fortress of Gorizia and of the formidable system of defenses on the Carso to the west of the Vallone. Doberdò, San Michele, Sabotino—names recalling sanguinary struggles and slaughter—ceased to be for the Austro-Hungarian Army the symbols of a resistance vaunted insuperable, and became the emblems of brilliant Italian victories. The enemy's boastful assertions of having inexorably arrested our invasion on the front selected and desired by himself were refuted at one stroke.

From that day our advance on the Carso was developed constantly and irresistibly. It was interrupted by pauses indispensable for the preparation of the mechanical means of destruction without which the bravest attacks would lead only to the vain sacrifice of precious human lives.

Our constant and full success on the Julian front is witnessed by 42,000 prisoners, 60 guns, 200 machine guns, and the rich booty taken between the beginning of August and December.

Also on the rest of the front our indefatigable troops roused the admiration of all who saw them for their extraordinary efforts to overcome not only the forces of the enemy but also the difficulties of nature.

The coming year is looked forward to by our army with serenity and confidence. Our soldiers are supported by the unanimous approval of the nation, by faith in themselves and in the justice of their cause. They face willingly their hard and perilous life, under the guidance of their beloved sovereign, who from the first day of the war with a rare constancy has shared their fortunes. Our army is waiting in perfect readiness to renew the effort which will carry it to the fulfillment of the unfailing destiny of our people.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club.

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He is one of the experts who have chronicled the present war for The Army and Navy Journal. The article here presented is the third in a series which Major Dayton is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

III.—The Great Battle of Ypres

IN the previous articles we have reviewed events of the Summer and early Autumn of 1914 in Belgium and France. Having followed the progress of the invading German armies across Belgium and down into the heart of France, we saw their scouts almost in the environs of Paris before the tide of war turned. Defeated on the Marne, the Germans retreated to the fortified lines above the Aisne, where they succeeded in halting the pursuit of French and British armies eager to keep up the drive. By the middle of October the manoeuvres by which each sought to win the control of the Channel coasts had resulted in a mutual extension of the battle lines until they confronted each other all the way from Westende, south of Ostend, through Belgium and France to the Swiss frontier. That situation was destined to continue for long and bloody years despite frequent efforts on both sides to break through.

In October and November the Germans made an enormous effort to smash a way through to Calais, and some of the hardest fighting of the whole war developed. The Allies, believing that Antwerp could hold out, had hoped to keep the Germans back of the Scheldt until the concentration of a strong Franco-British force between Ghent and Antwerp would provide the means for turning the German right flank and cutting the northern communications of the armies further south. The plan failed when Antwerp fell, and the French then endeavored to execute a flanking manoeuvre by crossing the Lys and the Scheldt between Lille and Ghent.

La Bassée and Arras were important points south of Lille which were essential to the success of General Joffre's strategy. Both sides hurried every man who could be spared from the Aisne up to the northern battlefield, and new armies from home gave greatly needed reinforcement. As the campaign progressed, the turning movement was repulsed and the Allies found themselves involved in a desperate struggle to prevent the Germans from turning their flank and winning a way to the Channel ports.

First Battle of Ypres

A great battle opened on Oct. 12, 1914, and lasted until Nov. 20, on a front of about forty miles between Lille and the mouth of the Yser. The struggle reached its climax before Ypres, and the battle bears the name of that town. The casualties, Belgian, British, French, and German, probably exceeded 350,000.

General Foch's Tenth French Army had failed to turn the German right flank, and General French had successfully moved the whole British force from the Aisne to its new northern position. On Oct. 12 British divisions had crossed the Aire-Bethune canal and were systematically driving back the dismounted German cavalrymen, who contested stubbornly every foot of the way. By the 17th General French's men reached the village of Herlies, in the hills between La Bassée and Armentières, and Aubers, another village in the same sector, was

taken—French cavalrymen captured Fromelles. On the 18th, British attacks upon La Bassée failed. The Second Royal Irish captured Le Pilly, where they were surrounded and killed or captured almost to a man.

About this time strong German reinforcements reached the scene, and the British, under General Smith-Dorrien, relinquished the offensive, although they, too, were reinforced by the arrival of the

MARSHAL SIR JOHN FRENCH

first native Indian contingent, the Lahore Division, under General Watkis. Smith-Dorrien's corps of about 37,500 men had lost 10,000 men in August, 10,000 in September, and 5,000 up to the middle of October. Although the losses were in part replaced by drafts of fresh men, the corps was well-nigh exhausted by continual fighting, and suffered severely in the next few days, when the Germans attacked fiercely near Neuve Chapelle and Givenchy.

Between Oct. 12 and 29 Smith-Dorrien's (second) corps suffered additional casualties of 360 officers and 8,200 men. On the 29th they were temporarily relieved by Indian troops stiffened by British brigades and batteries. Meanwhile Pulteney's (third) corps on the left was likewise heavily engaged in a series of battles along the River Lys, nearer to Armentières.

Late in October several new German corps came up in front of Ypres, and General Rawlinson led the British Seventh Division of veteran regular troops in an advance upon Menin, an important point southeast of Ypres. He met heavy resistance on the front and was strongly attacked on the left flank, but succeeded in regaining his original positions, although with severe losses. The arrival of General Haig's (first) corps rescued the famous Seventh Division from threatened destruction.

British in Grave Peril

General Haig's corps, just from the Aisne, was assigned by General French to a position north of the left flank of the Seventh Division. On Oct. 21, in a series of terrific attacks, some of the Germans penetrated the lines of the Twenty-first Brigade and found cover in woods behind the position. For several days after this the officers of the Second Yorkshire Regiment kept each alternate man facing the opposite direction to reply to rifle fire coming from both front and rear. On Oct. 22 and again on the 24th and 25th German storming columns smashed their way through the thin British lines, but were eventually held by reserves skillfully employed at critical moments.

As the British struggled to hold the sectors about Ypres the gallant Belgians held on successfully to their intrenched positions along Ypres Canal and the Yser River. On Oct. 29 the Germans made a tremendous attack upon the re-entering angles of the British salient in front of Ypres, on the north at Bixschoote, and on the south between Zandevoorde and Hollebeke. The head of the salient was at the crossroads at Gheluvelt, five miles east of Ypres, on the Ypres-Menin road, and early in the day the Germans forced one of the British divisions out of its trenches in this sector.

On the morning of the 30th the German artillery fire became unbearable and

many of the British trenches had to be abandoned. Sometimes a whole troop would be buried alive by the storm of high explosive shells, which fairly churned the earth along the British lines. Sir Douglas Haig was determined to hold the critical salient head at Gheluvelt, although the angle had grown even sharper when regiments north of the village were forced to fall back a mile to the ridge of Klein Zillebeke.

One after the other, regiments whose names have been part of British history for centuries were sent in to stop the Teuton rush along the Ypres-Menin road. The German Emperor urged the attack and had assured his officers that a victory at Ypres would end the war. There can be little question that it would have meant at least the destruction of the British expeditionary army then in France. In addition to the reverses north of Gheluvelt, General Haig's men on the south were driven out of Hollebeke and down on St. Eloi. Supports coming up were soon heavily engaged about Messines.

On Oct. 31, in early morning attacks along the centre of the battle line, two British brigades were driven back and the Coldstream Guards practically destroyed. The entire division in this sector was driven back to the woods beyond Hooge, and this retreat uncovered the flank of the Seventh Division. The Royal Scots Fusiliers, attempting to hold their trenches in the face of overwhelming forces, were completely cut off and annihilated. This battalion had brought over a thousand men to Flanders and mustered seventy when this day's work was done.

General Moussy's battalions from the Ninth French Corps rendered great aid at a critical moment near Klein Zillebeke, and later the French Sixteenth Corps gave greatly needed reinforcement.

Crisis of the Battle

Sir John French has since said that the crisis of the whole campaign was in the middle of the afternoon on this last day of October. The whole British line had suffered terribly and was undoubtedly very near the breaking point.* Threatened disaster was averted by a magnificent charge by the Second Worcesters supported by the Second Oxford Light Infantry and the field artillery. This counterattack destroyed the German initiative along the line of direct attack on the highway, and by nightfall the British had regained several of the lost positions.

On Sunday, Nov. 1, considerable British and French reinforcements arrived, but a strong German assault won Hollebeke and Messines, which enabled the German gunners to shell Ypres. Wytschaete, too, was taken, but recaptured later. The Germans held Messines against continuous counterattacks. In the fighting up to this time the Seventh Division had been reduced from 400 officers and 12,000 men to about 3,000.

On Nov. 6, after a period of heavy artillery attacks, the German infantry attacked the Klein Zillebeke positions, and it required the utmost courage of both British and French to stem the rush. Generals Bulfin and Moussy were the commanders on this hard-fought field, where the honors fell to the British Household Cavalry. The day was won by the First and Second Life Guards and the Blues.

On Nov. 11 the First and Fourth Brigades of the Prussian Guards attacked under the eye of the Emperor and pierced the British lines on the Menin road at several places, but failed to drive the attack home.

While the British had been struggling through these long weeks to hold Ypres, General Dubois with the French Ninth Corps had performed prodigies of valor between Zonnebeke and Bixschoote. Helped by territorial divisions and de Mitry's Second Cavalry Corps, Dubois held Bixschoote against the most violent attacks of great German forces. Regi-

* It is related that the loss of Ypres seemed so imminent that the breech-blocks had actually been taken from the heavy guns to disable them before falling into German hands. Some of the field guns were being moved back from the town.

SCENE OF CLIMAX OF THE BATTLE OF YPRES. THE BLACK LINE INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT AS IT REMAINED FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS AFTERWARD

ment after regiment was hurled to destruction in the effort to win this place, which covered the British forces to the south. The Germans renewed their efforts against the British positions on Nov. 12 and again on the 17th, but by the 20th large French reinforcements came up, and as the Winter storms began the German assaults died down.

This great battle was distinguished by the heroic courage and magnificent professional skill of the finest troops the combatants possessed. New organizations, such as the London Scottish, won undying fame beside the most highly trained professional soldiers of the regular regiments. The Germans employed in the neighborhood of a million men to win the war in this their last great offensive on the western front, and among that great host were included at least six corps of their first-line troops. Sir Henry Rawlinson's famous Seventh Division of British regulars held the salient in the line against odds estimated at 8 to 1. When finally withdrawn at the end of the battle this division had 44 officers left out of 400.

Battle of Neuve Chapelle

On Dec. 14, 1914, a combined attack by Scotch and French regiments was made upon positions southwest of Wytschaete and some small gains made. Earlier in this month the French under Maud'huy carried a fortified château at Vermelles, south of the Bethune-La Bassée Canal, and about the middle of December the Lahore Division of the Indian Army and the Meerut Division of

the same service won temporary successes, but later suffered dangerous reverses in the region of Neuve Chapelle, three miles northwest of La Bassée, and near Festubert, about the same distance west of that point.

A severe battle raged on Dec. 20 about Givenchy, a village in front of Festubert, where both Indian brigades and British regiments were soundly beaten. Sir John French sent strong reinforcements into the firing line, and on the 21st some of the lost ground was retaken. At noon on the 22d Sir Douglas Haig took command in the danger zone, and on that night and the following day the British position was re-established in the various places where the Indian troops had proved unable to withstand the evening's assaults. In the earlier stages of this battle the British forces showed less efficiency and stamina than on any other field in the war. The staff arrangements seem to have been imperfectly planned, and severe losses were due to poor leadership. Disaster threatened at Givenchy until Haig took command and, with British and French troops, saved the day.

The Winter of 1914-15

When the battles near La Bassée ended, the campaign in the north quieted down. To the south in the Argonne the Crown Prince was very active, and a number of minor battles were fought. The French held their own splendidly in this domain of minor tactics, where there was—and, indeed, has continued ever since—incessant skirmishing which frequently developed into combats of considerable importance. General Sarrail at Verdun held his own, and did more, for gradually his intrenched positions were enlarged on the east front of the fortress in the direction of Metz.

The War in Serbia

Recalling the complete defeat of Austria's first invasion of Serbia in August, we will proceed to a further consideration of this theatre of the war. Austria lost 40,000 men killed and wounded, and 50 guns, in the first attempt at a punitive expedition into the region which had been the cause of the outbreak of the war. The Russian campaign on the east had necessitated pulling every available soldier out of the Balkans for use on the frontiers of Poland and Galicia, and the Serbs undertook an attack aimed at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. On Sept. 14 the frontier position at Vishegrad was captured, and a force which had crossed the Save at night took the town of Semlin on Sept. 6 and silenced batteries which had been bombarding Belgrade.

The Austrians gathered a new army along the Drina, and early in September crossed that river, but on the arrival of Serbian reinforcements were defeated and driven back. The battle continued for ten days, but by the 17th the Austrian attack was definitely repulsed.

Meanwhile the Serbs were unable to make much progress in their attempt on Serajevo, and by the end of October the Austrians resumed the attack, with Nish, to which the Serbian Court had retired, as the main objective. An Austrian army of about 300,000 men invaded Serbia in November and a hard-fought campaign followed among the mountain ridges of the interior, to which Crown Prince Alexander and General Putnik retired.

Early in December the Austrian commander, confident that his invasion was to be an easy victory, sent several corps back to assist in the effort against Russia in the Carpathians. The aged King Peter joined his army. On Dec. 3 and 4 a heavy battle was fought among the ridges of Rudnik and Maljen, and at Ushitza. By the morning of the 6th the Serbs had won a complete and astonishing victory. The Austrians were a routed and broken remnant of an army, hotly pursued all the way to the border by the hardy Serbian veterans. Forty thousand Austrian prisoners were taken, and their casualties were very heavy.

The Serbs recaptured the capital at Belgade on Dec. 14-15, and the second Austrian attempt to invade the land had ended in complete and disastrous defeat.

The War in Africa

Within the period of Germany's commercial expansion which followed the victories of 1870 a wonderful scheme of foreign colonization had been developed

on the coasts of China, in Polynesia, and especially in Africa. In the Dark Continent vast regions became German colonies or protectorates, and of course this expansion was regarded most jealously by the other European nations, whose arms were already elbow deep in the African grab bag. Germany built roads and railroads, and had apparently started a movement which would in time have made great returns for the large sums spent in development.

On the Atlantic side, Togoland was located above the north shores of the Gulf of Guinea, while the much larger Cameroon lay on the east coast of the same gulf. Southwest Africa was an enormous territory west of the old Boer republic, now absorbed into British South Africa. On the Indian Ocean German East Africa was another huge protectorate whose northern frontier nearly touched the equator, while the southern border touched Mozambique well below the tenth parallel. This colony contained Mount Kilimanjaro, which was first surveyed by the German explorer von der Decken, and the greater part of Lake Victoria Nyanza. There are several good ports on the seacoast, and this colony was one with great possibilities both in mining and agriculture.

Early in August, 1914, a British cruiser captured Lome, the port of Togoland, and the small German garrison retreated into the interior. French and British expeditions invaded the colony from the Gold Coast and Dahomey, and by Aug. 27, after very little fighting, all Togoland had passed into possession of the Allies.

Late in August, Cameroon was invaded by a British column, which met a reverse on the 30th in an attack upon the forts on the Benue River. The British commander and a number of other officers were killed, and nearly half of the native force under their command was lost. Another column, which entered Cameroon from Calabar, after some initial successes was completely routed at Nsanapong in a night attack. The losses here were heavy. On Sept. 27 a mixed Anglo-French force captured the German port at Duala and another coast town called Bonaberi. British warships from the mouth of the Cameroon River rendered great assistance. By October the Germans had been driven back into the wild interior and the Allies were in complete control of the coast and the rivers.

General Botha's Achievement

In the important colony of German Southwest Africa the Governor abandoned the coast stations early in August, 1914, and concentrated his defense in the interior at Windhoek. When the Parliament of British South Africa met on Sept. 8 skirmishing was in progress along the frontier, and General Botha announced a policy of active aggression against the Germans in the west. Fighting occurred at several places along the Orange River, and on Sept. 18 a British naval expedition captured the seaport at Suderitz Bay. In this colony the Germans had between 5,000 and 10,000 men, with considerable artillery. General Botha raised in the British colonies about 7,000 men, and by the end of September skirmishing was in progress at a number of frontier points. At Sandfontein a small British column was trapped, and after a hard fight the survivors surrendered.

Early in October a rebellion occured in the northwest section of Cape Province, led by Colonel Maritz, who commanded the British forces in the region, but who had fought on the Boer side in the South African war. Martial law was declared in the British colonies, and in several engagements Maritz, who had a force of about 2,000 men, was completely defeated and driven out of the colony.

A much more serious rebellion developed in the old Orange Free State and the Western Transvaal under such renowned veterans of the Boer war as Generals de Wet and Beyers, assisted by a number of other veteran leaders in South African wars. At Pretoria the burghers rallied to the loyal Botha, who soon raised an army of more than 30,000 fighting men. On Oct. 27 Botha defeated and dispersed the rebels under Beyers and Kemp south of the town of Rustenberg. The defeated forces rallied, and at Lichtenburg defeated a force under

Colonel Alberts, which attempted to cut off the retreat, but after several reverses this section of the rebel army was finally defeated and dispersed by Colonel van der Venter on Nov. 8 at Sandfontein, sixty miles from Pretoria. Another part of the force defeated at Rustenberg had taken refuge in the Orange Free State, led by Beyers and Kemp, who were finally defeated near the junction of the Vaal and the Vet and dispersed toward the wild interior.

The old-time genius of South African fighting had deserted de Wet, and his campaign was short. On Nov. 7, at Doornberg, his force of about 2,000 defeated a Union column under Col. Cronje, and de Wet's son was killed. By Nov. 11 General Botha, having cleared up the Transvaal, began to close in on de Wet's forces and administered a severe defeat to them. After further reverses de Wet and a few faithful adherents were captured on Dec. 1 at Waterberg, a hundred miles west of Mafeking. By the end of December, after a number of engagements with scattered commandoes, the rebellion was practically stamped out. Beyers was drowned while attempting to swim the Vaal. De Wet and Muller were prisoners, and Kemp had escaped into German territory.

German East Africa

In East Africa the Germans had an army which numbered close to ten thousand, of whom perhaps 30 per cent. were white. In British East Africa and Uganda the British forces all told seem not to have exceeded 1,500. On Aug. 13, 1914, a British cruiser bombarded Dar-es-Salam and destroyed the harbor works, and on Lake Nyassa a British steamer attacked German vessels. In September several small battles were fought along the frontier between the German colony and Rhodesia to the south as well as on the frontier to the north bordering British East Africa. Important British reinforcements arrived from India with artillery in time to prevent a German attack upon the British railway from the sea at Mombasa across the colony to Lake Victoria Nyanza. In seven or eight engagements on the coast and along the northern frontier the Germans were uniformly beaten, and by October their campaign had run its course with only a few minor points occupied on the British side of the line.

The British were content to maintain a successful defense while awaiting further reinforcements promised from India for November. This new expeditionary force arrived on the East African coast on Nov. 1 and proceeded to attack the German port of Tanga, the terminus of the Maschi Railway. An attempt to storm the defenses on Nov. 4 met with a disastrous repulse, in which the British lost 800 men, and the expeditionary army withdrew to the north, where it became an army of observation along the frontier for the next few months.

The Japanese in China

Japan, having declared war upon Germany late in August, 1914, proceeded to capture Germany's well-fortified position at Tsing-tao on the China coast. The Japanese Army, with a peace strength of 250,000 and a war strength of 1,000,000, was, so to speak, at the door of this German post hopelessly remote from European assistance. The powerful Japanese Navy controlled the eastern sea and had doubled in strength since the Russian war. Several British warships co-operated in the attack upon Tsing-tao. The German garrison numbered 5,000 men, occupying an intrenched camp and modernized Brialmont forts with concrete and steel construction. Under naval convoy a strong Japanese force landed, and by the end of September had advanced along the peninsula to a point where their artillery dominated the German forts. A small British force from Wei-hai-Wei landed and co-operated with the Japanese in the reduction of the German fortifications. General Kamio, the Japanese commander, had a heavy siege train of 140 guns, including some 11-inch howitzers, which quite outclassed in range and weight anything possessed by the Germans. The Japanese warships joined in the bombardment, and fort after fort was crushed by heavy shell fire from both land and sea. The Germans finally surrendered on Nov. 10, 1914.

IN THE PATH OF THE GERMAN RETREAT

View of the Once Prosperous Town of Bapaume, Which the German Army Wrecked Before Evacuating It

(Official Press Bureau)

Public Square in Peronne, With Burned and Bombed Houses, and a Unique Message Left by the Departing Germans.

(Medem Photo Service)

RUINS LEFT BY GERMANS IN RETREAT

French Army Engineers at Work in Noyon Repairing Streets
Blown Up by the Departing Germans

(Underwood & Underwood)

German Vandalism During the Retreat in France

SINCE November the German military authorities had been preparing to withdraw from the most seriously threatened portions of their lines in France, and on Friday, March 16, 1917, the preparations were complete. The last batteries on the long front between Arras and Soissons were withdrawn that night, though rear guards remained in the trenches, making a show of activity until the following night, when they too withdrew, marching swiftly and silently into the darkness toward the north.

At 8:30 in the evening the last troops left Noyon. The inhabitants were fiercely ordered to remain in their cellars on pain of bombardment. On the morning of Sunday, the 18th, when they timidly emerged there was not a German to be seen. A few moments later a French cavalry patrol trotted cautiously to the edge of the town and was greeted with weeping and cheers by the inhabitants. After two and a half years of exile and slavery they were again in France!

The conduct of the German Army in retreat revealed the fact that it was under orders to devastate the abandoned territory, and the thoroughness with which it acted on these orders has left one of the most sensational records of "frightfulness" in the annals of the great war.

French Note of Protest

The French Government at once charged its representatives in all neutral countries to enter a protest against these "acts of barbarism and devastation." The text of this note, signed by Premier Ribot, is as follows:

The Government of the republic is now gathering the elements of protest which it intends sending to neutral Governments against acts of barbarism and devastation committed by the Germans in French territory which they are evacuating while retreating. At this time I ask you to make known to the Government to which you are accredited that we intend to denounce before universal judgment the unqualifiable acts indulged in by the German authorities. No motive demanded by military necessities can justify the systematic devastation of public monuments, artistic and historical, as well as public property, accompanied by violence against persons. Cities and villages in their entirety have been pillaged, burned, and destroyed; private homes stripped of all furniture, which the enemy has carried off; fruit trees have been torn up or rendered useless for future production; streams and wells have been poisoned. The inhabitants, relatively few in number, who have not been removed have been left with a minimum of rations, while the enemy seized stocks supplied by the neutral revictualing commission which were destined for the civil population.

You will point out that this concerns not acts destined to hinder the operations of our armies, but of devastation having no connection with this object and having for its purpose the ruin for years to come of one of the most fertile regions of France.

The civilized world can only revolt against this conduct on the part of a nation which wanted to impose its culture on it, but which reveals itself once again as quite close to barbarism still, and, in a rage of disappointed ambition, tramples on the most sacred rights of humanity.

Pillage and Destruction

At the same time the French Government charged that safes had been robbed, notably at Péronne, where a branch of the Bank of France was pillaged and large amounts of stocks and bonds were taken by the departing troops. Press dispatches also stated that securities to the amount of $3,600,000 were taken from the banks in Noyon. Premier Ribot, who is also Foreign Minister, instructed the representatives of France in neutral countries to warn bankers against having anything to do with these stolen securities, declaring that France and the Allies would not recognize as valid any transaction based upon negotiable paper which the Germans had seized in violation of The Hague Convention.

The region evacuated by the Germans was approximately forty miles long and twenty-five deep, or a total of 1,000

square miles, containing between 350 and 400 towns and villages, and a population of nearly 200,000 before the war. This whole section of the fairest lands in France is described by all eyewitnesses as a vast wreck, a heartrending chaos of burned villages and farms, blasted roads and bridges, felled fruit trees, polluted wells, and looted homes. Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, wrote on March 21:

"The Germans have spared nothing on the way of their retreat. They have destroyed every village in their abandonment with systematic and detailed destruction. Not only in Bapaume and Péronne have they blown up or burned all the houses which were untouched by shellfire, but in scores of villages they laid waste the cottages of poor peasants and all their little farms and all their orchards. At Bethonvillers this morning, to name only one village out of many, I saw how each house was marked with a white cross before it was gutted with fire. The cross of Christ was used to mark the work of the devil, for truly it has been the devil's work.

"Even if we grant that the destruction of houses in the wake of retreat is the recognized cruelty of war there are other things I have seen which are not pardonable, even under that damnable code of morality. In Bapaume and Péronne, in Roye and Nesle and Lianecourt, and all these places over a wide area the German soldiers not only blew out the fronts of houses, but with picks and axes smashed mirrors and furniture and picture frames. As a friend of mine said, a cheapjack would not give fourpence for anything left in Péronne, and that is strictly true also of Bapaume. There is nothing but filth in those two towns. Family portraits have been kicked into the gutters. Black bonnets of old women who once lived in those houses lie about the rubbish heaps and by some strange pitiful freak these are almost the only signs left of the inhabitants who lived here before the Germans wrecked their houses.

"The ruins of houses are bad to see when done deliberately, even when shellfire spared them in the war zone, but worse than that is the ruin of women and children and living flesh. I saw that ruin today in Roye and Nesle. I was at first rejoiced to see how the first inhabitants were liberated after being so long in hostile lines. I approached them with a queer sense of excitement, eager to stop with them, but instantly when I saw those women and children in the streets and staring at me out of windows I was struck with the chill of horror. The women's faces were dead faces, shallow and masklike and branded with the memory of great agonies. The children were white and thin, so thin that the cheekbones protruded and many of them seemed to me idiot children. Hunger and fear had been with them too long."

Wells Polluted by Order

Outside of the ruined cities, not only were all the bridges and cross roads blown up with mines—a legitimate military measure to hinder pursuit—but cottages and farmhouses that were once the homes of nearly 100,000 peasant farmers were rendered uninhabitable by means of specially prepared bombs. Written orders were captured which directed the blowing up of all houses, wells, and cellars, except those occupied by rearguards, and these were to be made uninhabitable upon leaving. Farming implements were gathered in heaps and burned, peasants' carts were hacked to pieces, all the spokes of the wheels being cut out, in some cases with infinite labor. Fruit trees everywhere were sawed off near the ground, or, if time pressed, were girdled so as to insure their death. Wherever a house was spared it was rendered filthy.

Every well also was rendered useless by pollution, so that the homeless people were compelled to get all their drinking water in barrels from outside the looted region. This pollution of the wells was also done under German official orders, as demonstrated by a written order found on the battlefied, dated March 14. It was addressed to the Second Squadron, Sixth German Cuirassiers,

Thirty-eighth Division, and gave instructions to this end.

The wife of the village doctor at Nesle, who had housed the German regimental staff, protested to a German Lieutenant against the willful destruction of her furniture. He appeared to regret what his men were doing, but said:

"I cannot do otherwise. It is by command."

A number of German doctors who lodged for months in one of the finest mansions of Roye summoned the aged mistress of the house on the morning of March 16 and said: "We are going to give Roye back to the French. We hope they will like it." They then went through the house, firing revolvers at the mirrors and smashing furniture in the drawing-room and bedrooms. In many other houses the same scene was repeated, and pictures, clocks, and family papers were carried away.

In Péronne a famous avenue of shade trees was left prostrate, and scarcely a house was undamaged. Not a living human being remained. Péronne was a dead town, like Bapaume, like Ypres, like all the villages in the wake of the German retreat. The first correspondents who penetrated through the chaos to the Grande Place found a large board hung upon a shattered wall and bearing the ironic words: "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern." (Do not be annoyed, only be astonished.) It was the greeting of the departing Germans to the incoming Britons.

Coucy Castle, one of the most splendid remaining relics of the thirteenth century, was utterly blasted from the face of the earth. Nothing is left but a great pile of massive crumpled masonry and pulverized rock of what was one of the strongest and most historic castles of Europe.

So enraged were the French at this act of destruction that they refused to bombard the ruins, where the Germans had intrenched machine gunners. Instead infantry, unsupported by artillery, charged over a plain swept by German machine gun fire and wrenched the sacred spot from the enemy.

Before they left, the Germans boasted to the French inhabitants that thirty tons of explosives were used to destroy the castle. Pieces of its ancient masonry were spread over 10,000 square yards. Not a vestige remains of the great tower which Cardinal Mazarin's engineers vainly tried to blow up in the seventeenth century. Coucy Castle had been set aside as a historical museum.

Pitiful Streams of Fugitives

A correspondent who accompanied the French Army in its advance from Noyon, Chauny, and Tergnier, on March 21, wrote that the path of the retreating Germans was marked with the smoke of burning farms for fifteen miles. Along the road back from Tergnier and Noyon poured an unending stream of refugees from these blazing farms and villages. Nearly all were women—pitiful in their destitution, a few scant pieces of clothing saved and strapped on their backs, or pushing baby carriages, or wheelbarrows with tiny tots tucked therein. Younger children clung to their skirts or themselves toddled along under the weight of bundles.

"Their stories were all alike. For weeks before the retreat started the Germans herded all inhabitants before them from village to village. When the final movement came for the Germans to leave they sacked the houses. The soldiers carried off everything eatable and burned the villages before the eyes of the refugees. Then they departed, leaving the villagers homeless and foodless.

"A few hours later, when the Germans believed the French troops had arrived, they began shelling the villages they had pillaged and left, despite their knowledge of thousands of innocent civil inhabitants still there. Seven thousand women and children suffered this experience at Chauny alone. The village was under bombardment at the moment I arrived. The French Red Cross crews, with their litters, who had pushed forward afoot, were carrying off women and children wounded during the shell fire.

"The German retreat has been marked by insensate destruction. Aside from

the burning of farms and villages, the blowing up of church doors and altars and the like, the wanton destruction was carried to such an extent that I walked through twenty miles of farms and fields where every orchard tree had either been hewn down or—if the French arrived before this job of destruction could be completed—the trees were sufficiently hacked to insure their death.

"The Germans stripped every village of all metal. They tore tin gutters and plumbing from all houses, took off the metal roofs; pilfered the churches of clocks and bells. Not one escaped—from the cathedral at Noyon to the humblest of wayside churches.

"At Noyon, owing to the concentration of 10,000 women and children, the Germans promised to leave the American commission sufficient supplies to feed the refugees. Nevertheless, departing patrols sacked the American commission storehouses, carrying off all eatables. Then they dynamited the building and finally diverted water from the canal into the village. Part of the city was flooded and ruined in this fashion. The population of Noyon said they had not eaten a scrap of meat in eighteen months."

Took Away Many Captives

In leaving the evacuated territory the Germans carried with them all the able-bodied men and boys above 16 years, and all women and girls older than 15 years who were able to work. A French official communication mentions the taking of fifty women and girls from Noyon. On Feb. 17 they had removed 423 from Nesle. While taking away the fit population throughout the evacuated region, the invaders sent back hundreds of the aged and infirm from St. Quentin and other towns behind their new lines.

"Many of these French boys and old men," says an Associated Press correspondent, "had been compelled to work in the German trenches, where they said they also met many Belgians and Russians, the latter, of course, being prisoners of war. It was asserted that one of the reasons for the wholesale deportation of Belgians was the necessity for this labor in constructing the new positions to which the Germans have fallen back. The Germans wished to spare the soldiers from this work and so employed these unwilling civilians and prisoners."

Village Priest's Narrative

In the ruined village of Voyennes, not far from the now demolished Fortress of Ham, a priest told of the spiritual agonies through which his people had passed, culminating in the sacking of their homes by the departing enemy.

"We could get no news for months except lies," he said. "We knew nothing of what was happening. Starvation crept closer upon us. We were surrounded by the fires of hell for fifty hours at a time. The roar of guns swept around us week after week, and month after month, and the sky blazed around us. We were afraid of the temper of the German officers.

"After the defeat on the Marne and after the battles of the Somme Germany was like a wounded tiger, fierce, desperate, cruel. Secretly, although our people kept brave faces, they feared what would happen if the Germans were forced to retreat. At last that happened, and after all we had endured the day of terror was hard to bear.

"From all the villages around, one by one, the people were driven out, the young women and men as old as 60 were taken away to work for Germany, and the orderly destruction began which ended with the cutting down of our little orchards and ruin everywhere.

"The commandant before that was a good man and a gentleman, afraid of God and his conscience. He said: 'I do not approve of these things; the world will have a right to call us barbarians.' He asked for forgiveness because he had to obey orders, and I gave it to him.

"An order came to take away all the bells of churches and all metal work. I had already put my church bells in the loft, and I showed them to him and said, 'There they are.' He was very sorry. This man was the only good German officer I have met, and it was because he had been fifteen years in America, and had married an American wife and es-

caped from the spell of his country's philosophy. Then he went away.

"Last Sunday a week ago, at this very house, when our people all were in their houses under strict orders and already the country was on fire with burning villages, a group of soldiers came outside there with cans of petroleum, which they put into the church. Then they set fire to it and watched my church burn in a great bonfire. That night the Germans went away through Voyennes, and early in the morning, up in my attic, looking through a pair of glasses, I saw four horsemen ride in. They were English soldiers, and our people rushed out to them. Our agony had ended."

Ambassador Sharp's Report

The full extent of this German ruthlessness was confirmed by Ambassador Sharp in a report made to the Washington Government after a journey of 100 miles through the devastated territory. The State Department made public the following summary of the document:

"A telegram from the American Ambassador at Paris, dated April 1, states that upon the invitation of the French Government he visited on March 31 many of the French towns recently retaken in the invaded territory. He was accompanied by one of the Military Attachés to the embassy. He found that the various reports circulated in France, which have appeared in American newspapers, in regard to the deplorable condition were in no way exaggerated.

"In the larger towns of Roye, Ham, and particularly in the attractive and thriving town of Chauny, destruction was complete. In many of the other smaller villages scarcely a house remains with roof intact. Throughout the reconquered territory there reigns a scene of desolation, and this is not only true where German military operations might possibly excuse destruction in the blowing up of bridges, telegraphic and telephonic connections, railway lines, and the blocking of highways by felling trees which protected the German retreat, but towns were totally destroyed for no apparent military reasons.

"Fruit trees had either been cut down or exploded so as to ruin them completely; private houses along the country highway, including some of the most beautiful châteaux of great value, were completely gutted by explosives systematically planted or by fire. Blackened walls of what must have been manufacturing plants were to be seen in many towns, the salvage of which would scarcely pay for their removal. Agricultural implements in farms were destroyed, churches and cathedrals were reduced to a mass of ruins by fire or by explosives.

"At the town of Ham the mother of six children told him that her husband and two daughters, one 18 and the other 15 years of age, had been carried away by the Germans at the time of the evacuation. Upon remonstrating she had been told that as an alternative she might find their bodies in the canal in the rear of her house. She stated that out of the town's total population several hundred people had been compelled to accompany the Germans, nearly half of whom were girls and women over 15 years of age. A large number of French people, it is believed, in the evacuated towns and surrounding country were compelled to go with the Germans from the fact that few are now to be found there.

"He inspected on the trip more than 100 miles in the invaded territory and left with the conviction that never before in the history of the world had there been such a thorough destruction wrought by either a vanquished or victorious army."

[*Continued on next page*]

Germany's Defense of Destructive Policy

A HIGH German military authority at Berlin explained in a press interview on March 20 that the retirement to new lines was a strategic move to spoil the Allies' Winter preparations for a great Spring drive, and that the laying waste of the abandoned territory was a military measure.

"I regret exceedingly," he said, "that this move is forcing a great destruction of a beautiful part of France. Yet the destruction is not so great as the devastation inflicted by the British and the French on the Somme battlefield, and when the Entente refused our peace proposal it took the responsibility of this destruction upon itself. It is a war measure. We are compelled to take it to carry out a military plan to meet the big offensive the Entente had planned. We have destroyed nothing except out of military necessity. We have saved everything we could. We did not wish to destroy homes or other structures which offered no military advantage to the enemy, but we had to make a battlefield out of the territory we were giving up, for in it fighting will now take place, and we could leave nothing in the hands of the enemy. So we were forced to destroy roads, railroads, wells, buildings of value for military purposes, depots, even whole cities. It has been hard, too, for the French population, but that is the fault of their Government. All the men of military age we took back with us. The remainder we have turned over to their countrymen, and they are now in French hands.

"I know we will be accused again of barbarism, but we are fighting for our existence. We were compelled by the refusal of the Entente to make peace to defend ourselves against their promised offensive. We have done everything we could to avoid needless suffering, but what happens is their fault, not ours."

Allied Preparations Foiled

On the same day the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger's correspondent at the west front wrote a semi-official account treating the whole subject more fully in the same key.

"To their hunger war," he wrote, "the Entente forces intended to add a new offensive of which the hell of Verdun and the bloody horror of the Somme were to be only foretastes. Once more they wanted to try it; they felt it must succeed. Therefore they armed themselves anew. They set up new divisions after divisions, new batteries after batteries; heaped up ammunition on ammunition all Winter. America and Japan kept sending over their iron-freighted giant ships. Our foes gathered together all possible war material for their colossal army. They had the whole world in its service to be strong for the decisive struggle.

"Our enemies did more. For months past they had built and built. A thick network of railroads and roads was constructed from deep in their country to their positions. At one word of command fresh material from the depots in the hinterland and fresh masses of troops could pour through a thousand arteries to the fire front. And they supplemented these lines of approach by a system of tracks paralleling their lines.

"The idea was to give their front an almost unlimited inner mobility. For example, the troop masses that yesterday stood on the English left wing were to be able suddenly to appear today in the centre or south of the Somme and be thrown into battle there to our consternation. A network of communications at their back was to make it possible for them at any time in this second Somme battle, which was finally to break our wall in the Spring, to rapidly shift their forces and with completely surprising power to change the point of attack according to the conditions of battle. And not only the troops but artillery ammunition depots and war material depots were through this system of railways to receive unprecedented mobility.

"The working strength of millions of men in France, England, and overseas has for months had only one creative goal—to build the foundation for the crushing blow—and the thought that the enemy might be able to avert this fate

probably never occurred to them. The German highest leadership, which had no intention of leaving the initiative to the foe, thought otherwise, however.

"The aim of our leadership was to create a wholly new situation and thereby be spared the colossal bloodshed which an offensive against the enemy's Somme positions would have entailed. Our leadership found the way to render null and void all the preparations of our enemies, and which in front of the new rearward positions at the same time gave us a free, wide-open battleground.

"Our retreat from the old positions on the Ancre and the Somme has frustrated the whole of the planned great French and English Spring offensive against our centre. The enemy, advancing behind us, finds a zone which has been prepared by us as a battle glacis in front of our new positions.

"*A Kingdom of Death*"

"Every German who knows the character and sensibilities of our highest leaders knows that it was no easy decision for them to make the terrain, which for two and a half years we had carefully spared, now ruthlessly serviceable for military purposes. But here there were greater things at stake than considerations for part of a country which had refused us peace. Here the guiding principle for our military decisions could only be that which would bring us the greatest advantages, and for the enemy the most frightful disadvantage.

"Therefore, in the course of the last month great strips of France were converted by us into a dead land, which, ten, twelve to fifteen kilometers broad, stretches in front of the whole length of our new positions and offers a ghastly wall of emptiness for every enemy who designs to get at them. No village, no hamlet, remains standing in this glacis—no street remains traversable; no bridge, no railway tracks, no railroad embankment, remains. Where once were woods, only stumps are left. The wells have been blown up; wires and cables destroyed. Like a vast band, a kingdom of death stretches before our new positions. And this is the terrain over which the enemy must now attack us.

"No cellar that might serve his troops for shelter remains from which he might build. All our own material was long ago removed, and all local sources from which they might be obtained have been annihilated. The giant trees lining the chaussées have been felled and lie across the roads, and the meadows were plowed up in the early rain; cannon that would attempt to pass here would be swallowed up.

"To be sure, this had to entail hardship for the once beautiful country and for its inhabitants. The men who are leading us through the last phase of the war to victory have done everything humanly possible to soften the lot of the inhabitants. Many of them, including all men and youths capable of working, were sent to the rear, for no man capable of carrying arms was to be allowed to swell the line of enemy forces.

"On the other hand, such women, children, and old men as desired to return to France were brought to a number of villages, including Noyon and Roye, lying beyond the devastated area, and which were spared by us as much as possible."

An Eyewitness in Devastated France

By Wythe Williams

War Correspondent of The New York Times

One of the most vivid and moving accounts of the German retreat in France was Mr. Williams's special cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES on March 27, 1917, the historical portions of which are here presented.

WHEN entering the reconquered territory, setting forth from Compiègne early in the morning, my first impression was of the enormous strength of the positions the Germans had evacuated. It was my first sight of German trenches that had not suffered from shell fire, and to compare them

with the French lines was most interesting. There was a definite space of shell-marked cleavage between the former French lines and the first German outposts. After that came the German first-line trench and a marvelous system of communicating trenches back to their second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, to the twentieth line of formidable defense, known as the Hindenburg line.

Their main lines were of solid concrete. I would have sworn they were impregnable had I not such vivid proof of what happened to similar German trenches on the Somme after the battering of French artillery. Their communication trenches were a marvel of ingenuity—line after line of them running across the main lines and so connected that reinforcements or supplies could be rushed from half a dozen places to almost every main position. Between this and between every defensive trench line there is nothing but one unbroken mass of barbed wire. As far as the eye could see for a distance of miles after I entered what was German territory until a week ago there was one unending vista of rusted wire entanglements. There was something psychological about it. On the French side there are also complete systems of defensive lines that stretch all the way back to Paris, but they are not so visible—there are great open stretches of country between. On the German side it seemed that everything they did was to perfect a defense; that they realized a long time ago that an offensive on that front was impossible, and that against a French offensive they could only prepare to go back yard by yard as best they could.

Barbed Wire Ten Miles Deep

For a distance of probably ten miles this barrier of barbed wire extends in solid formation. Then come stretches of free country to where probably the tenth or eleventh defense line appears, and so on. It is behind this main area of entanglements that the systematic devastation begins. Leading directly back from what was the French front, the Germans only committed such destruction as any retiring army might do to keep off rearguard attacks. Every road was blown to pieces—now, however, all filled and planked—every telegraph pole prone on the ground, and every rod of railway destroyed.

Beyond all this, however, lies Germany's everlasting shame and disgrace. Acts that had not the slightest military value were committed on every hand. The whole country lies waste and desolate beyond description, and not a German living today or in years to come can ever be clever or brilliant or logical or false enough to tell the reason why and have the world believe him. Ten thousand inhabitants of the country who were left behind are living witnesses that they existed these past years in a bondage worse than galley slaves. And if the testimony is not enough, let the German placards upon the remaining dead walls of these corpses of cities bear them out:

That every person above the age of twelve should always salute officers by politely removing their hats and bowing as they passed or suffer the penalty of imprisonment.

That they should live how and where their masters pleased, that their women should cook for them and wait upon them and serve them in any way desired.

That they might only walk certain streets at certain hours.

That they were forbidden to possess either money or food except at the German will.

The penalty in all these cases was death.

Lived Only by Outside Aid

I asked the same question a dozen times throughout the trip, how the civil population managed to live at all. Every time I received the same answer, which was:

"We would have starved except for the food sent by the American Relief Committee."

In reply to a question concerning the kinds of food received, I was shown empty tins that had contained American crackers and canned goods. When I asked what sort of meat, I received the invariable response:

"The Americans sent lots of things, but everything like that the Germans took for themselves."

This naturally led to questions concerning how the German soldiery fared,

and the unanimous response was that neither officers nor men fed any too well; that the pinch of hunger now afflicting the entire empire has fastened itself as well on the army.

As we approached the ruined villages * * * we saw what ghastly hand had been at work. The solid brick and stone walls of the houses were only shells concealing charred ruins. Not only one village is like that, nor a dozen, but every single one of the hundreds that have been liberated has been put to fire and sword, old men, old women, cripples, and children left to await the arrival of their own soldiery to care for them; their able-bodied men taken into bondage months ago, their young women and girls herded along with the retreating army to a slavery no one dares to think about without seeing red. And at every village the same message was left behind for the French soldiers when they arrived. Translated, it reads like this:

"You see what we have done here. Well, this is what is going to happen all the way back to the French frontier."

Is it any wonder that the French soldier telling me this said between clenched teeth:

"There is only one answer to that, my friend. Let them get down on their knees and pray when the French Army crosses the Rhine. We will be taking no prisoners on that day."

The Countryside Devastated

The aspect of the villages is sad enough, but the countryside is worse. I have seen so much of artillery destruction during this war that I confess I have been rather sated with ruins. A destroyed church, a house ripped clean to its foundations, is only another example of what I have seen dozens of times before. But a countryside that has so little left of it as that one I passed through is a sight that made me want to cry and fight at the same time. It has already been reported how orchards have been destroyed. I rather expected that this had happened just along the roads by which the army retreated. But with field glasses I could see far in on either side of every road for miles and miles; every farm is burned, fields destroyed, every garden and every bush uprooted, every tree sawed off close to the bottom. It was a terrible sight, and seemed almost worse than the destruction of men. Those thousands of trees prone upon the earth, their branches waving in the wind, seemed undergoing death agonies before our eyes.

Everything gave its share to the blood lust of hate. Churches gave their organs for their copper, also the brass rails of their altars, even crucifixes upon ruined walls were stripped down and torn asunder.

We passed through the remnant of a place called Porquéricourt. An old woman came to a broken doorway. We stopped to talk with her. She smiled at sight of the French uniforms of our officers. She lived on a farm a mile away. The Germans had passed in the night and burned it so that she had come to Porquéricourt to hide in the cellar of a friend. Her husband and brother, both old men, had been killed by the Germans during the retreat, her two sons led off to slavery the year before. One of them had come back, but had been seized again only a few weeks before.

Her three daughters had been with her at the farm the night that the Germans retreated. They had fled with her to the house of her friend, from where they saw their own home of a lifetime in flames. The girls were 19, 21, and 24 years old. The Germans had found them in Porquéricourt and had taken them away. That was eight days before. She had heard nothing of them since. All other young women had likewise vanished that night when the Germans went away.

She told her story simply in a low, unfaltering voice. But she suddered as she spoke of her daughters.

Cemetery Left Intact

We left just at nightfall. On the outskirts we came upon the only thing I can now remember in all that scene on all that day which the Germans did not destroy as they fled. It was a cemetery built by themselves for their soldier dead. It was magnificently made, upon a magnificent site, overlooking a great valley. The graveyards I have seen behind the

allied lines cannot compare with it. Instead of wooden crosses and painted names and dates it contained monuments and crosses of engraved marble, done in all the heavy but splendid style of modern Teuton art. The place was organized and carried out with all the perfection of detail and display in which Germany has proved herself. The monuments bore sonorous and lofty mottoes. On one, beneath a helmeted statue in white, was the inscription that there lay a Prince of the house of Mecklenburg, who had died for his country, and on either side, likewise marble, rested all that was mortal of simple German soldiers.

I walked down another path, and before a gigantic marble block I halted in surprise. The inscription read: "Here lie French warriors," and over the next grave was the inscription: "Here rests the body of a brave Frenchman." I asked myself what was I to think of these people who should show such respect to French dead and place them in the same place as their own. I knew the French did that in their graveyards, but here I was in a German graveyard, and I had been hating Germans all day. I had failed to find anything about them that was good or could be admired, but here in this graveyard, perhaps, after all I had found some of that spirit of Heine, Goethe, and Schiller.

I voiced my thought to a French Lieutenant who accompanied me. We were standing by a large monument in the centre of the graveyard. It was a noble figure of a woman in a long robe. In one hand she carried a tablet, and from the other stretched out a wreath. I read the inscription on the tablet: "Friend and enemy in death united."

Silently we walked out of the place and stood in the road. A long line of motor camions was passing. I looked into the rear ends as they lumbered along. From them the faces of old women, crippled old men, and children peered out at us, all looking white and frightened in the dark. A miserable pile of bedding and a hamper of broken crockery and kitchenware was strapped outside one of them. From another dangled an old and broken baby buggy. Inside I could see a mother with her child at her breast. My companion said:

"They are inhabitants who can no longer remain; their homes are gone. We cannot feed them there; we are sending them to Paris."

He laughed bitterly and pointed back to the statue that loomed white through the darkness. He repeated the inscription on the tablet:

"Friend and enemy in death united." He said: "They had the nerve to put that up in France—but it's quite true."

I understood and I believed him. In death the Frenchman and the German may be united, but that is the only way it is ever likely to happen.

Military Results of Germany's Move

GENERAL VON HINDENBURG was present in person behind the old front in France as late as March 10 and arranged the details for the withdrawal to the new line of fortified defenses, which had been in preparation for months. The orders for devastation of the abandoned territory came through him. Judged purely from the viewpoint of military strategy, what are the advantages of the new situation for Germany?

The plans and preliminary stages of the retirement were successfully concealed from the Allies for days and weeks, so that all the heavy guns were removed safely to their new positions and all the main bodies of troops and their supplies were out of danger when the move became known. The Germans, however, miscalculated as to the speed with which the enemy would be able to pursue the rearguards. The fact that they left five days' food with some of the inhabitants seems to give a measure of the time they had allowed for the arrival of French or British troops through the chaos they had cre-

ated. As a matter of fact the French, especially, performed marvels of swift engineering work, throwing temporary bridges over streams, building pathways around deep craters at crossroads, and deflecting their march through fields where necessary, almost with the speed of an ordinary march. Time after time they came upon the heels of the German rearguards before they were expected. Thus the military purpose of the desolation was a failure.

What the Germans Abandoned

All those who have looked upon the impregnable positions abandoned by the Germans, especially at Péronne, with Mont St. Quentin on its flank, agree that no new line can equal it in strength. Only dire necessity could have caused the evacuation of the vast barbed wire fortifications and marsh protection at that point. A British correspondent thus describes the abandoned defenses:

"Everywhere outside Bapaume and Péronne and Chaulnes and all those deserted places near the front lines one ugly thing stares one in the face—German barbed wire. It is heavier and stronger stuff than the British or French wire, with great crosspieces of iron. They used amazing quantities of it in great wide belts in the three lines of defense before these trench systems and in all sorts of odd places, by bridges and roads and villages, even far behind the trenches, to prevent any sudden rush of hostile infantry or to tear British cavalry to pieces should they break their lines and get through.

"The German trenches are deeply dug, and along the whole line from which they have now retreated they are provided with great concreted and timbered dugouts leading into an elaborate system of tunneled galleries, perfectly proof from shell fire, and similar to those which I described often enough in the Somme battlefields. But in addition to these trench systems, they made behind their lines a series of strong posts, cunningly concealed and commanding a wide field of fire, with dominating observation over the British side of the country."

The Hindenburg Line

A high military official at Berlin explained on March 20 that the new positions which the German Army was taking up were built with the aid of every possible device developed in two and a half years of trench warfare.

"The old positions," he said, "were the result of the breaking off of the unfinished offensive toward Paris. Many portions of our positions were held only with the greatest difficulty. The trenches were difficult to maintain and the artillery observation points, so important in this kind of warfare, were few. The new positions are laid out in the best possible locations, with the finest observation points and deep concrete shelters for the battery positions. While the enemy is coming up to them he will be in the greatest possible difficulties himself in the devastated battlefield."

To this a British correspondent, who has talked with German prisoners, replies that the people may be deceived by such statements, but not the German soldiers at the front. "They know they have left the strongest positions ever made in warfare by years of labor, and already the fictitious strength of the famous 'Hindenburg line,' called by the Germans themselves the 'Siegfried line,' has been exposed in its reality to the men who have to hold it."

The new German line has already been pierced at several points by both the British and French Armies in the first month of its fiery ordeal.

French Heroes of the Air

Daring Deeds at the Front

Victor Forbin recently contributed to Les Annales of Paris this romantic yet authentic sketch of the deeds of French military aviators

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

Mastery of the air over the trench lines in France is as necessary for victory as the capture of territory. During the months of the Somme battle the Allies succeeded in gaining almost complete control of the air, and their artillery fire was correspondingly successful, while that of the Germans was blinded. The Germans, however, reported the destruction of 1,002 *enemy aircraft between the beginning of the war and Jan.* 1, 1917. *French military records show that* 417 *German machines were shot down in the year* 1916, *besides twenty-nine captive balloons. All figures aside, the fact remains that the Allies have long held a large degree of aerial supremacy, and in the opening days of the new Spring offensive, when their whole air fleet was mobilized to photograph the German positions, they came off with* 1,700 *photographs. It was a victory, even though it cost from a dozen to a score of airplanes and their brave crews every day until the task was accomplished. The article here presented gives an idea of the perilous nature of the task of these men.*

THIS hasty sketch will deal only with the aviators who have won the honor of personal mention in the War Office bulletins. It would be impossible to speak of all our

LIEUTENANT GUYNEMER
WHO HAS SHOT DOWN MORE THAN THIRTY GERMAN AIRCRAFT
(© *International Film Service*)

heroes of the air, both because they are too numerous and because the censor would forbid our printing most of their names. It should be remembered that the press is allowed to print only the names of those aviators who have shot down a minimun of five enemy machines—airplanes, dirigibles, or captive ballons, [which the Germans call Drachen and the French sausages.] In the ranks of our "fifth arm" these laureates form a clearly defined group—they are called the "Aces of the War Office bulletins."

Philologists will be grateful to us for noting that this expressive word had been adopted by the sporting argot even before the war. In the boat-racing world the word "ace" was applied to oarsmen who pulled single shells. According to our esteemed contemporary, Sporting, it was during the Olympic games of 1908, held in London, that the term was applied for the first time in its present sense. M. Spitzer, who took part in these tournaments as trainer of a team, heard French runners cry, as they left the field where the American champions had just stupefied them with their swiftness, "Why, they're all aces!"

The team that counted such trumps among its cards was bound to win. And the word found favor. In all sports the champions became "aces."

It is indispensable to note that the official communiqué takes account only of enemy machines whose destruction is beyond question, whether they fall within our lines or have been seen to fall in flames within the enemy's lines. Our score sheets, therefore, are sincere, while

those of Germany are erroneous. To illustrate this difference we will compare the record of our "Prince of aces," Lieutenant George Guynemer, with that of the most brilliant of the German aviators, Captain Boelcke, who was killed on Oct. 28, 1916, probably by a French or British aviator, although his compatriots, who had dubbed him "The Invincible," assert that he was the victim of an accident.

The communiqué credits Guynemer (in February, 1917) with the destruction of only thirty machines, though he has certainly shot down thirty-four, of which four fell so far from our lines that it was impossible to get material proof of their destruction. If it were permissible to add to these figures those of enemy machines which he put to flight after having visibly damaged them, the record of Guynemer would exceed forty.

Rival Records Compared

Boelcke is officially credited with forty machines, but the editor of La Guerre Aérienne, Jacques Mortane, has revealed several gross errors in the record of the celebrated aviator. For example, the German official communication of April 30, 1916, gives him his fortieth machine, whereas the pilot who steered it—the marshal of the camp, Viallet—returned safe and sound to his aerodrome. On March 19 and 20 of that year the German War Office bulletins credited Boelcke with three machines, designating the points in the French lines where they fell. Now, a French communiqué states clearly that in the course of that same month of March only one French airplane was shot down within our lines. Another fact must not be forgotten: Among the forty victories attributed officially to Boelcke eleven have not been mentioned in any bulletin. They are therefore open to suspicion.

At the moment of writing this article the "Aces of the War Office bulletins" number twenty-five, a figure which the coming days will modify, for there are numerous aviators with four victories to their credit who are watching impatiently for their fifth machine, a certificate of public fame. Here is the list of the laureates up to Feb. 5, 1917:

Second Lieutenant Guynemer, 30 machines; Second Lieutenant Nungesser, 21; Lieutenant Heurteaux, 19; Adjutant Dorme, 17; Second Lieutenant Navarre, 12; Lieutenant Deullin, 10; Sergeant Chainat, 9; Second Lieutenants Chaput, Tarascon, Under Officer Sauvage, 8; Under Officer Viallet, 7; de la Tour, Lufbery, Sayaret, Flachaire, Jailler, Loste, de Bonnefoy, Bloch, Vitalis, Martin, Delorme, Gastin, Hauss, Madon, 5.

This list includes only the "aces" who are living and in active service. We will complete it with the names of Adjutant Maxime Lenoir, who was made prisoner when he shot down his eleventh machine; Second Lieutenant de Rochefort, who died of wounds after bringing down his sixth enemy; the deeply mourned Pégoud, who died on the field of honor after his sixth airplane; and Second Lieutenant Gilbert, who had scored five aerial victories when he was interned in Switzerland.

A comparison of this list with that of the German "aces" leads to some interesting observations. For example, one of the Germans, Kandulski, received the honor of mention by the War Office for one isolated victory. True, it was one of importance; the victim was Pégoud, whom Sergeant Ronserail avenged a few days later by bringing down Kandulski. Of the sixteen German aviators cited in the Berlin bulletins nine were killed in the year 1916, while the French phalanx lost only three units in that year.

Laureates of the Air

Space is lacking here to sketch the biographies of our francs-tireurs of the air, but a few lines may be given to note their status before the war. Of the twenty-five names on the list just given, the great majority were unknown, even in the sporting world, during the first ten months of the war. A few exceptions may be cited from memory: Second Lieutenant Jean Chaput had distinguished himself in the races of the Racing Club of France; Camp Marshal

Vitalis was a champion in pigeon-shooting contests; Second Lieutenant Nungesser had participated in boxing matches in America, after having taken lessons of Descamps, the instructor of Carpentier.

Sporting men are numerous in the phalanx of "aces." To the three names just mentioned we may add those of Adjutant Bloch, amateur football player; Sergeant Chainat, noted as a pugilist, and Adjutant Lufbery, an American expert in baseball, the national sport of his country.

All the arms — infantry, cavalry, artillery—have representatives on our list, and men of the most diverse social classes fraternize there—professional army officers, civil engineers, mechanicians. The standing of those laureates of the air is dazzling; they have heroism and glory by the armful. Let us glance, to begin with, at the laurels of the "ace of aces," Guynemer, whom the councils of revision had removed from the army, and who had to ask five separate times for admission into the aviation corps—and was admitted then only through official protection. To baptize his stripes as a Corporal he shot down his first German airplane on July 19, 1915, destroyed two others in the next six days, and then in a single battle sent three enemy machines crashing to earth!

Guynemer has to his credit whole series of deeds that are epoch-making. In three weeks—from the 4th to the 23d of September, 1916—he added to his score seven machines, four of which figured in the official announcements. Indeed, Sept. 23 was a red-letter day in his eventful life, for on that day he attacked a squadron of enemy aircraft, drove one machine to earth, and set two others on fire in less than three minutes. Then a bursting shell damaged his machine, and he took a slide of 10,000 feet without receiving a scratch!

Two months later he added two fine double feats to his score. On Nov. 10 he shot down two aircraft; on the 23d, in an hour and a half, he found time to destroy two others at different points on the front, and to inflict serious damage upon a third.

Nungesser's Dramatic Record

The career of Nungesser is no less remarkable. Serving in a regiment of hussars, he conducted himself so valiantly that he won the Military Medal two weeks after the opening of the campaign. Then he entered the aviation corps and took part in numerous bombing expeditions. Finally he specialized in the pursuit of enemy machines, and on Nov. 28, 1915, made a brilliant début by bringing down a German airplane. The next month, while trying a new machine, he came crashing to the ground; with a fractured leg, a broken jaw, and a hole in his palate, he could say good-bye to aviation, if he survived at all. But he did survive, refused to be laid on the shelf, and begged to be allowed to take part in the defense of Verdun. He could no longer walk, except painfully, with the aid of canes. Now mark the intrepid work of the cripple! Think of his achievements in April, 1916. What a fine lesson in energy and endurance!

On April 1 Nungesser rejoined his squadron; on the 2d he burned a German "sausage"; on the 3d he attacked and brought down an airplane; on the 4th he attacked and shot down a double-motor machine with four passengers; on the 25th he brought down a machine that fell on the trenches near Verdun; on the 27th he accepted battle with six airplanes, shot down one of them, and put the others to flight.

In nine months—from April to December, 1916—he destroyed twenty enemy aircraft, which brought his total score of victories to twenty-one.

One of the most brilliant careers in the world of military aviation is that of Adjutant Dorme, whose comrades call him the Unbreakable, so impervious does he seem to the enemy's bullets. He began, however, with a fall that almost cost him his life. But he recovered and arrived at the front on July 6, 1916. On the 9th he shot down his first airplane, and his second on the 28th. In the following month he destroyed six and received the honors of public mention. By the end of Septem-

ber his official score had reached ten, and in October thirteen. But in reality he had, in those four months, put twenty-six enemy aircraft out of action.

Sub-Lieutenant Navarre, with his four aircraft brought down in eight hours, (April 4, 1916,) established a record which no one has thus far taken away from him. During that same month of April his record was increased by eight more official victories.

Chaput's Amazing Escape

Another record, less brilliant, perhaps, but certainly more sensational, and at the same time more scientific, belongs to Second Lieutenant Jean Chaput. As an engineer in the Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité, Chaput had just won his brevet as pilot at Nieuport when the war broke out. Thrown into aviation as a soldier-pilot, he was twice wounded in combats with the dreaded Fokkers, but soon got his revenge by shooting down his first Boche in June, 1915. Other vitcories succeeded this beginning. On March 18, 1916, above Montzéville, he joined battle with a machine much better armed and more powerful than his own. Suddenly, after an exchange of shots, the German dashed down upon him in order to crush him.

We learn from a friend of the aviator that a few days earlier, in talking with comrades, he had foreseen the case in which he might be forced to approach an enemy in order to "get inside of him," as the familiar phrase has it. He had declared that he would escape alive from such a dangerous approach. He had his plan. This plan, elaborated by the engineer, was put into practice by the aviator.

Putting his motor at full speed, Chaput threw himself into the meeting with the German, and then, at the moment of approach, moved his levers and manoeuvred his machine in such a manner that his screw tore into the enemy's fuselage, cutting off the rear end. The German pilot fell whirling with his machine, which burst into flame, while his passenger went crashing into the ground nearly two miles below. The conqueror got back to earth by volplaning on his seriously damaged machine, and landed without injury, amid the cheers of hundreds of poilus who had witnessed his dazzling achievement.

The next month Chaput was attacked by a Fokker and brought it down with the fourth ball from his machine gun, whose bands jammed at that point. He burned a "sausage" at Douaumont, and then, in the space of five days, added four airplanes (two in the same day) to his score. He had just finished off his ninth official machine when a fight near Verdun almost put an end to his career. With his thigh fractured and a bullet through his shoulder, he yet had the superhuman courage to fly more than twenty-five miles in order to alight near an ambulance, where he knew he would find a skilled surgeon.

This sang froid, remarkable in a young man of 22 years grievously wounded, had its reward; a very rapid recovery soon enabled him to see the day when he could again fall upon the Boches.

Another Stirring Episode

We are sorry not to be able to give a few lines to each of our "aces"—to Adjutant Tarascon who, in spite of his artificial foot, has become one of the most dreaded chasers of the Boches; to Sergeant Sauvage, whose nineteen years have won him the sobriquet of the "Benjamin of the Aces"; to Adjutant Lufbery, the former chauffeur and American citizen who has carved a place for himself among the "aces" of France. But we may be allowed to close this too long article with a final anecdote.

A marshal of the aviation camp, Georges Flachaire, an electric engineer like Jean Chaput, is one of the most recent recruits to the glorious phalanx—his sixth enemy machine dates from Nov. 23 last. His comrades consider him a fine pilot. With Chaput he represents the scientific type of aviator.

Defying bad weather one day he departed on the chase, hiding himself in a sea of clouds to foil the vigilant scouts of the enemy, and emerged after an hour of flight to inspect the horizon. * * * (Censored) * * * When he came out

of it he perceived a peaceful village, and, convinced that he was over our lines, chose a meadow for his landing place. Maledictions! He discovers suddenly that he is in a cantonment of German artillery. Amid a volley of musketry he resumes his flight, foils the German gunners by executing those unforeseen pirouettes that are familiar to the scientific acrobat, takes refuge in the clouds amid a storm of shrapnel shells, and, after a flight by compass, rejoins his squadron.

Told by a French Artist

Henry Farré, the French "painter of aviators," in addition to making wonderful pictures of battles in the clouds, can tell good stories in connection with them. Les Annales prints the following account of a night bombardment, which M. Farré gathered from the heroes themselves, "Sergeant G. and Lieutenant de L.," who accomplished this perilous circuit. He puts the narrative into the mouth of the Lieutenant:

"Once outside the environs of Verdun, the departure was made in a normal way. The objective of our bombardment was at a considerable distance behind the lines. Ceaseless attacks were transforming the ground into one vast brazier. Verdun was burning. The smoke obscured the sky with great clouds, amid which the moon seemed to be playing hide-and-seek, too often hiding from our view the meanderings of the Meuse, which served as our guide. Nothing was lacking for our reception; everything was offered us in profusion—searchlights, shells, and incendiary bombs.

"In the midst of this cannonade our motor stops, then goes on, then stops again, and goes on more freely. I peer, I grope, for we dare not think of lighting our lamps, and it is impossible to learn what is the matter with the motor. The pilot turns and questions me. 'Ah, worse luck!' I shout; 'we must throw our bombs first, and then we'll turn back.' The machine was sinking, with the diminishing speed of the motor. 'Certainly,' I was saying to myself, without thinking of the danger, 'the bombardment will be all the more effective at close range.'

"We were at an elevation of 800 meters; the shells were bursting far above us, and the searchlights were seeking us still higher up. At last our bombs fall and we veer for the homeward course. Oh, anguish! Is the motor going to fail us completely? No; it is going again. We are thirty miles from Verdun; at this altitude we could never get there by planing. The pilot makes desperate efforts to keep the machine horizontal and thus prolong the descent.

"A ray of hope! The motor seems to have more force. I consult the altimeter; we are at 1,000 meters. Around us the shells accompany us, but we pay no attention to them, for we prefer anything rather than K. K. bread in a German prison. We are ascending a little. God be praised! We shall arrive, we are up 1,200 meters; but it is the maximum. I am beginning to wear out; my efforts are less and less effective; we are descending again.

"Verdun, which we see always in flames, is still far distant. We fall swiftly to 800 meters, then 600. We are doomed—it is K. K. bread this time without a doubt—we are right over the Boche lines—we distinctly hear the tac-tac of the machine guns and the irregular reports of the rifles. Shall we reach our lines? The altimeter shows 400. Verdun is now about three miles away.

"'Courage!' I cry to the pilot. 'We can get back; in any event, if we die, it will be among our own people. See—the flames of Verdun! If only we can glide as far as that!'

"We land at last, the motor, meanwhile, having stopped entirely. We have come down on the auxiliary ground, with the two front wheels dished, a few guy wires wrenched, and a few cracks in the machine. That is all the harm done, while we, in each other's arms, let the German sheels fall unheeded around us.

"'We've had a mighty close view of K. K. bread,' I remark; 'come, let us telephone our friends; they must be worried.'"

PRINCE GEORGE E. LVOFF

Premier of the Russian Provisional Government, and a Leader in the Revolution That Overthrew the Romanoffs

(Central News Service)

PROFESSOR PAUL MILUKOFF

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Whose Speeches in the Duma Precipitated the Revolution

(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

The Zeppelin Raids and Their Effect On England

By Charles Stiénon

French Author and Publicist

[By arrangement with the Revue Bleue, Paris; translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

ON the fast express to Spain I recently met an Englishman of rank. In the course of conversation we came to discuss the frequent Zeppelin raids on England. I asked him what effect they would have on the people of Great Britain. "Oh, excellent! They arouse such anger that the enlistments increase by leaps and bounds on the days following." Our adversaries have committed few psychological errors comparable to this one, which promises to furnish a curious problem for the historians of the great war.

It is important to note at the outset that the Zeppelins were created to wage war—and that they have not done it. The military use of the enemy dirigibles has been almost nil. In August, 1914, these airships were far from the perfection which they have since attained. One can scarcely place to their credit any real military service except the bombardment of Antwerp. Since that moment they have never accomplished a more difficult exploit nor rendered a more valuable service to the German cause. Is this owing to their vulnerable nature, and to the effective guard of swift airplanes and anti-aircraft guns on our front? Probably. The German General Staff has always seen the deception which the non-utilization of these national monsters would produce in Germany. For the people of the belligerent nations see the war only on its external side. "Tanks," 420's, trains with blind windows, will stimulate their imagination on the romantic side more than many another element with a less extraordinary outer aspect but greater real importance.

From that moment our enemies conceived the idea of using their Zeppelins for a "moral" purpose—and one less dangerous. It was, however, to an airplane that the honor was given of attacking Dover on Christmas Day, 1914, a raid without success. On that occasion our allies were able to realize the manifest insufficiency of their anti-aircraft defenses. Almost everywhere they had installed special guns whose mediocrity became evident.

First Zeppelin Raid

Three weeks afterward, on Jan. 19, 1915, Zeppelins for the first time flew over the soil of the British Isles. At Yarmouth they threw nine bombs, killing only nine persons. This raid, which could have no military aim, provoked a just indignation. In the United States a prominent newspaper asked whether it was "insanity or despair." At that time Germany had not yet generalized its system of terrorism. The effect in England was great. This first raid produced an immediate increase in voluntary recruiting. On Feb. 21 an airplane flew over Colchester, destroying a few houses, but without injuring anybody. At Braintree two soldiers found an unexploded bomb on the ground and, though the fuse was burning, they picked it up and threw it into a pond.

On April 14 a raid on the northeast coast, with no victims. Two days later an airplane threw bombs on the fields of Kent. It killed a crow and uprooted an apple tree. On April 30 and May 3 and 10 new incursions, absolutely ineffective. A curious fact, however, was observed. The siren sounded to warn the inhabitants actually attracted the enemy aircraft.

Meanwhile our adversaries did not con-

ceal the fact that London was their real objective, and that their operations thus far had been mere scouting expeditions. Yet the English technical services appeared not to be giving adequate attention to the city's defenses.

On May 17 a Zeppelin, after wandering leisurely over Ramsgate and Dover, was attacked by an English air squadron from Dunkerque, which succeeded in damaging it.

On May 31, 1915, at 10:23 P. M., the capital of the British Empire received its first bombs; the authorities had not even been warned. Six persons were killed in the East End. Public anger rose swiftly. Suspected German shops were demolished by the mob that gathered in the streets and committed mild depredations.

After that the Government forbade detailed accounts of the German raids. This policy of absolute secrecy, however, was an error, for the public immediately lost all confidence in the official bulletins, and believed, on the contrary, the most improbable tales. The happy and usual result of all censorships! Thus five deaths were announced one day when there were really twenty-four, a fact which was soon known and gave rise to exaggerations. In February, 1916, the press was again allowed to speak; the British censors thus gave proof of sound sense.

Fighting the Air Monsters

Meanwhile an extraordinary exploit had occurred to prove that it was possible to fight the Zeppelin. An aviator of 22 years, Second Lieut. Warneford, destroyed one of the great aircraft with six bombs on June 7, 1915. The hero received the Victoria Cross and the Legion of Honor, but was killed a few days later—on the 17th—in a stupid accident.

An attack of two airships on June 15 caused the death of fourteen persons and the wounding of thirteen. On Aug. 9, fourteen more deaths and fourteen wounded. One of these Zeppelins, which had already been damaged by shells, was destroyed near Dunkerque by an airplane attack. On Aug. 12, six dead and twenty-three wounded. The people, by coming out into the streets and gathering in groups in public places, helped to cause these murderous results.

All accounts of these events agree in describing the English communities as very calm in the face of danger, and intensely interested. They regularly imagined that the enemy was hit by the anti-aircraft shrapnel, whose explosions in the sky produce curious optical illusions. "We must terrorize the English," say the German commentators. Yet fear is the last sentiment that our allies seem to have experienced. Recruiting was increased and more people rallied to the munition factories. Fear? "The eyes of the children whose laughter I hear in the playground as I write are the best answer to this threat." Thus wrote one witness.

The next raid, Aug. 17, killed ten persons and wounded thirty-six. From that time there began to be manifested, especially in The Times, a feeling that the Government was doing nothing against these enemy raids, and was, moreover, concealing the truth. When German airships reappeared over London on Sept. 7 and 8, the unrest became more marked. Several houses were destroyed and the guns obtained no result. The destruction and losses were important.

London Organizes Defenses

A veritable campaign was started on the spot to demand the measures indispensable to the safety of the capital. Admiral Sir Percy Scott, a retired artillerist, was intrusted with the defense; but before he could obtain results, on Oct. 13 a new raid on London killed 56 persons and wounded 113. The guns and airplanes went into action, but accomplished nothing. Of course the enemy represented these expeditions as having a purely military object and as producing great results.

British opinion then began to demand reprisals, and the attitude of the people became more clearly characteristic. The Englishman's house has always been his castle. He regarded these raids as a new sort of violation of the rights of private domicile. The people were not afraid—far from that!—for their curiosity was often the cause of

deaths; but where the French people adopted an attitude of irony and skepticism in a like situation, the English took the matter more seriously.

The enemy airships continued their attacks, the details of which need not be continued here. In the night of Jan. 31, 1916, the invaders killed 59 more people and wounded 101. It would be wearisome to prolong this harrowing enumeration; but there is proof that on the day when our allies went seriously to work on the problem they obtained incontestable advantages over the pirates of the air.

In the first months of the war several Zeppelins had been shot down with ease. But times had changed. The first, rather slow machines, flying at a low altitude, had soon been succeeded by super-Zeppelins, veritable Titans of the air, which flew at great heights. Against them the guns of small calibre were powerless, while the heavy pieces could not be used effectively save during the few moments when the dirigible descended to hurl its bombs. A special means of pursuit was needed, which could follow the Zeppelins, Parsevals, and Schütte-Lanz dirigibles at great heights, and it existed in the airplane. This invention has been developed by the war to an unhoped-for degree of perfection.

After long and sometimes mortal experiences the English aviators were ready to chase the monster—in the early Summer of 1916. Add to this the fact that a special make of incendiary fuse-bombs—we cannot say more—facilitated the work to an extraordinary degree. The anti-aircraft guns also were increased in number, and the most painstaking precautions were adopted to defeat the adversary. And they were needed to overcome these air monsters, 227 meters long, bristling with cannons and machine guns, and carrying more than fifty bombs.

From May to July the enemy refrained from further attacks, but in July and August the raids multiplied, causing serious losses. On several occasions the hostile aircraft were pursued in vain by airplanes.

Great Raid of Sept. 2

One might be tempted to see in the raid of Aug. 24, 1916, a scouting operation preliminary to the great attack of Sept. 2. On the latter night thirteen dirigibles flew over English soil, and three reached London. The city had been warned, and the whole population was on foot awaiting the new spectacle. The necessary precautions had been taken to minimize the probable losses. The sky was divided into a certain number of sectors, swept by dozens of searchlights. There was a sound of distant cannonading, bombs burst in the sky, a Zeppelin emerged from the darkness—and suddenly all the searchlights were extinguished and the guns ceased fire!

A few seconds passed, and then suddenly a formidable mass of flame illumined the heavens and was seen falling swiftly, until the colossal conflagration came crashing to earth. What had happened? At the arrival of the Zeppelin the aviators had dashed to the pursuit. One of these, Lieutenant Robinson, after rising about 2,700 meters, saw the airship. At that moment, to avoid hindering or wounding him, the guns and searchlights paused. The dirigible was emitting torrents of smoke. It rose and then descended at great speed. Lieutenant Robinson rose 680 meters higher and charged at full speed against the enemy. At the right distance he fired his fuse-bombs and destroyed the Zeppelin, which, as seen later, was of the Schütte-Lanz type. The brave aviator, 21 years old, received the Victoria Cross, the supreme honor. Only the charred bodies of Captain Wilhelm Schramm and his Zeppelin crew of fifteen men were found. A military burial was accorded them.

Thus, after two years of war, our allies succeeded in defending their soil. One can understand what fury seized Germany when she saw her beautiful air cruisers destroyed by British guns and airplanes. This failure called for vengeance, and, on Dec. 24, twelve Zeppelins came across the North Sea to hover over England. Their reception was still

hotter than before. The first machine was brought crashing to earth with its crew in Essex. Lieutenants Sowrey and Brandon, following the tactics of their friend Robinson, had shot it down. This brought them the D. S. O., (Distinguished Service Order.) The second machine was hit by the artillery and came gently to earth on the Essex coast. The crew of twenty men destroyed it and surrendered to a British constable. The ten other airships had achieved the considerable result of killing 30 persons and wounding 110, most of them in London.

Invaders Suffer Heavily

On Oct. 1 came a new attack by ten airships, one of them reaching London, and the scene of Sept. 2 was repeated. Lieutenant Tempest, now also a D. S. O., shot down his Zeppelin while the crowds sang "God Save the King." The enemy craft fell to destruction in two pieces, with its chief, Captain Mathy, one of the most noted of the German aviation officers. In an interview a short time before he had ridiculed the English aviators. These experiences cooled the German ardor somewhat in regard to air raids.

It is extremely probable that the General Staff at Berlin had no desire to continue such costly experiences. But public opinion would not have tolerated this confession of defeat. So on Nov. 27 a new raid carefully avoided London, which was too well defended, and turned its bombs and shells against the northeast coast of Great Britain. One Zeppelin was demolished in a few seconds, and another was seriously damaged while flying over the Midlands; it succeeded, however, in repairing these injuries and reaching the sea. Nine miles from the shore, overtaken by four airplanes and a gunboat that shelled it, it plunged into the waves. Lieutenants Palling, Cadbury, and Fane were rewarded for this exploit. In the course of the same day an enemy airplane succeeded in attacking London. A few hours later French aviators shot down a machine carrying two officers with large-scale maps of the British metropolis. Thus was the aggressor punished. Since then the German General Staff has renounced these "reconnoissances," which it found decidedly too far from being satisfactory.

German Errors of Psychology

The psychological errors of Germany can no longer be counted. Before the war she had expected internal revolts in the Entente countries, defections that have never materialized. She did not foresee entirely the support that the colonies have given to France, nor the organization of Britain's military power, nor the efforts of the British dominions. She has sought to establish her superiority over other nations by means of certain processes, of which the least one can say is that they have totally failed. The Germans have never deceived themselves more completely than on the subject of their magnificent air fleet. They believed that in war they would enjoy entire superiority in bombarding and air scouting. Since then they have had to acknowledge that these were illusions. Still, the German people, not being able to admit that their idol, Count Zeppelin, was self-deluded, thought to utilize the "genial creations of the inventor" as instruments of moral strategy. Colonel Feyler, in an imposing study, has shown all the labors which the General Staff lavished in magnifying his successes and in presenting them in such fashion as to influence the spirit of the German people.

The Central Empires knew how firmly the English held to their independence, and how much the inviolability of their soil was a question of honor with them. Hence followed this reasoning, from which, be it noted, all humanity is absent: "We wish to strike England; we cannot do it better than by striking her homes." This logic is correct, and the exasperation of the English has answered "Touched!" to the German boot. But the Berlin General Staff had formulated a second axiom, much more debatable than the other: "When the English, who have never been invaded, shall see the enemy in their country, they will be so agitated that the moral effect will be the depres-

sion of the nation; the more so, since we risk nothing."

Here the psychological sense of Germany was faulty. The raids not only failed to produce the expected moral effect, but proved to be the lash that woke the sleeping horse.

When Englishmen saw their women, children, and old men disemboweled by German bombs, they enlisted to fight the Germans all the more angrily as they saw more clearly what their enemies were capable of doing. Besides, the final clause in the German theory also proved itself inexact, since from September to December, 1916, five Zeppelins were shot down.

The influence of this German mistake upon British recruiting can scarcely be exaggerated. We owe the British armies in France partly to our adversaries. Thus at Charleroi Marshal French had about five divisions in August, 1914. One year later he had forty-one divisions, divided into three armies; and on Jan. 1, 1916, Marshal Sir Douglas Haig had two million men! Does Germany know how many of these soldiers took up arms because of the indignation aroused in their hearts by the Zeppelin murders?

List of Zeppelin Raids Against England

THE total number of Zeppelin raids over the British Isles since the beginning of the war, according to the best available data, is forty-one, including the belated attempt of March 16, 1917, which was apparently organized after the death of Count Zeppelin to prove that the German hopes once based upon his invention still lived. For several months the raids had been discontinued, owing to the increasing frequency with which the ballons had been destroyed in October and November.

On Aug. 22, 1916, Major Baird, representative of the Aerial Board in the House of Commons, announced that there had been thirty-four raids on England, in ten of which no casualties were suffered, while in the remainder the number of killed was 334 civilians and 50 military men. In the next three months five of the great aircraft were destroyed in England alone, two of them on Nov. 28 during the raid on the midland counties. At the end of November an authoritative list showed that a total of thirty-eight German Zeppelins had been lost on all fronts since the beginning of the war, seven of which fell in England and four in the North Sea. Then one of the raiders of March 16-17 was shot down in France. Many of the earlier ones were destroyed by allied aviators in France and by bombs dropped on Zeppelin sheds in Belgium.

The list of recorded raids on England is as follows:

1915

Jan. 19, 20—Yarmouth, Cromer, Sheringham, King's Lynn.
April 14, 15—Blyth, Bedlington, Morpeath, Cramlington, Wallsend, Hebburn.
April 15, 16—Maldon, Heybridge, Southwold, Lowestoft, Burnham, Yarmouth.
April 29, 30—Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Whitton.
May 9, 10—Southend, Westcliffe, Mouth of the Thames.
May 16, 17—Ramsgate, Folkestone.
May 31, June 1—London.
June 4, 5—Mouth of the Humber, Harwich.
June 6, 7—Hull, Grimsby.
June 15, 16—Shields, Elswick-on-Tyne.
Aug. 9, 10—London, Mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Humber.
Aug. 12, 13—Harwich.
Aug. 17, 18—London, Woodbridge, Ipswich.
Sept. 7, 8—London.
Sept. 8, 9—London, Norwich, Middlesborough.
Sept. 11, 12—London.
Sept. 13, 14—Southend.
Oct. 13, 14—London and suburbs, Ipswich.

1916

Jan. 31, Feb. 1—Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham, Humber, Yarmouth.
March 5, 6—Hull.
March 31, April 1—London, Enfield, Waltham Abbey, Stowmarket, Lowestoft, Cambridge, Humber.
April 1, 2—Mouth of Tees, Middlesborough, Sunderland.
April 2, 3—London, Edinburgh, Newcastle.
April 3, 4—Great Yarmouth.
April 5, 8—Whitby, Hull, Leeds.
April 24, 25—Cambridge, Norwich, Lincoln, Winterton, Ipswich, Norwich, Harwich.

April 25, 26—London, Colchester, Ramsgate.
May 2, 3—Middlesboro, Stockton, Sunderland, Hartlepool, Mouth of Tees, Firth of Forth.
July 28, 29—Lincoln, Grimsby, Immingham, Hull, Norwich.
July 31, Aug. 1—London, Mouth of Thames, eastern counties.
Aug. 2, 3—London, Harwich, Norwich, Lowestoft, Winterton.
Aug. 8, 9—Mouth of Tyne, Sunderland, Hartlepool, Middlesborough, Whitby, Hull, Grimsby, Mouth of Humber, King's Lynn, eastern counties.
Aug. 24—London.
Aug. 24, 25—London, Harwich, Folkestone, Dover.
Sept. 2, 3—London, Yarmouth, Harwich, southeastern counties, Humber.
Sept. 23, 24—London, Humber, central counties, (Nottingham, Sheffield.)
Sept. 25, 26—Portsmouth, fortified places at the mouth of the Thames, York, Leeds, Lincoln, Derby.
Oct. 1, 2—London, Humber.
Oct. 9, 10—Near London.
Nov. 27, 28—Midland counties.

1917.

March 16, 17—Coast of Kent.

As a pendant to the foregoing article comes the following from the Bulletin des Armées:

The death of Count Zeppelin on March 8 has not diminished the blind faith of the German people in his apparatus. On March 11 the Cologne Gazette said: "We will soon prove to the English that the work of our immortal Zeppelin still lives." This threat was carried into effect: In the night of March 16-17 an air raid was attempted on the English coast. According to the British war bulletins the enemy threw bombs on the northeast corner of the County of Kent. The explosives did no material damage.

A few hours later three Zeppelins were sighted in France, undoubtedly the same ones that had bombarded the English coast. About 4 o'clock in the morning they passed over Rouen; two of them regained the German lines. The third flew over the neighborhood of Paris and then turned north. About 5:30 it was passing over Compiègne at a height of 3,500 yards, when it was hit by a shell from our anti-aircraft batteries. It instantly burst into flame, remained a few minutes in the air, and then crashed to earth at the corner of the Rue de Paris and the Boulevard Gambetta. It struck a garden wall and broke in two.

Before falling the men had thrown out their bombs, which fell in the fields; most of them did not burst. There was no victim among the people, no damage to property where the airship fell. The crew of fifteen men had been burned to death—except a few who had thrown themselves overboard and had been killed in the fall. Once more a Zeppelin raid had ended in a bloody reverse.

Terrible Realities of War

A Gunner's Story

A British artillery officer on the Somme wrote this impressive description after traversing the scene of a successful advance:

FOUR villages on our immediate front fell—two of them after desperate and bloody fighting, the other two with comparative ease. When we first arrived there we looked on the remains of ruined villages and a field of desolation and ugliness as far as the eye could see.

On arriving at our old observation point we made our way over to the old Hun stronghold. We started our journey down our old trenches, but these, though now empty, were in a filthy condition—we had recently had a lot of rain—and as the enemy had now no direct observation on us we left these and proceeded across the open. The ground here was completely pitted with shell holes of all sizes. Hardly a square inch of ground that had not been disturbed. One literally stepped out of one into another, (many of them filled with water from the previous night's rain.) It was here that one saw the grim realities of war—the human remains lying among the wreckage of the battlefield; khaki or gray clad forms wherever one turned one's head, some un-

mercifully torn and shattered beyond recognition, others like waxwork figures in attitudes which showed their last set purpose before they were struck down. Others might well have been only sleeping, though their mud-begrimed faces told the truth, and all that ghastly color of the rain-sodden yellow clay on which they lay.

The whole place was nauseating. The smell of powder and stench of putrefaction pervaded everything. The atmosphere was too still and heavy for those foul smells to disperse. Our troops were then well beyond the village, but the Hun gave it no rest, and shells were still dropping all about the place.

From here we made our way to the spot where some two weeks before I had seen through my glasses our men held up by machine-gun fire. Some infantry had now established themselves there, and a few men were standing by the entrance drinking tea from a dixie. The roof, which was some four or five feet thick and made of reinforced concrete, showed signs of our fire, but had been but little damaged, though all around had been broken and smashed. Four dead Germans lay just outside among the wreckage, a fifth on a stretcher was uttering most awful groans, and, though attended by our men, was beyond all human aid, and was soon to be numbered with his lifeless comrades, while a sixth sat by nursing an arm he had recently had dressed, looking a picture of abject misery, as he gazed vacantly on that fearful field in front of him.

Inside the dugout showed signs of its previous occupation. The German litter had not as yet been cleared away—an old waterproof sheet, a blanket or two, and one or two old Hun coats lay among the rubbish. Two or three officers lay curled up in odd corners trying to get a little rest, while a few orderlies and telephonists squatted about the place among their instruments and the tangle of wires with which they are always surrounded. The men spoke in subdued tones, and a stillness pervaded the chamber, which was interrupted only by a small kitten, which wandered about playfully toying with everything that came within its reach—wires, bits of surgical dressing, and old beef tins. Having obtained what information we required here, we set out toward our new front line away in front of the village.

I have seen villages that have been smashed beyond recognition, but this one surpassed all. It was literally razed to the ground. Not a wall was left standing. It was impossible to try to locate one's position by roads and buildings. They simply didn't exist. It was one huge rubbish heap, one mass of wreckage —broken masonry and brickwork and shattered and charred timber. We made our way along a newly trodden track through the débris—it evidently followed what was once a sunken road, for the wreckage was piled up high on either side of us, affording us a little shelter from occasional shells which were being indiscriminately dropped about the place. Turning a sudden corner, we came upon a sight I shall never forget. The stench became overpowering. Along the track in front of us lay, not one, but scores of gray-clad figures. I think they must have been caught unexpectedly in our artillery barrage, but I did not stop to examine the nature of their wounds. The spectacle was too horrible. We left the sunken track at this point, and went forward across the open. Such was the state of this Hun stronghold on the day following its fall.

Amazing Effects of Shell Shock On Soldiers' Nerves

By W. R. Houston, A. M., M. D.

Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University of Georgia

Dr. Houston, an eminent neurologist, spent several months in French war hospitals studying the effects of shell shock upon the nervous systems of wounded soldiers. The results of his observations have been condensed by him into this noteworthy article.

THE beautiful City of Lyons, lying at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, has been made the "Hospital City of France." More than thirty-five thousand sick and wounded are cared for there. A thousand of these are assigned to the Neurological Centre and housed in the handsome buildings of the Nouvelle Lycée, the new boys' college at the entrance to the park. In each of the twenty medical districts into which France is divided there is a similar hospital for men who have suffered damage to the nervous system. The Centre Neurologique at Lyons is, however, the largest of these centres, and for certain reasons the most interesting.

To the neurologist, the care and study of this unprecedented wealth of material is of high value in broadening and refining his knowledge of the function and structure of the nervous system; yet of still greater interest and offering still greater possibilities for the enlargement of our comprehension of the nature of nervous diseases are those cases, comprising more than two-thirds of the patients in the institution, who are grouped under the name of the hysterical.

When the entire manhood of a nation is mustered into battle, it follows that the nervously frail, the men of unstable equilibrium, must go, too. The shocks and sudden emotional strains of civil life have made a certain number hysterical. It might be expected that under the stress of warfare many would break. The number of such cases arising in the course of war is far greater than in time of peace, but, after all, they form but a small fraction of the total number of nervous cases in the neurological centres. We have considered them, however, less because of their intrinsic interest than for comparison with another class of cases—the commotionnés, that very large and novel group of cases, comprising several thousand admissions to the neurological hospitals of France, which the French physicians named cerebral commotion, the English shell shock.

In the accounts of the great bombardments we have all read of men who were found dead in the trenches, unwounded. Death had resulted from air concussion in the zone contiguous to the exploding shell. The concussion is more intense and the danger greater if the shell explodes in a closed space, as in the deep chambered trenches of the western front.

Countless Internal Wounds

Most of our commotion cases were injured in the trenches. Often they were hurled some distance, dashed against a wall, and buried alive. If an examination is made of the bodies of these dead, or of those who have survived a few days before death, it is found that there has taken place an intimate tearing of the finer structures throughout the body. The lungs are torn; there are abundant hemorrhages in the pleura and stomach. The blood vessels in the brain are ruptured, and minute hemorrhages are found throughout.

Many are killed outright, but most survive. Even these survivors bleed in many cases from the ears, the lungs, the stomach, the bladder, and bowels. There are sometimes hemorrhages into the retina and under the conjunctivae. The normally clear cerebro-spinal fluid is found blood tinged. Even after blood is no longer found the fluid is often discov-

ered to be under high pressure, the white cells and globulins that indicate damage to the meninges continue to be found in it for months.

The patients seldom regain memory of the beginning of their accidents. At most they recall the whistling sound that preceded the arrival of the shell. In certain cases there will be found only a more or less transient clouding of consciousness, or a very painful sensation of having been beaten on the head. Usually the patient is unable to walk, and as he is carried on the stretcher every movement is painful. The limbs are inert, the head drops on the shoulder. Even when sitting he collapses if not supported. Any movements made are maladroit and imprecise. The sphincters are relaxed; almost all arrive at the aid stations soiled with excrements. Later they may have retention, but in the beginning the contrary is the rule.

The facial expression is typical—comparable to that seen in the cerebral type of infantile paralysis—the corners of the mouth droop, the tongue is paretic, the lids droop, and the eyeballs are without motion. The pupils are dilated, almost always unequal.

In all cases is found the sign of Babinski—irritation of the foot sole, provoking an obvious and prompt elevation of the great toe and a fanlike spreading of the other toes—an unequivocal indication of damage to the motor pathways leading from the brain; and, as further indication of this damage, the tendinous reflexes are generally strongly exaggerated. Kernig's sign of cortical irritation is present.

In cases of moderate severity we observe a rapid retrocession of symptoms. Within twenty-four hours the mental cloudiness tends to disappear, the expression of the face changes, the strabismus diminishes and disappears, the reflexes approach normal.

In severe cases, however, and sometimes from milder ones, there develop a series of most bizarre clinical pictures. It is the general nervous system that is most often and most strikingly affected. As the patient emerges from his clouding of consciousness, he seems to be in a state of confusion. His memory is weakened. He has lost in power of voluntary attention. He has hallucinations. These psychopathic states may persist for days or months, and are accompanied almost always by persistent nightmares of fire and battle that startle and disturb the rest.

It is at this stage extraordinarily difficult to disentangle symptoms that are due to gross organic injury from those that would be reckoned hysterical. Very frequently there are convulsive attacks that seem frankly similar to that described above; occasionally a case that resembles true Jacksonian epilepsy.

Sight and Hearing Affected

There is often deafness associated with injury to the ears; again, deafness is present with ears apparently normal. Sometimes the deafness is associated with vertigo such as suggests damage to the inner ear.

As to the sight, we encounter every degree of disability, from slight cloudiness of vision and narrowing of the visual field to complete blindness. In a considerable number of cases these troubles are due to damage done the retina. In a larger number, however, so far as examination can determine, they are purely subjective. These troubles of sight and hearing are almost never isolated. They are found associated with an assemblage of other symptoms referable to the nervous system.

Much more frequent than the troubles of the special senses are the paralyses—paralysis of a single member, of both legs, or of a lateral half of the body. Some of these paralyses are obviously due to hemorrhage within the brain, others are a flaccid paralysis with loss of sensation. In all the characteristics that are accessible to investigation most resemble hysterical paralysis, and the greater number are associated with contracture of the muscles.

The foot will be drawn into the position of a clubfoot and firmly fixed there. The hand is tightly clenched, and the wrist and elbow bent. The contracted muscles of half the body may draw the trunk and head to one side. The neck may be fixed

as a wry neck. A very frequent deformity is the bent back. A peculiar circumstance is the violent fit of coughing that is induced by any attempt to straighten the bent back, either in bed or against the wall.

The vocal cords may be paralyzed and the tongue incapable of being protruded, so that the patient is entirely mute, unable to make the slightest sound, to whistle or to blow, or even to imitate the movements of the lips in speech. His breathing muscles are contracted so that he cannot draw a long breath. In milder cases there is a stammering to the degree of almost complete unintelligibility.

A muscular trouble, often of the most striking and startling sort, is the shaking and trembling. This may be a fine tremor, such as we have in Graves's disease, and Graves's disease is a complication that is superadded to the picture in a large percentage of cases, or a very coarse, irregular shaking and jerking of the head, arms, legs, in contortions that make walking or any co-ordinated movement nearly or quite impossible.

Pitiful Motion Pictures

A remarkable series of moving pictures, which are already to be seen in this country, was made of these patients at Lyons. Large groups illustrating each of the contractures and paralyses were marched past the camera, but the most striking groups were the tremblers and the bent backs, and when, as constantly happens, many physicians come to see the astonishing and almost incredible cases that are found in this neurological hospital, the profound pity that these patients excite is inevitably mixed with laughter at the sight of the poor fellows with wildly inco-ordinate movements, struggling to maintain their balance as they totter across the stage of the exhibition hall or shuffle along with feet in constant motion, like a novice at skating, and the back bent forward from the hips almost at right angles.

Upon these troubles of movement there are always superimposed troubles of sensibility. In the paralyses with contraction, and especially in the flaccid paralyses, all the modes of sensibility, superficial and deep, including the sensibility to electric currents and the sensibility of the bones to vibration, are affected, and often to an extreme degree. Some of the patients have inflicted burns on themselves accidentally without knowing it. In others the joints can be twisted to an extreme degree without causing the least pain or sensation.

In opposition to these anaesthesias or hypoaesthesias there is found extreme sensitiveness to pain. Sometimes the patient cannot endure the least touch or the least movement of the limbs.

Purely Physical Causes

Are these patients hysterical in the sense of any of the theories of hysteria that we have mentioned—these deaf, these mutes, these palsied, trembling men with agonized or deadened members? Was it a mental picture or a buried idea or a suggestion from the physician that developed these phenomena?

In the language of Dr. Sollier, the eminent neurologist who is at the head of the hospital at Lyons:

> In the true commotion case, we find ourselves in the presence of hysteria in the raw, of the elementary hysteria, in which the physical element is absolutely preponderant, whereas, in the ordinary traumatic hysteria, the somatic phenomena and the psychological phenomena are almost on the same level, and in the commonplace hysteria of civil practice the psychologic element tends to take dominant importance.
>
> When we envisage the similarity of the pictures presented by ordinary hysteria and the nervous phenomena that result from shell shock, we are forced to conclude that their nature is identical. Shell shock thus demonstrates to us that hysteria may be provoked by causes purely physical, and we are led to conclude that the purely psychological theories are inexact, since they do not apply to all the cases. Since it is undeniable, on the other hand, that hysteria can be provoked by emotional and moral causes, we must conclude that there exists an entire gamut of forces—physical, mechanical, organic, and psychic—that may lead to the same clinical results.

Such are the views that are upheld by Dr. Sollier, who in numerous forcible publications had sustained before the war his physiological theory of hysteria. In his treatise on hysteria, published in 1914, he maintained that hysteria was essentially a sleep of portions of the brain, a dulling or numbing (engourdissement) of certain cerebral centres;

that the disassociation of personality resulted from the unequal wakefulness of different portions of the brain; that the attacks were disorderly expressions of a sudden movement toward reawakening.

We must remember that a thought is not, for the individual that harbors it at least, a disembodied concept, but that with every thought there must be a physical change, a movement of matter and energy in the molecular structure of brain cells. Modern psychology concerns itself more and more with the attempt to conceive the physical processes in the brain that accompany thought. Especially in the study of the emotions (and it is the emotional side of ideation with which we are chiefly concerned in hysteria) has emphasis been laid on its physical aspect.

Our American psychologist, William James, lent his astute support to the view that emotion was rather the conscious appreciation of a series of physical changes that resulted from the presence of an idea; that we felt fear because the heart stood still, the hair stood on end, the knees shook at sight of the ghost, rather than that the emotion of fear brought about these physical changes.

We are obliged, if the facts of the development of our commotion cases have been faithfully observed and accurately recorded, to shift from the formerly conventional viewpoint of the essential nature of hysteria and to place the emphasis on its physical and its physiological aspects.

Dr. Babinski and his followers, with their rather narrow definition of hysteria as a malady provoked by suggestion and curable by persuasion, have been led to assert that these grand hysterias of shell shock are not hysteria, and to erect a new and heretofore unheard of classification in which to place them, so far will the attachment of a scientist to a favorite theory carry him. The cases that we see in the military hospitals of France were not produced by suggestion, nor are they amenable to persuasion.

These theoretical considerations, however, are by no means without their practical importance. Even before the earliest publication, in 1895, of his views, Dr. Sollier contended that by his so-called method of cerebral reawakening he was able to cure by physical and mechanical means many hysterical conditions that proved refractory to suggestion, and it was largely these therapeutic successes that led to the crystallization and development of his idea of hysteria.

Sollier's Method of Cure

Dr. Sollier is a large and vigorous man both morally and physically, a man whom one would fancy inclined by temperament to snatch his patients back to health rather than coax them back. His evident kindness and goodness to his men, however, give them courage to endure without question the rigors of the physical treatment to which they are submitted. The central idea of his treatment is that the cerebral centres must be awakened from their dormant state by physical measures addressed to the parts of the body corresponding to the cerebral involvement.

The treatment of one case, for instance, consisted in cold douches and showers for a general effect, but more particularly in twisting and manipulating the joints of the paralyzed limbs until pain, and even very severe pain, was induced. If bending the finger joints produces no pain, the wrist is manipulated; if the wrist is without sensation, the shoulder is manipulated. Sensibility returns to the anaesthetic areas through the pathway of pain induced in neighboring regions that are more sensitive.

In another case the treatment was to place the hands over the eyes, whereupon the patient would promptly fall into a hypnotic state and go through all the phases of the grand attack. As his struggles began to subside and he was sinking into a quiet sleep, he was ordered to wake up, to awaken his shoulders, awaken his back, awaken his limbs, awaken all over. He is regarded when apparently awake as a vigilambule, one who, while apparently awake, has large portions of his brain cortex asleep, and who for this reason is so easily and by such slight transition thrown into complete hypnotic slumber.

In addition to these treatments carried

out by the attending physicians, and by trained masseurs working under their direction, an interesting and indeed most inspiring part of the work for the restoration of these men is the systematic motor re-education carried out by the men themselves. Every morning from 8 until 9 o'clock, and again of an afternoon from 2 until 3, in the quadrangle of the Lycée the men are gathered at the sound of the bugle for drill.

Patients Treated in Groups

They are grouped in squads according to their several disabilities. The club-footed squad, the hemi-contractured squads, the contractures of the left arm, the contractures of the right arm, and so on. Each squad has its non-commissioned officer, who is himself convalescing from the same disorder, and the whole battalion is under the command of a Sergeant, who is partially recovered from severe organic and functional disturbances.

The apparatus employed in the exercises is of the simplest—a manual of arms carried out with a wooden pole, some board platforms for the exercises to be taken lying down, a few weights and pulleys. The intention is to bring the defective muscles into play through the unconscious influence of limitation; to strengthen the muscles which oppose those that are contracted; to give tone to the physique as well as to the morale of the men.

A physician passes from group to group encouraging and instructing the leaders, calling attention to stragglers that may be failing of the efforts demanded of them. The cheerful atmosphere of this scene, the sharp cries of command making a not unpleasing discord of sound; the emulation of the soldiers to attain the progress that they see others have made—all gives one the feeling that these men are cordially enlisted in the effort to overcome the handicaps under which they labor, and a large part of the success of the treatment in this institution is to be attributed to this community of effort.

It is too early to say whether the views which Dr. Sollier has advanced as to the nature of hysteria, his so-called physiological theory, will be generally accepted. It is certain that his effort to place the emphasis on the physical and physiological aspects of this trouble has been tremendously favored by the large group of cases that have come to observation through the accidents of war.

When I first walked through his ward and looked with astonishment at the array of nervous phenomena presented, I began to wonder: Is this the result of the traditionally excitable and nervous French temperament? Would Englishmen or Germans or Russians exhibit such astonishing bizarreries of nervous function? I learned on asking the physicians of the Lyons hospitals, who were neurologists by profession, that in years of practice at the Salpetrière, the famous Paris hospital for nervous diseases, they had only rarely encountered cases comparable to hundreds that we had in our hospital. I learned from consulting the literature that Englishmen and Germans were suffering the same nervous accidents as the French.

Some Unsolved Questions

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for Dr. Sollier to prove that the sufferer from shell shock, as he emerged broken and bleeding from unconsciousness, might not, in his awakening intelligence, develop hysterical symptoms on a psychological basis, and that this elementary hysteria of molecular vibration might not have interwoven with it as a psychic state ideas associated with terror and dread, the most powerful of human emotions. His opponents, moreover, will ask him to explain the rarity of these commotional states in the numerous wounded that received physical injuries from projectiles that have exploded near them, patients exposed to the same displacements of air, and the same physical conditions—an embarrassing question to the partisan of the organic theory.

Some of the commotionnés tell us that they had often had large shells burst near them without experiencing anything more than the disturbance legitimate to such circumstances, a disturbance easily mastered and quite transient. Furthermore, as Dr. Sollier has himself pointed out, it is most unwise to return the pa-

tient when apparently quite cured to the firing line. The first explosion in his neighborhood will bring back a return of the old symptoms, sometimes with added violence, so that the recrudescence is apparently due less to the physical reopening of an old wound than to the re-presentation of remembered conditions.

Dr. Sollier's conceptions, however, gain valuable support from the success of his treatments when applied to the commotion cases, even though they be very severe, provided the patient is fortunate enough to be taken in hand early.

Sergeant B., for example, a robust and muscular man of 25, was in Fort Douaumont during a bombardment. He was thrown many yards by the explosion of a large shell; consciousness was lost for some time. At the first-aid station he had difficulty in breathing, and consciousness was only gradually restored. He was brought back at once to Lyons, where he was found to be in a state of general rigidity and hyperaesthesia. Even small movements of his limbs were painful. His heart was moderately dilated, pulse rather rapid, fibrillary tremor of the hands, slight goitre, and exophthalmus. When the treatments, which consisted in forced movements of his limbs, were undertaken, he would gradually become stuporous, cry out with pain, and at the close of the séance would almost lose consciousness and would dissolve into tears.

However, after a month of such treatment the stiffness and sensitiveness were rapidly disappearing from his members, he was able to stand erect and walk, and was obviously on the high road to recovery. Had he been treated merely by rest and care, he would probably have made no such progress.

Alongside of him other men, whose injuries had come about in the early months of war, and who in the early stages of their trouble were treated by the conventional methods, seemed to have crystallized in their disabilities. It appeared that after the deformities and tremors had become inveterate it was most difficult to eradicate them, even by the treatment of motor re-education, though this brought about slow and steady gains.

A Harrowing Summary

It was possible, then, in this hospital to find the same clinical pictures resulting from causes of every degree of potency—a slight and merely psychic trauma sufficing to induce the symptoms in the unstable, a violent physical trauma being needed in the well poised.

1. There were the highly neurotic subjects, who had never been near the front, but who on receiving the news from home of the death of a wife or being parted from a sweetheart had developed these terrible attacks and paralyses. These were few.

2. There was the somewhat larger group of cases similar to the first two cited, cases of tougher-fibred but still imaginative men, whom the emotional shocks of the campaign, combined with fatigue and long strain, had been able to bring to a grand hysteria.

3. A third group more stable than the last could be made hysterical only if, after being weakened by hunger, sleeplessness, and overwork, they were subjected to the shock of a violent explosion, though the same shock might have previously left them untouched.

4. Last, there were men, stalwart, tranquil, robust men, who had never known nervousness, neither personally nor in their families—unimaginative, stolid men, who, being suddenly hurled through the air, torn and lacerated in the finer structures of their bodies by an explosion, buried alive perhaps by falling earth, were, when they ultimately regained consciousness, transformed instanter into disorganized neurotics, exhibiting all the characteristics typical of the grand hysterics.

To see these strong men suddenly reduced from the flower and vigor of youth to doddering, palsied wrecks, quivering at a sound, dreading the visions of the night, mute or deaf, paralyzed or shaken by violent agitations, rent from time to time by convulsive seizures as though tormented by many devils—this wreckage of men's souls seemed to me to mirror more vividly the horror of war than any picture drawn from the carnage of the battlefield.

Curious German War Medals

"In Our Iron Time—1916"

George Macdonald, who a year ago described in The Scotsman some 500 German war medals struck during the first eighteen months of the war, has written this interesting account of later medals announced in a supplementary catalogue issued in Amsterdam.

A PATHETIC feature of the new sales catalogue of German war medals and "tokens" is the great increase in the number of specimens of paper money of small denominations, intended to supply a currency for prisoners' camps or for those portions of the allied countries which are in enemy occupation. It is strange, for instance, to encounter a group of notes, ranging in nominal value from 2 francs to 10 centimes, that belonged to an issue of 2,000,000 francs, guaranteed under date April 23, 1915, by a resolution of seventy communes in the region of the Somme and the Ancre. When one sees in the list such familiar names as Miraumont, Irles, Courcelettes, Thilloy, and Warlencourt, one shudders to think of the appalling rate at which the securities, heritable and other, must have depreciated through the action of high explosives.

All the belligerents, except Japan and Portugal, have contributed their quota to the sum total of the war medals proper. Germany, however, has once again been far and away the most active. In a fair proportion of cases the underlying motive has obviously been a desire to honor individuals by associating them with some particular achievement or with some popular declaration of policy. The collection, in fact, constitutes a sort of national portrait gallery of all the German Admirals, German Generals, and German statesmen whom the events of the last three years have brought into prominence. A bust of von Tirpitz, for example, is backed by a plump figure of Germania "doing battle for the freedom of the seas," while both von Scheer and Hipper receive credit for their great "victory off the Skagerrak," which is said to have been won "not by chance but by sheer capacity." The military laurels have been gathered mainly on the eastern front, and first and foremost by von Mackensen.

The big events of 1916 in the west are but rarely alluded to, although a huge iron medal with allegorical figures depicts "the horrors of the Somme," and a companion piece shows the scourge of war descending upon Verdun. Tit-bits from the Imperial Chancellor's Reichstag speech of June 5 are immortalized on unwieldy lumps of metal bearing his image and superscription, and royalties more or less considerable are, of course, sprinkled freely through the pages of the catalogue—so freely, indeed, that the Kaiser and the Crown Prince tend rather to be elbowed into the background.

A good deal of space is occupied by heroes of less exalted rank, like the aviators Boelcke and Immelmann. On the latter of these one enthusiastic medallist has conferred the title of "The Eagle of Lille." And it is interesting to observe that few even of the major happenings of the war have caught the German imagination in the way that the exploits of the Möwe and the voyage of the Deutschland appear to have done. The capture of the Appam could hardly have been more loudly celebrated if it had affected the naval situation as profoundly as did Trafalgar.

The tribute of medallic portraiture is paid not only to the raider's Captain, Count zu Dohna-Schlodien, but also to the officer who navigated the prize to the United States, Lieutenant Berg. So, too, with Captain König of the Deutschland, in immediate juxtaposition to whom we are astonished to find a much older Atlantic voyager—to wit, no less a person than Francis Drake himself. The first glance at his bust, dressed in correct Elizabethan costume, and identified beyond possibility of mistake by his name, sets one wondering whether Houston

Stewart Chamberlain has succeeded in proving that the Spanish Armada was defeated by Germans. But the real explanation is a veritable anti-climax; it is furnished by an inscription on the reverse, "Francis Drake was the name of a gallant man who three centuries ago sailed from England to America in command of a ship, and who when he returned from his distant travels brought with him the good things that we call potatoes. This useful vegetable we owe to the very same State that is today—1916—endeavoring to starve us out. Such is the irony of world history and of world politics."

The Drake Medal is not the only one on which the food difficulty is frankly alluded to. Another piece pillories the butchers who indulge in "profiteering," and threatens them with handcuffs and the knout. A third is directed against the bakers, two of whom are represented diligently sawing a log of wood in order to secure material for bread. That bronze is growing scarce is abundantly clear from the fact that it is not used for almost any of the recent medals, iron being the usual substitute. And gold, as might be expected, is altogether unknown. In this connection a small medal of iron is of special interest; it is issued by the Reichsbank, and presented to persons who hand gold ornaments over the counter. On the obverse is a kneeling woman, holding out a piece of jewelry, accompanied by the legend, "In our iron time, 1916." On the reverse is a branch of oak, and the couplet:

Gold I gave in hour of need,
Iron received as honour's meed.

Presumably the idea is that this should be transmitted as an heirloom. The same consideration for the future is plainly responsible for a medal having on the obverse a "Pickelhaube," or spiked helmet, resting on a shield, and on the reverse a mailed fist clasping a hand that is indubitably feminine, the two between them supporting a sword. The legend is, "Wedded in war time." The mention of "war weddings" inevitably suggests a search for the "war baby." And, sure enough, here he is on another medal, nestling inside an inverted "Pickelhaube," which reposes on a little pile of bombs. The inscription reads, "Born during the world war." The well-to-do can purchase either of the last two medals in silver.

The productions just described give us a quaint glimpse into the mentality of the great nation with whom our own is now locked in a life-and-death struggle.

A MUCH-SOUGHT-AFTER GERMAN MEDAL, STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE SUBMARINE BLOCKADE OF ENGLAND, FEB. 18, 1915. IT PROVIDES AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE FAMOUS PHRASE "GOTT STRAFE ENGLAND"

The definitely satiric medals are a more lurid illuminant. It is sometimes said that a boxer never feels thoroughly confident until he sees that his opponent is losing his temper. If the analogy holds good, a perusal of the catalogue should be comforting. In any case it provides a wholesome discipline in the way of seeing ourselves as others see us. The rest of the Allies escape almost scot-free, except for a few fierce thrusts at Italy or at individual Italians, like Gabriele d'Annunzio, who is represented as Judas Iscariot. It is for Britain that the vials of German wrath are reserved. And what vials they are! Humor, or at all events humor of the conscious variety, has taken to itself wings.

The catalogue contains nothing quite so shocking as the Lusitania medal. On the other hand, one cannot help observing that the author of that infamy, Karl Goetz, now appears to enjoy extraordinary popularity as a designer. A speci-

men of his handiwork, dealing with the loss of the Zeppelin L-19 in the North Sea, forms a highly instructive counterpart to the performance through which he first became notorious. On the obverse is the airship laboring heavily amid the waves; the crew have clustered on the upper portion of the envelope, and are looking over the angry waters to a trawler, the King Stephen, which is disappearing in the distance. The reverse is almost wholly occupied by the inscription, "Curse the British at sea! Curse your evil conscience," which is doubtless meant to express the feelings of the Zeppelin crew, (who are all represented as shaking their fists vigorously,) and by the descriptive sentence, "Shipwrecked men, imploring help, were left to drown, 2d February, 1916." Yet another of Goetz's creations shows on the obverse a half-length portrait of Roger Casement, stripped to the waist and bound, with a lanky Highlander busily engaged in tying a rope round his neck; as caricatured in Germany, the British Army usually wears a kilt, a delicate compliment which Scotsmen will not be slow to appreciate. On the reverse a spider is hard at work weaving its web round a stout volume, which is labeled "English Law, 1351." The book itself is supported by a pleasing assortment of mediaeval instruments of torture, from the midst of which there grins a skull with serpents issuing from its eyes. Across the field is the date of Casement's execution, "3d August, 1916," while round the margin is the doggerel verse:

Edward Third's dead hand
Fastens the noose round Ireland.

GERMAN SILVER MEDAL INSCRIBED "NACH PARIS" ON ONE SIDE, WITH A PORTRAIT OF GENERAL VON KLUCK ON THE FACE, MADE IN ANTICIPATION OF THE FALL OF PARIS

Another echo of the unhappy Irish rising presents us with a picture of Death, wearing the undress cap of a hussar and smoking a clay pipe, seated jauntily on the edge of a tomb inscribed "Home Rule. R. I. P." He is contemplating with apparent satisfaction a bunch of shamrock which he holds in his hand, and which is described in the rubric as "A posy of May flowers from the Emerald Isle." This medal is one of a group of six executed by a certain W. Eberbach. They are identical in size, and are clearly meant to be regarded as forming a sort of "danse macabre." In all of them the same repulsive figure is conspicuously "featured," as the cinema advertisements would have it. Thus on one he stands astride above the sinking Lusitania, gloating over her as she sinks beneath the waves, the accompanying legend being "Spite and heedless frivolity on board of the Lusitania." The reverse dedicates the medal "To Woodrow Wilson, the man who despised our warning. 1916."

It is far from agreeable to linger in such company. But the effrontery displayed in a third member of the series is so colossal that one cannot pass it by in silence. As in the case of all the others, Death dominates the field. This time he is seated with his back to the spectator, closely watching a passing liner, whose fate is plainly foretold by the mine which he holds in one hand and the torpedo which he grasps in the other. Above are the words, "England's greeting to the neutral ship Tubantia," the Tubantia being, of course, the fine Dutch steamer which was one of the first victims of Germany's campaign against neutrals. On the reverse is the unexceptionable sentiment, "The best of people can't live in peace if their wicked neighbor doesn't want them to." Britain or Germany—which of these was neighbor to him that fell among thieves?

The War Problems of Mothers

By the Countess of Warwick

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

MOTHERS of soldiers have been in evil plight from time immemorial, ever since the waging of the first wars in some forgotten era of which history takes no count, but in England their troubles in the past were never as they are today. Before 1914 we had a professional army for which men underwent long training; only in a few families did the service claim all the sons; as a rule there were some who chose a civil calling. The result was very satisfactory. Mothers had a sense of double security. In the first place, the risks of war could not reach all their loved ones; secondly, the ethics of war could not dominate the house.

Thinking women, whether educated or not, have always recognized in militarism the merciless enemy of feminism; it is a fight to a finish between the two, and neither side will abate its claims. While militarism is up, feminism is down, and when the latter ascends the former must go. I have known suffragists belonging to families that have a great military record, and some of them have hesitated to face the truth on account of personal family history, but there can be no two opinions about it. If women did not realize the whole truth earlier it was because the services claimed no more than a part of their family, and the war risks were comparatively small. In the past sixty years the last Transvaal war (1899-1902) has been the only really serious conflict, and that was little more than an affair of outposts by the side of the struggle that engages the world today.

If the responsible section of my sex has been betrayed by the love of gold lace, ribbons, stars, crosses, and other decorations into thinking too well of war through all the years of peace, the retribution, long though it lingered, has come at last. It has taken a double form. Some of our sons have gone to their death, and this, indeed, is tragedy enough; but other of our sons have come back dead to the life that held them before they went away, and this in many instances is the worst tragedy of all. A mother's love for her son is something that no man can nearly understand; so many things enter into it beyond the reach of his perceptions. The thinking

COUNTESS OF WARWICK

woman looks to him to carry some at least of her ideals into the world; she molds him that he may be better, nobler, more useful to humanity than she herself ever hoped to be, even in dreams.

It is not easy to say how the mother of a lad who fulfills her ideals would decide if she could choose for him one of two fates—the first, to die in battle in the earliest flush of youth and idealism, returning to his Creator a soul unstained;

the second, to return from the war sound of limb, but with the feeling that our ends and aims are not shaped by any Divinity, that nothing matters, and that it is well to eat and drink and be merry today, because tomorrow the just and the unjust man will share a common grave, over which the dust of oblivion will soon be blowing. I can imagine no more terrible choice for any mother, but I cannot doubt what answer would spring to the lips of those who have kept their faith quite free from definitions, in spite of the bankruptcy of Church and of State. Happily, such an awful responsibility does not fall to any one.

Yet it will be the fate of innumerable mothers to welcome back to their homes, when war is over, sons whose finer susceptibilities and emotions have lost all their edge, boys who were in all save military eyes too young to be plunged into the inferno of strife, who, after growing careless of death, are now careless of life. Men go through their appointed task with unquenchable heroism, and there is no detailed story of a day's work that cannot thrill to the heart, but here in England, happily, we see nothing of the actualities; we read of cannon fodder, but do not realize what it actually means. We only know vaguely that every time the sun rises in the east so many hundreds, or even thousands, of lads and men look upon the dawn for the last time, and that by the hour when the west is reddening whatever their lives held of promise for the world at large is lost. Ours is the knowledge, but the actual sight of all the hideous welter upon which the pen forbears to dwell is the experience of our young sons. How many of us, not lacking in courage, could face with open eyes the sights with which our lads have grown familiar?

There is a certain esprit de corps among fighting men. They are jovial to the last, they have neither the time nor the mood to mourn, the normal values of life have passed entirely out of sight. Recklessness is the order of the hour, it strays from action to thought. Young officers have told me in all seriousness that we at home have no real idea of life at all. To savor the true sense of it one must needs go to the trenches, or over the blackened sites of villages that once held a few hundred simple, harmless lives. "Perhaps God ruled over Europe once upon a time," said one, with a sudden burst of candor, "but I know He doesn't now. Even He could not claim to rule and be responsible for the things I've seen; and ours is no more than a few yards of line." Another assured me that when the army is finally disbanded, nobody will go to church. "There never could be any hypocrisy," he assured me, "equal to going to church after all one has seen.

"Yes, I did hear those rather pitiful stories about the angels at Mons, but they were supposed to have been seen when the war was a month old. If anybody tells of angels now, it is one of the forms of shell-shock. That does make some men pray and others curse, and some can't do the one or the other, and they go mad. But nothing really matters. We all do what we can, and the enemy does the same, and we'll win because, man for man, we're better, even if we're not as clever, and those who don't go west today will go tomorrow, or next week or next month, but most of us will get there before we see the Rhine." He went on to talk lightly of a revue that he had been taken to see three times on his brief leave. "I suppose it's rather a beastly thing," he said, "but we all laughed, and it doesn't matter much anyway."

I could dive deeper into the problem I have suggested rather than outlined here, but to do so would be to commit a breach of confidence. Suffice it that the responsible mothers of the young men who come home have a grave problem before them, the more grave because they cannot, save in a very few exceptional cases, solve it for themselves. All mothers have to remember that their sons grow up, and that of all the forcing processes in the world none is quite so drastic as war. The lads will have reached the time when they will turn for counsel, sympathy, and affection, not to their mothers, who would so willingly give them of their best, but

to the daughters of other mothers, who will become mothers in their turn. I do not think I have ever regretted more keenly the neglect of the education of girls in the middle and upper classes, the little provision there is in it by which they may save alive the soul of a man who is in danger of losing it.

It is one of the ironies of the times that the daughters whose education is in so many instances scarcely worthy the name, whose tastes are so often perverted by the empty life of pleasure that is the only life within their grasp, whose physique is injured by town life, badly ventilated rooms, ill-chosen food, fashionable clothes and the rest of the evil to which the daughters of wealthy parents are heir, should be asked to save the race. Yet, however great the irony of the situation, that situation exists. It must be faced. The battle of militarism against feminism will be resumed. Consciously or unconsciously, they will be combatants. They, and not the mothers who yearn for sons lost and sons worse than lost, must play their part, live awhile face to face with the grave problem, solve, trifle with or ignore it. War has loaded the dice for militarism. The times will gamble with these loaded dice for the bodies of a generation yet unborn, and all that many a lad will have to stand between him and the further disaster of perpetuating the evils of our day will be some young, fair, foolish head with eyes that a piece of braid or ribbon may be able to dazzle.

I am conscious of a clear conviction that feminists of every class and creed should unite to face this problem; any other success while such a work remains undone is the gain of the shadow and the loss of the substance. The girls of England whose attractions will rule the English world and decide the character of the next generation must be reached while there is yet time, and something of their responsibilities brought home to them. If they are going to disregard them and help to prolong the agonies of our failing civilization, let it not be said that they erred through ignorance or because there were none to teach them the truth about the part they are called upon to play.

British Women in War Service

THE British War Office issued, at the end of February, 1917, the following statement of the terms and conditions governing the employment of women with the British armies in France. Many thousands of women in England had long been awaiting official arrangements enabling them to volunteer for this service:

For twelve months, subject to termination earlier at the discretion of the Army Council upon one month's notice, except for misconduct or incompetence, when one week's notice will be given. The engagement may be renewed by mutual consent at the termination of the first period. A bonus of £5 will be paid to each woman, irrespective of grade, on renewal of the agreement for a second period.

There are five main categories of employment, viz.: (a) Clerical, typist, shorthand typist; (b) cooks, waitresses, and domestic staff; (c) motor transport service; (d) storehouse women, checkers, and unskilled labor; (e) telephone and postal services, and (f) in addition there will be certain miscellaneous services which do not fall within the above main classification.

(a) Ordinary clerical work and typists, 23s. to 27s. per week, according to efficiency; clerks employed on higher clerical and supervisory duties, 28s. to 32s. per week, according to efficiency; shorthand typists, 28s. to 32s. per week, according to efficiency. These rates of pay cover forty-two working hours per week, after which overtime will be paid at the rate of 7d. per hour for ordinary clerks and 9d. per hour for clerks employed on higher work and shorthand typists.

(b) Head cooks and waitresses, £40 per annum; cooks, waitresses, and housemaids, £26 per annum, with free board and lodging, together with 6d. per week for personal washing.

(c) Superintendents, first class, 52s. 6d. per week; superintendents, second class, 46s. per week; head drivers, 40s. per week; qualified driver-mechanics, 35s. per week; washers, 20s. per week. These above weekly rates in-

clude Sunday work when necessary, but if employed on Sunday a day's rest in lieu will be given. In addition, overtime will be allowed, except to superintendents, at the rate of 5d. per hour after eight and a half working hours per day.

(d) Storehouse women and unskilled labor, 20s. per week. Extra pay up to 2s. per week where special aptitude is required; leading hands, 22s. per week; checkers, 22s. to 24s. per week; assistant forewomen, 24s. per week; forewomen, 24s. to 30s. per week, according to number of staff supervised. These rates cover forty-eight working hours per week. Overtime, at time and a quarter for the first two hours per day; thereafter and on Sundays, time and a half.

(e) Telephone and postal services. Rates of pay are under consideration by the Postmaster General and will be announced later.

(f) Miscellaneous services. Special rates of pay, according to nature of employment, with a minimum of 20s. per week.

No woman under twenty or over forty years of age will be eligible for employment. A short form of agreement will be entered into. A medical examination by a woman doctor will be necessary. The period of preparation in England will include elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline. Free conveyance to and from France on appointment and termination of engagement will be provided. A fortnight's leave will be given during each year's service. An allowance of £4 will be paid to provide uniform at the beginning of service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of six months. Similar grants will be made for the second year's service. Slightly different grants will be made in the case of the Motor Transport Section.

In all cases other than (b) cooks, waitresses, and domestic staff; (d) storehouse women and unskilled labor, and (f) miscellaneous services—a deduction not exceeding 14s. per week will be made to cover cost of board and lodging and washing on a regulated scale, which will be provided by the military authorities. In the case of (d) storehouse women and unskilled labor and (f) miscellaneous services, when the pay is less than 21s. per week, the deduction will not in any case exceed 13s. a week. The women will be accommodated, while in France, in hostels, under the care and supervision of lady superintendents. The above applies to France only. It must be understood that enrollment for service includes service at home as well as in France. Those who have a preference should declare it. Where preference for France is declared it will be satisfied if possible, and service in France may ultimately follow service begun at home. The conditions of service of the various classes of women workers at home will remain as at present.

To the First Gun

By ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON

[The liner St. Louis, the first American merchant ship to carry guns through the German submarine zone, sailed from New York on March 18, 1917]

Speak, silient, patient gun!
  And let thy mighty voice
Proclaim the deed is done—
  Made is the nobler choice;
To every waiting people run
  And bid the world rejoice.

Tell them our heaving heart
  Has found its smiting hand,
That craves to be a part
  Of the divine command.
Speak, prove us more than ease or mart,
  And vindicate the land.

Thine shall the glory be
  To mark the sacred hour
That testifies the free
  Will neither cringe nor cower.
God give thy voice divinity
  That Right be armed with Power.

Thou art not lifeless steel
  With but a number given,
But messenger of weal
  Hot with the wrath of heaven.
Go earn the right to Honor's seal—
  To have for Honor striven.

Lead us in holy ire
  The path our fathers trod;
The music of thy fire
  Shall thrill them through the sod.
The smoke of all thy righteous choir
  Is incense unto God.

And when long Peace is found
  And thou has earned thy rest,
And in thy cave of sound
  The sparrow builds her nest,
By Liberty shalt thou be crowned
  Of all thy comrades, best.

German Women as War Workers

By Caroline V. Kerr

The writer of this article has recently returned to the United States after having served for many years as Berlin correspondent of a New York newspaper. She is able, therefore, to furnish a first-hand report on the wartime activities of German women.

WHAT are the women of Germany doing today? Everything, from sitting in the civic councils to sweeping the snow from the streets. From the very outbreak of the great war it was plain to be seen that the women of Germany were filled with the determination to play their part in the great national epic, and to play it with fortitude and devotion. At no time have they swerved or faltered, and Dr. Delbrück, late Minister for Home Affairs, paid the women of Germany a well-deserved tribute when he declared in the Reichstag that "such intelligent cooperation and striking efficiency as that displayed by the women of the land since the beginning of the war could not be dispensed with when normal conditions were once more restored."

CROWN PRINCESS CECILIE OF GERMANY

Not only are they engaged in the manifold phases of relief work such as obviously fall upon the womenfolk of a nation at war, but they have taken the places left vacant by the men on the farm and in the factory. The rapid readjustment of the German labor market was due to the fact that the number of female industrial workers was increased by half a million during the first eight months of the war. This new home army has been chiefly employed in the "war industries"—that is to say, in the metal and machine works or in the electrical and chemical plants. Fifty thousand women are employed in one large ammunition factory, and the manufacture of shells is almost entirely in the hands of the women. Female labor is utilized, to a large extent, in the production of other war supplies which do not represent so striking a departure from normal activities. This is the case with the textile industries and the factories for ready-made clothing.

No one has been surprised to find German women developing great organizing gifts in dealing with the many ramifications of the Red Cross work, in operating a National League for Public Service, and in elaborating a well-nigh perfect system of municipal kitchens, but it was scarcely to be expected that they would so readily fall into line when it came to recruiting the ranks of the thousand and one small trades and vocations which go to make up the everyday life of a big nation. They are serving with success as letter carriers, as messenger boys, as chauffeurs, as window cleaners, as "motormen," as conductors on the street cars and subways, and one is reported as having joined the ancient and honorable guild of chimney-sweeps.

They are familiar figures on the streets where public works are in course of construction, and if you ask them who looks after their households in the meantime they cheerfully explain that they can rely upon the thoroughly organized system of municipal welfare work to care for them and their children.

Women have been included in the municipal councils of Berlin and other large cities, and no civic measure bear-

ing upon the subjects of alimentation and public welfare is carried out without their counsel and co-operation; in fact, a few women of extraordinary initiative and executive ability may be spoken of as ex-officio members of the German Home Office.

Frau Heyl's Enterprises

One of these is Frau Sophie Heyl, the woman who gave the impulse to the centralization of the national movement in household economics. Frau Heyl has received many orders for distinguished service, but no one of these is as gratifying to her as the unofficial title bestowed upon her of "The Hindenburg of the Kitchen."

She is verily a generalissimo in her line of work, and in the opening days of the war gave striking proofs of her gifts in this direction by mobilizing the housekeepers of the land and initiating them into the rôle they were expected to play in the great campaign then opening. Her ever-fertile brain evolved one scheme after another for meeting the unexpected economic situation, and the awakening of a national consciousness among the cooks and housewives of the empire was largely due to the efforts of this remarkable woman.

It was she who organized and financed the first relief kitchen for the "shamefaced poor," and it was due to her foresight that the meat and vegetables were concocted into the savory stew, known as "gulasch," millions of tins of which were sent to the soldiers in the trenches. More than that, her name became a household word throughout the land by means of the series of "War Cook Books," compiled at the request of the German Home Office and distributed gratis by the tens of thousands.

Frau Heyl has not confined her energies to household economics on a large scale, but, believing in the efficacy of small economies, has instituted potato-paring and cherry-pit campaigns. Such activities may seem ridiculously small to the outside world, but are not to be despised in a country now passing through the state of "commercial isolation," once foreseen by the great German philosopher, Fichte.

Public Service League

What Frau Heyl has accomplished in the field of household economics has been achieved along the broader lines of national welfare work by Dr. Gertrude Baumer, President of the National Council of German Women and of that remarkable war organization known as the National League of Public Service.

This organization represents a concentration of effort and a comprehensiveness of scope never before attempted by the women of any country. The war was scarcely a week old when the call went out from Berlin to the remotest corner of the empire summoning the women of Germany to the colors, and the result was the present far-reaching organization prepared to meet every exigency of the war relief and public welfare work.

Both Dr. Baumer and Frau Heyl attribute the phenomenal rapidity with which they were able to organize such large bodies of women, and direct their activities into channels of efficiency, to the much-decried "Prussian militarism," which they claim only means schooling and subordination of the individual to the well-being of the masses—in other words, discipline and organization.

Every town, village, and hamlet throughout Germany maintains a branch of the Public Service League, and these local organizations receive a weekly budget from the municipal treasuries and thus work hand in hand with the city authorities in disbursing the relief funds. Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be gained from the fact that in Berlin alone more than ten million marks are paid out every month to the soldiers' families, and practically all the applications for aid are handled by the league. In two months the Berlin relief committees distributed food certificates and bread and milk cards to a total amount of more than 130,000 marks.

Relief of the Needy

Some of the duties of the league are to look after the war widows and orphans, to feed the hungry, to clothe the destitute, to find work for the unemployed, to mediate between land-

lords and tenants, and in every possible way to come to the immediate and effective relief of all the needy classes of the population. One of the chief activities of the league at the beginning of the war was to care for the thousands and thousands of refugees from the devastated provinces of East Prussia who poured into Berlin and other cities of the interior and for months claimed the hospitality of their more fortunate compatriots living within the "safety zone." In addition to the funds appropriated by the city, the league is the constant recipient of voluntary contributions; in fact, its treasury is in no danger of being exhausted should the war continue indefinitely.

A fact of striking significance in connection with this organization was the sweeping away of all religious and party barriers. The League of Catholic Women as well as those of pronounced Social Democrat tenets allied themselves with the national movement, and a Swedish writer, in commenting upon this phenomenon, says that if "dismembered Germany was welded into an empire by the war of 1870-71, the war of 1914 may be said to have accomplished still more for the nation by bringing about an inner unification and creating an entirely new quality of national consciousness."

The basic principle underlying the activities of the league is to discourage charity and make every applicant for aid self-supporting. It is not possible to carry out this principle in all cases, but its general wisdom is incontestable. Living upon the charity of others soon becomes an incurable habit and is utterly destructive of all feelings of self-respect and personal responsibility.

Parallel with the work of the Public Service League is that of the so-called "Frauendank"—an endowment fund already amounting to many millions, designed as a special expression of gratitude from the women of Germany to their fallen heroes. The interest on this fund, which is splendidly invested, is to be supplied to the permanent support of the families thus left unprovided for.

It is the women who have also taken the lead in the national "Gold Offering." The official head of this work is the German Crown Princess, from whose various royal residences rich treasures have been sent to swell the sacrifices laid upon the altar of the Fatherland.

GRAND DUCHESS LOUISE OF BADEN

There is no busier woman in the empire than the Crown Princess, as she must not only lend her name and influence to the manifold war organizations, but she is also called upon to represent the Empress at all public functions owing to the fact that the latter has withdrawn herself from active participation in the broader phases of the relief work and confines herself to a few charities lying very near to her heart.

Thus it happens that the Crown Princess is daily claimed by some official duty or errand of mercy; now she makes the round of the military hospitals; now she is investigatng the progress made at the lace school started under her aegis; now she is presiding at a bazaar, where her services are eagerly sought as a saleswoman; now she is acting as patroness at a charity concert, the least irksome of all her duties, as she is a thorough musician. She is particularly interested in the work being accomplished by the Crown Princess Hospital Train, the gift of the Schoeneberg Borough of Greater Berlin and said to be the best-equipped hospital on wheels in Germany.

The active participation taken by the royal women of Germany in all phases

of the war relief work has been a great stimulus to the women of the land, who feel that the war has bridged the social chasm and united them in one common work, quite irrespective of caste distinctions. Here they meet on common ground and are all engaged in fulfilling their sacred duties as wives, mothers, and citizens.

Even the octogenarian Grand Duchess Louise of Baden does not allow her age to deter her from being present to welcome the German wounded soldiers when they first touch home soil at Constance on their way back from the prison camps of France.

Other Royal Women

The Queen of Bavaria is another royal woman whose heart and soul are in the relief work, and in the opening days of the war she personally presided over the sewing rooms established in one of the wings of her Munich palace.

Court society furnishes no more striking example of fidelity to a self-imposed task than Princess Henckel-Dommersmarck, the wife of Germany's largest coal magnate. Despite her years, this woman not only maintains but personally supervises a hospital of 200 beds. By 8 o'clock in the morning she has entered upon her round of daily executive duties, and 8 o'clock in the evening finds her still engaged in her work of mercy.

Baroness von Ihne, one of the beauties of German Court society, was one of the first to recognize the necessity of placing the work being done for the "war blind" on an organized basis, and her Home for the Blind was the first of many to undertake the systematic education of this most tragic class of war sufferers. Here again an endowment fund already reaching the millions insures permanent aid to the beneficiaries.

Another field of work to which German women have devoted themselves with great energy is gardening—not futile, amateur attempts to make things grow, but "war gardening" on a large and purposeful scale.

Baroness von Flotow is the head gardener at the Teltow Vegetable Fields near Berlin, where 200 young women of gentle birth and breeding have braved wind and weather for two years in the execution of their volunteer task of cultivating 150 acres of land. This is only the largest of the "war gardens" which hang like a heavy green fringe around the skirts of Greater Berlin, now widening, now narrowing as the brick and mortar of the suburban settlements or the shining black ribbon of railway steel imposes an obstacle to their further progress.

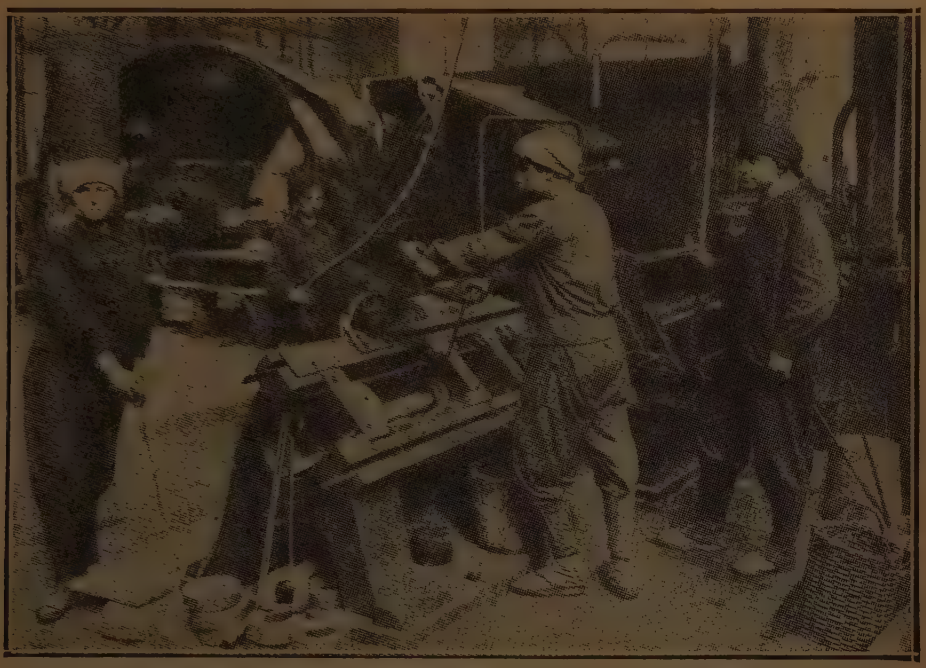
The fruits and vegetables grown in these war gardens are sold for minimum prices in the co-operative retail shops opened up by the housewives' unions, who are thus in a position to control the prices of foodstuffs.

Raising Sunflower Seeds

Nothing is deemed so insignificant as to be a negligible quantity in the general economic scheme. A case in point is furnished by the attention paid to the cultivation of the sunflower, strongly recommended to the gardening element by reason of the oil to be extracted from the seeds and the "sunflower cake" to be made from the residue and used as fodder.

Sunflower products form an important item in Russia's export trade, the revenue derived from the export of sunflower oil alone having brought the State the sum of 4,000,000 rubles a year. Germany is not rich in oil-producing plants, and before the war was obliged to import practically her entire supply of oils and fats. In thus encouraging the home production of an indispensable article hitherto bought in foreign countries, the Government has evidently taken as a precedent the present sugar beet industry, which owes its origin to the Continental blockade imposed by Napoleon I. in his wars with England. Forced back upon her own efforts to supply the nation's needs in this article, Germany then laid the foundation of one of her most highly developed national industries.

Naturally the question arises as to what this activity on the part of the women will lead to after the war. Dr. Gertrude Baumer answers this question at the close of her book on the "German



GERMAN WOMEN AT WORK IN A STATE GUN FACTORY

Woman in War Welfare Work." Here she says: "Thousands of women have been brought to a full realization of their duties as citizens in this hour of fate and will remain true to their awakened consciousness. The war has had a qualitative effect upon woman's work and endeavor by reason of the fact that the enormous and unprecedented problems created by the war have forced all sociological organizations to shake off their dilettantism and plant themselves upon the firm ground of scientific knowledge and systematized effort.

Moreover, the official recognition of the part played by the women in the communal and national work has already been shown by the appointment of women as members to the city councils and deputations, the full significance of which will not be, can not be, estimated until after the war.

The German Nation will not be able to forget that the stern fight for existence behind the front was made possible only by the unremitting efforts of the women of the land, working hand in hand with the men and contributing cheerfully and intelligently to the economic upkeep of the nation. Even women who are not avowed suffragists think that universal suffrage will be one of the inevitable results of the war, for the reason that the law-givers of all the belligerent countries can no longer deny this crowning privilege to the wives and mothers who have worked so bravely, suffered so keenly, and endured so patiently through the long years of this cruel war.

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The War's Effects on Woman's Status

AUGUST WINNIG, NATIONAL SECRETARY
BUILDING TRADE UNION OF GERMANY

Women in all the belligerent countries of Europe have taken men's places in industrial life in unprecedented numbers. In Germany at the end of 1916 the number of women employed in industries covered by the sickness and death benefit societies numbered 4,793,472, or nearly one-half the persons included in the insurance system. This is a 33 per cent. increase since the beginning of the war. At the same time there were in England 3,219,000 women employed outside their own homes, of whom 766,000 had replaced men gone to war. About 500,000 of these had gone into munition plants. Cecil Harmsworth, head of the Woman's War Employment Commission, stated on Jan. 6, 1917, that his commission then had a trifle over 1,000,000 women doing men's work, and that they had saved England. In France similar conditions exist, and hundreds of thousands of women are making munitions at wages ranging from $1.05 to $2.15 a day. French schools are now taught almost exclusively by women, a radical change from the past, and one likely to remain after the war.—EDITOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE world war is a revolution the extent and meaning of which will be fully apparent only to coming generations. Regarding the complex problems that, taken together, are called the woman question, the war has shown itself to be genuinely revolutionary, as it is fast ripening the new social and economic phenomena that have grown out of the peculiar needs of our period. The increasing prominence of woman in the life of Germany and her independent position both mentally and economically form a not unimportant peculiarity of our day. This is a phenomenon inseparably connected with the development and advance of capitalist administration, and, consequently, cannot be stopped by anything, although naturally it may be influenced.

Right here the war has given the wheel of time a powerful turn ahead. For nobody need imagine that with the return of peace everything in this matter will go back to its old form. On the contrary, there are many considerations that force us to the conclusion that, even after the war, women's labor will constitute a far more weighty factor in industry than it did before. It is also certain that this phenomenon cannot be restricted to Germany alone. After the war all Europe will be compelled to employ women to a greater extent in industry. Millions of men in the flower of their working lives are being eliminated from the industrial sphere, either through death or permanent injury. Europe must find substitutes for them, if she doesn't want to lose her hard-pressed position of superiority in the world of industry, or, more correctly stated, if she wishes to regain it. Millions of the wives of the dead or crippled participants in the war need and seek industrial employment in order to earn a necessary addition to their pension allowances.

The surplus of women will increase, and, in line with this fact, there will be a rise in the number of women who must renounce the idea of marriage and make themselves economically independent. We must expect a sharper competition among the industrial States for the export markets, and this will involve an increased effort to lower the cost of production. These conditions will be present and their influence will be felt in all the industrial nations. Therefore this mighty transformation in the economic position of woman is not limited to Germany. It will be extended to all the belligerent countries, will spread from these to neutral lands, and, as a further consequence, will form the base of a new period in the history of woman.

The position of woman as to her public and private rights, as to her public and intellectual life, is closely bound up with her industrial position and activity. Woman's sphere of influence in the State and in society corresponds to her field of activity. Where woman's activity is

limited to the home and family, where she has no direct connection with the industrial life of the nation, there her legal and intellectual position is confined within narrow boundaries. Right here is verified Marx's declaration that society does not rest upon the law, but that the law rests upon society. Law is the legal expression of the actual social condition. Of course, like everything existing, it is ruled by the tendency to stand fast, and, consequently, it generally yields but hesitatingly, and often resistingly, to changes in conditions.

There is no question that the changes in the relation of women to industrial life that have taken place during the war have been extraordinarily great. Nevertheless, they would remain without any influence upon the legal and intellectual position of woman if they were merely of a transitory nature. Let us summarize the reasons that show that this cannot be the case:

1. The economic life of the belligerent countries needs the labor of women as a substitute for the men whom the war has taken from industrial life either through death or permanent injury.

2. The sharpened industrial competition to which Europe will see herself forced because of her loss of strength will necessarily develop—to the advantage of powerful industrial groups—a strong movement toward a lowering of the cost of production, which will be favored by woman's labor, as it is at present cheaper.

3. The disappearance of the fathers of families from industrial life through death or disability will compel a great many women to seek productive labor in order to increase their pension allowances from the public, so as to be able to maintain the family.

4. The diminished possibility of marriage will force more women than formerly to make themselves economically independent and enter industrial life for this purpose.

Quite aside from the question as to how greatly these conditions will affect matters, there is the problem of how this transformation is going to influence not only the legal and intellectual position of woman, but also the entire economic and intellectual life of our people.

Up to the present there have been in Germany only weak currents of feminine opinion insisting upon a change in the present legal standing of women. One of these was composed of the most intellectually active women of the bourgeoisie, whose interest in public life had been aroused, but who lacked a field for its exercise. This current has often been called the "ladies' movement," with the intention of hinting in a deprecatory way that this was not so much an earnest effort for the attainment of equal rights as it was an interesting but harmless sport. The view thus expressed, however, was not quite fair. Even the women's movement of the bourgeoisie had its point of economic support in the circles under its influence. A growing number of women remained single and saw themselves forced by economic, and partly by psychological, reasons to take up a profession, which these women found as doctors, teachers, nurses, or as employes in commercial offices, or in the postal service, or in other lines.

In so far as the bourgeois woman's movement really was backed by numbers its adherents were recruited among these circles, and as a matter of course the leadership fell to the women who were the most fitted for it through education and liberty of movement. The second, and in numbers stronger, movement among the German women was that of the working women organized in the Socialist Party and the trade unions. This movement found support in masses that already amounted to some hundreds of thousands, but in comparison with the total numbers of the women of the working class its active followers were but few. * * *

Enough: It is beyond question that only through that direct participation by women in the economic life of the nation which is connected with economic independence is emphasis lent to the demand for broader rights, and that only then will the great mass of women take up this demand and earnestly support it. Consequently it is evident that an in-

creasing participation by women in industrial labor will influence the legal position of woman in the sense of a broadening of her rights. This connection is due to the fact that the sphere of activity of woman in industry is closely related to the general conditions of the people's life. The wage-earning woman, first of all, has quite different economic interests from those of the housewife, whose activities are limited to the management of her home, the care of her family, and the rearing of her children. Of course the housewife also has economic interests, but between her and the basic economic conditions of life stands the man, to whom falls the main task of providing for the maintenance of life, and who is the first to have to contend with the handicaps and difficulties encountered in this work. Here in a certain sense the man forms a protecting shell for the woman and the family, keeping off the economic pressure from without, or at least lessening it. For this reason the contact of the housewife with the economic conditions of existence is less sharp. The case of the wage-earning woman is different. She lacks the protection of the man. She is entirely dependent upon herself. She senses her economic interests to a much greater degree and soon comes to the conclusion that she must take action herself if she wishes to better her conditions of labor.

Moreover, it is only a step from the field of economic interests to participation in politico-economic and purely political questions; this step, however, is very seldom taken deliberately, but simply forces itself upon the women's organizations. And the women's economic organizations will be something quite different in significance in the future. So long as the wage-earning woman regards her industrial activity merely as a transition period to be followed by marriage she does not take the matter of defending her trade interests very seriously. Only the consciousness that her wage-earning labor forms the enduring base of her economic existence makes her receptive to the idea of a joint representation of interests through organization.

The basic principle—equal pay for equal work—has more than mere trade union significance. No matter what objections may be raised against it on the part of the employers it is indubitably justified when taken in connection with the nation's industrial and political life as a whole. But it can only be put into effect if woman is kept away from the kind of gainful labor in which she is not equal to man, therefore above all from work that makes especially heavy demands upon bone and muscle. The women in the mines, on railroad track and construction work, in foundries and rolling mills, &c., must remain a phenomenon of war that must end with the war. But even then limitless fields of activity are open to them. But one of the most necessary tasks of legislation is to define, after careful examination, which of the fields of industrial life shall be kept open to woman labor. For only thus may the unavoidable shocks to our economic machinery due to the entering of woman into the army of wage workers be materially lessened. * * *

The war has given the wheel of evolution a swift turn forward. The woman question has entered upon a new stage; its significance for the entire nation has grown mightily. The State and society must recognize the new nature of the woman question and come to an understanding with it.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the existing blockade of Germany, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

An International Match

—From Il 420, Florence.

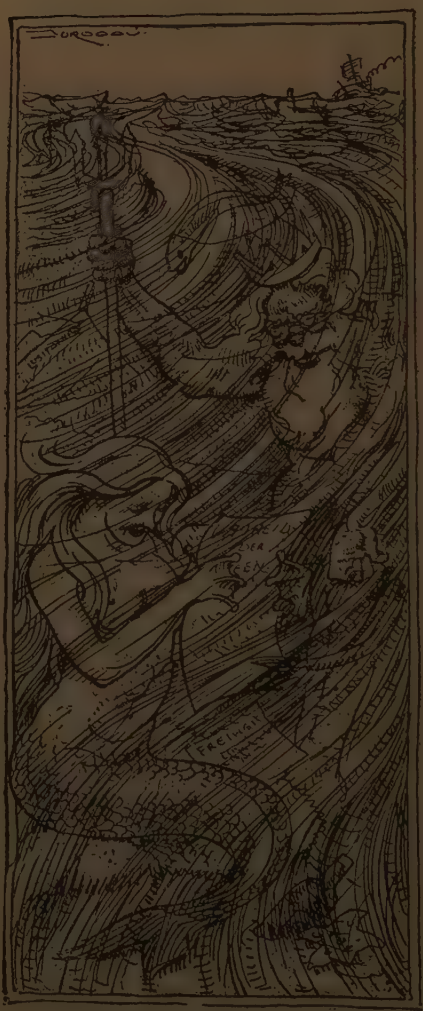
It began as boxing—and ends as football!

The Arm of the Law

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

"Donnerwetter! Caught, and I knew the bait was illegal!"

Deep Sea Philosophy



—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

"Father Neptune, what do they mean by 'freedom of the seas'?"

"They mean, my dear, that they must be free to send what they choose to the bottom."

[English Cartoon]

Holland's Plight

—*From The National News, London.*

"Between the devil and the deep sea."

[American Cartoon]

His Easter Egg

—*From The New York Times.*

Slow in hatching, but a healthy bird.

[Italian Cartoon]

The New Costume

—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

PRESIDENT WILSON: "And now—cut off my wings!"

[English Cartoon]

The Leper

—From Passing Show, London.

Shunned by all the world.

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Sudden Fear

—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

"Where is the good old 'Gott' I have called on always? Where is He? Have I slain Him also in error?"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The American Crocodile

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

"My good rider gives me such good fodder that I like to please him. Therefore I howl about the Belgian deportations."

[German Cartoon]

French Losses

"While England does the shouting, France loses the teeth."

[Spanish Cartoon]

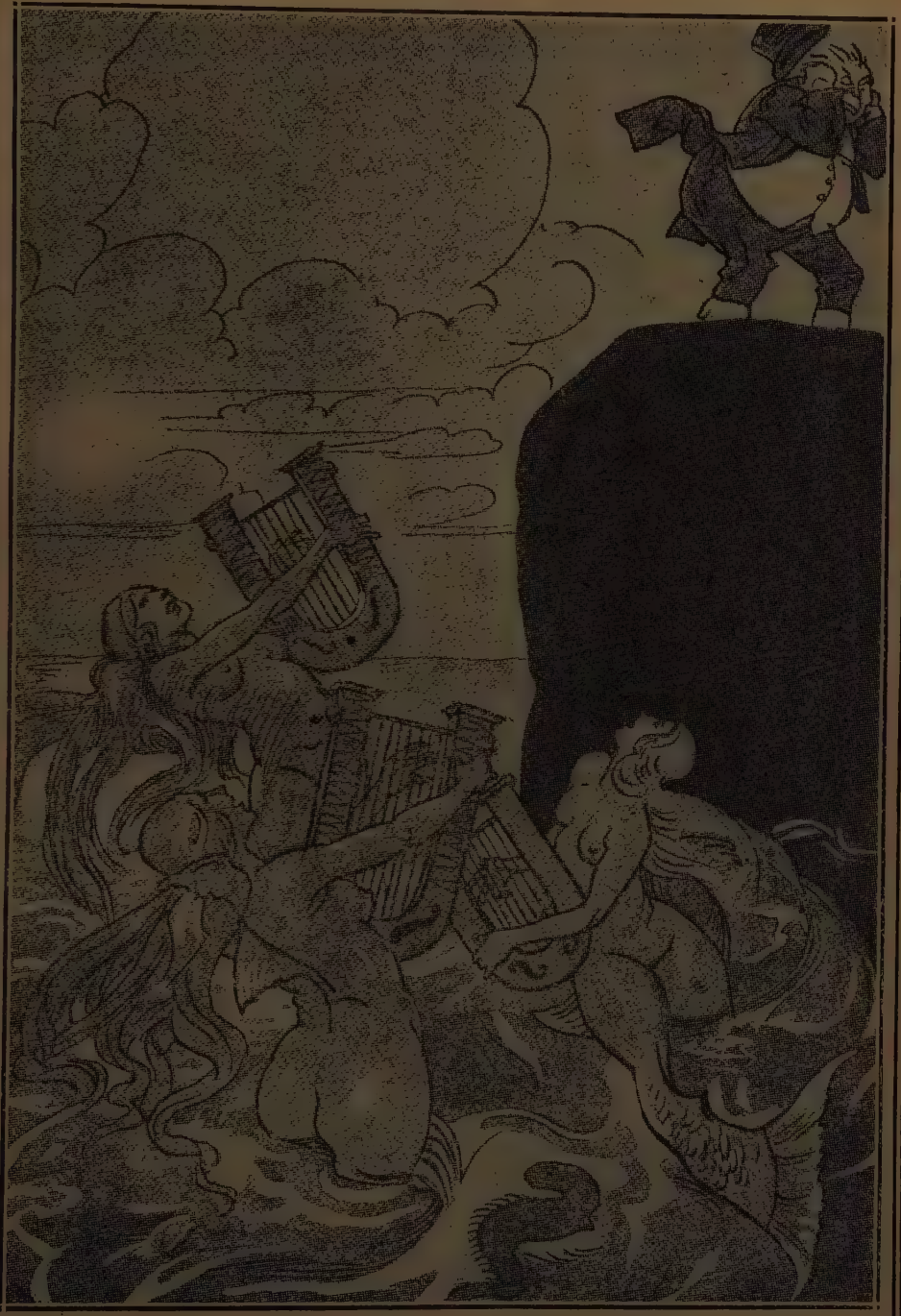
Better Late Than Never

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

President Wilson's final reply to Germany's submarine policy.

[Austrian Cartoon]

Besieging John Bull

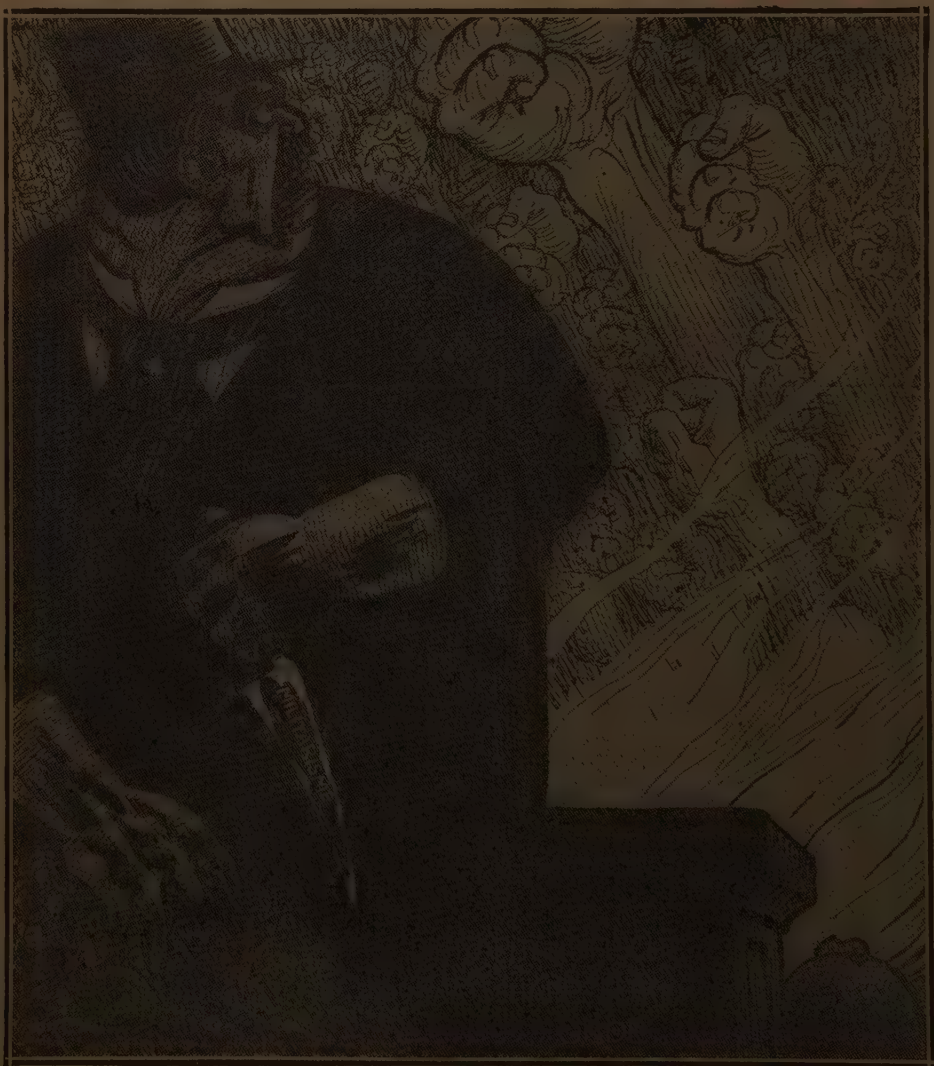


—*From Die Muskete, Vienna.*

The U-Maidens at Dover.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Woe of the World

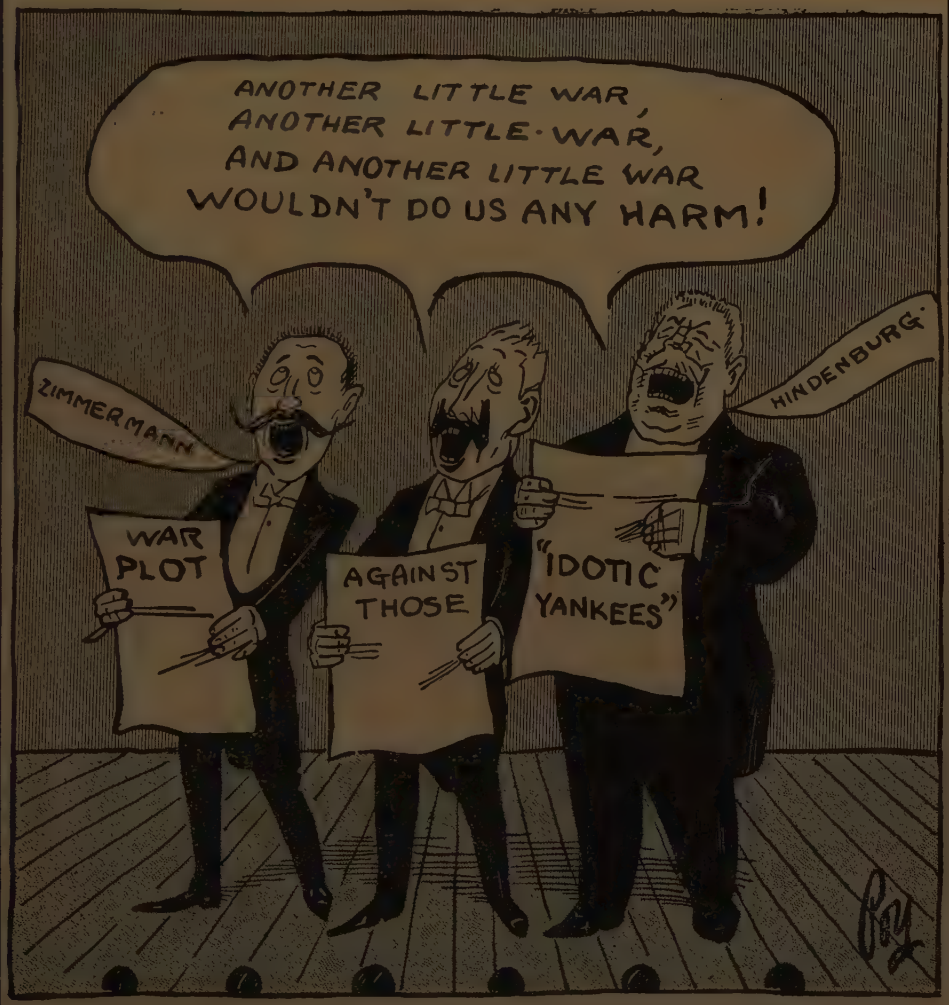


—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The militarist sees all the thin and puny hands of the starving peoples shape themselves into one mighty fist.

[English Cartoon]

The Harmony Three



—From The Evening News, London.

A song of the German-Mexican-Japanese plan of alliance.

[Dutch Cartoon]

England Holds Up Dutch Shipping

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

The Dutch Minister shows the empty bread basket.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The American Prestidigitateur

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

"All without apparatus or double bottoms. See, ladies and gentlemen, one, two, three—the dove is a cannon!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Pirate Emperor

—From Il 420, Florence.

KAISER: "Behold! I am Emperor of the seas! The submarine is my throne!"

DEATH: "I think you will find it your coffin."

[American Cartoons]

"You Lose"

—From The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

As It Looks to Poor Holland

—From The Grand Forks Herald.

More "Clever Strategy"

—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Strange Position of Holland

—From Il Numero, Turin.

Germany still creeping through for supplies

[Spanish Cartoon]

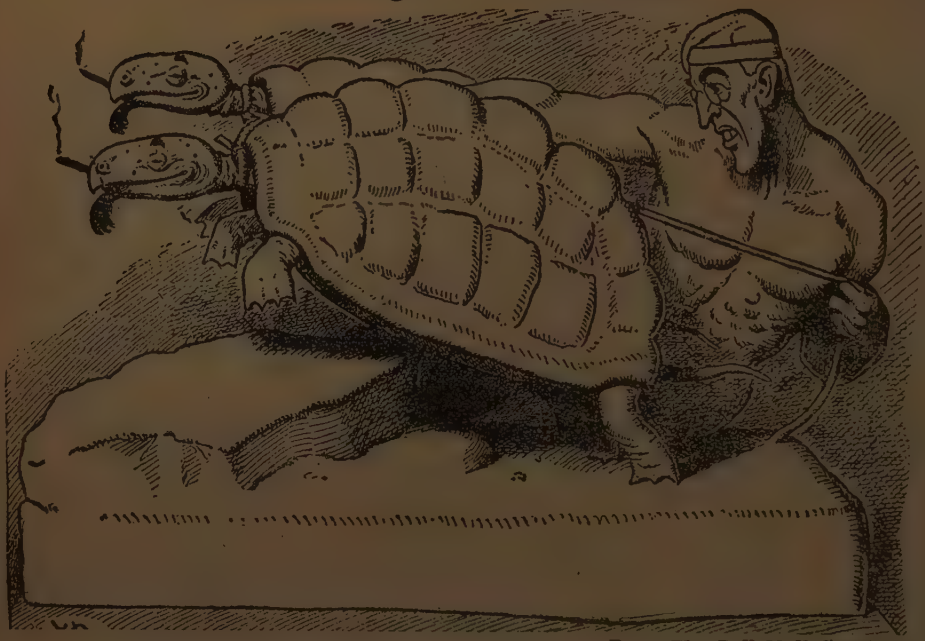
The Neutral

—*From Esquella, Barcelona.*

Playing a fandango while fellow-citizens perish.

[English Cartoons]

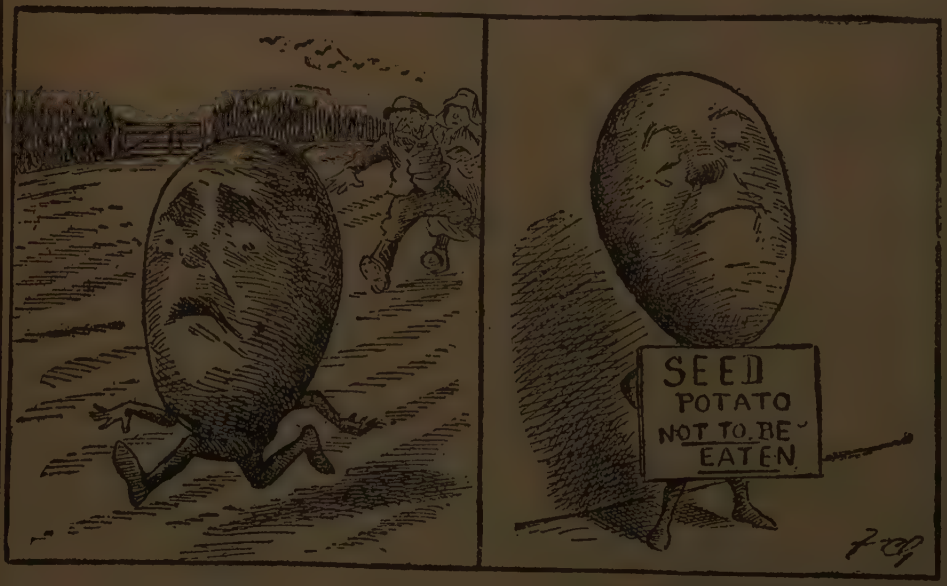
Straining at the Leash



—From The Pall Mall Gazette.

The dogs of war, United States of America.
[Published about the time of the Senate filibuster]

A Potato Drama



Despair.
The Last Potato.

—From The Westminster Gazette.

Safety.
Ha, ha! I am a Seed Potato!

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Europe's Progress Toward Bankruptcy

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The load is the debt and the imp is the interest. The load has grown from $4,000,000,000 to $80,000,000,000.

[American Cartoon]

In Freedom's Name

—From The Baltimore American.

Helping to roll away the stone.

[American Cartoon]

Into the Light

—From The Providence Journal.

The War's Greatest Work.

[Spanish Cartoon]

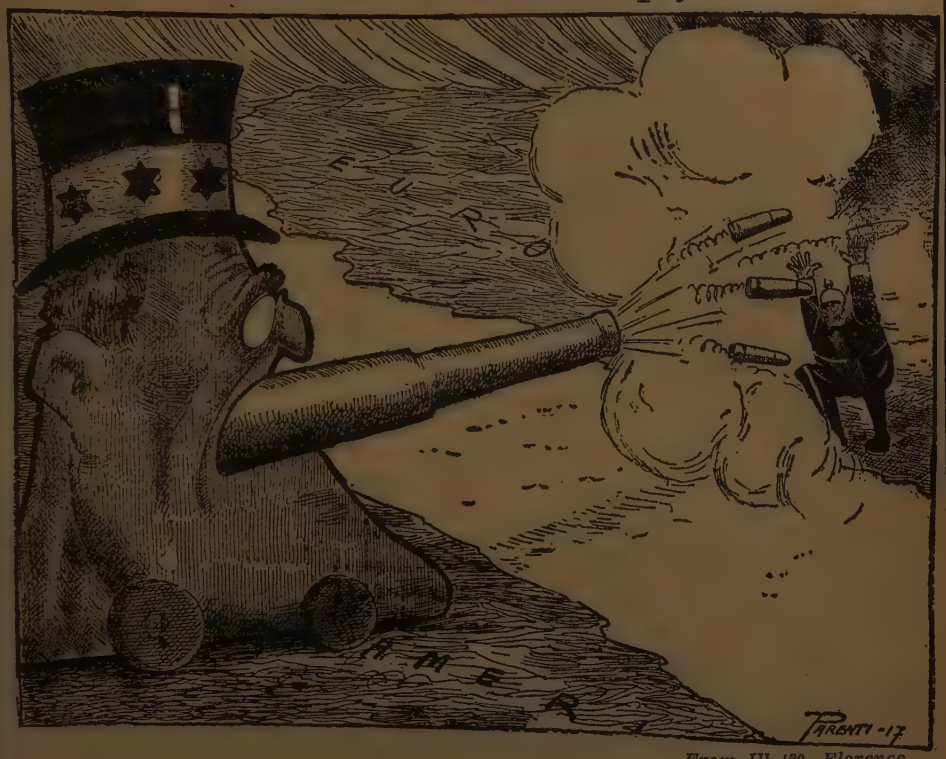
The Recompense

—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

GERMANY: "In return for the kindness shown by you to my people I reward you with this note in regard to my unlimited submarine campaign."

[Italian Cartoon]

America's Latest Reply



—From Ill 420, Florence.

THE KAISER: "Donnerwetter! This is a new kind of American note!"

[American Cartoon]

More Trouble for Germany

—From The Portland Oregonian.

Now China's kicking the Kaiser's dog around.

[American Cartoon]

The Pariah

—From The New York Evening Post.

"What has become of my friends?"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Intensive Submarine Warfare

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

NEPTUNE: "You can only put a good face on a bad position, John."

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RENE VIVIANI

The Eloquent Vice Premier of France, spokesman of the Special French Diplomatic Commission to the United States

(Photo International Film Service)

JOSEPH JACQUES CESAIRE JOFFRE

The Victor of the Marne and Marshal of France, with One of the Vast Crowds That Gathered to See Him in New York

(© *Underwood & Underwood and Mayor's Reception Committee*)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI.—No. 3 June, 1917 25 Cents a Copy $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE PRESIDENT'S CALL TO ARMS: TEXT OF PROCLAMATION	381
THE NEW AMERICAN ARMY: Operation of Conscription Law	385
Mobilizing America's Resources	387
VISIT OF NOTED DIPLOMATS: Text of Their Most Important Speeches	389
THE BATTLE OF ARRAS DAY BY DAY By Philip Gibbs	405
FRENCH OFFENSIVE ON THE AISNE	414
THE FAMOUS FIGHT FOR VIMY RIDGE	417
Last Inhabitants Driven From Rheims	419
MILITARY REVIEW OF THE MONTH By Lieutenant J. B. W. Gardiner	420
German Version of the Month's Fighting	423
GERMANY'S PEACE DISCUSSION: Text of Chancellor's Address	426
PROGRESS OF THE WAR Chronology to May 18	431
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED Brief Editorial Summaries	434
THE MONTH'S SUBMARINE DEPREDATIONS	440
The Sinking of Hospital Ships	442
HOME RULE FOR IRELAND	444
The Background of Home Rule	447
THE ENTENTE'S GREETINGS TO AMERICA	454
Lloyd George on America's Entry Into the War	456
Eloquent Welcome From Lords and Commons	460
America and the League of Honor	464
French Praise for America's Action	466
German Opinion on America's Intervention	468

Contents Continued on Next Page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
AMERICANS WHO HAVE FOUGHT FOR FRANCE.	By Paul Louis Hervier	470
FACTORS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION	By A. J. Sack	473
THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA		478
Poland's Share in Russian Freedom		488
Russian Troops in France Take Oath of Allegiance		489
NAVAL POWER IN THE PRESENT WAR. VI.	By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill	490
Dramatic Naval Fight Off Dover		496
The Death Agony of a Submarine		498
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. IV.	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	499
FINAL OFFICIAL REPORTS ON GALLIPOLI.	By Admirals de Robeck and Wemyss	508
A WONDERFUL FRENCH WAR MUSEUM	By J. Ernest Charles	512
GERMANY'S FORM OF GOVERNMENT	By Walter S. Smoot	516
Painful Charges of Brutality to Prisoners		521
THE HAND OF GOD IN PRUSSIANISM: A Study of the German War Spirit.		522
UNDER GERMAN RULE IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM	By J. P. Whitaker	525
GERMAN CRIMES IN THE SOMME RETREAT: Report to the French Senate		534
Pitiful Tales From Ruined Homes		541
Brand Whitlock on Belgian Deportations		543
GERMAN REPRISALS ON PRISONERS: Official German and French Reports		547
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS. 30 Cartoons, All Nations		551

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Rene Viviani	*Frontis*	Making First Loan to Allies	474
Joseph Jacques Cesaire Joffre	"	England Felicitates America.	475
Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lansing	394	Rasputin Among His Admirers	506
Prominent War Ambassadors.	395	Duma Banishes Czar's Portrait	507
Ex-Senator Elihu Root	410	Coucy-le-Chateau as It Was	522
Michael V. Rodzianko	411	Coucy-le-Chateau as It Is	523
General Henri P. Petain	426	Boy Scouts to Greet Joffre	*Extra*
Ruined Church at Roye	427	Joffre Saluting Lafayette	"
Canadians at Vimy Ridge	458	Scene at Columbia University	"
Marshal Joffre at West Point	459	Italy's Special Commission	"
		Aboard an Armed Steamship	"

THE CALL TO ARMS

President's Proclamation of Conscription Law Creating the National Army of the United States

Whereas, Congress has enacted and the President has on the 18th day of May, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, approved a law, which contains the following provisions:

SECTION 5.—That all male persons between the ages of 21 and 30, both inclusive, shall be subject to registration in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President: And upon proclamation by the President or other public notice given by him or by his direction stating the time and place of such registration it shall be the duty of all persons of the designated ages, except officers and enlisted men of the regular army, the navy, and the National Guard and Naval Militia while in the service of the United States, to present themselves for and submit to registration under the provisions of this act: And every such person shall be deemed to have notice of the requirements of this act upon the publication of said proclamation or other notice as aforesaid, given by the President or by his direction: And any person who shall willfully fail or refuse to present himself for registration or to submit thereto as herein provided shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction in the District Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, and shall thereupon be duly registered; provided that in the call of the docket precedence shall be given, in courts trying the same, to the trial of criminal proceedings under this act; provided, further, that persons shall be subject to registration as herein provided who shall have attained their twenty-first birthday and who shall not have attained their thirty-first birthday on or before the day set for the registration; and all persons so registered shall be and remain subject to draft into the forces hereby authorized unless excepted or excused therefrom as in this act provided; provided, further, that in the case of temporary absence from actual place of legal residence of any person liable to registration as provided herein, such registration may be made by mail under regulations to be prescribed by the President.

SECTION 6.—That the President is hereby authorized to utilize the service of any or all departments and any or all officers or agents of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia and subdivisions thereof in the execution of this act, and all officers and agents of the United States and of the several States, Territories, and subdivisions thereof, and of the District of Columbia; and all persons designated or appointed under regulations prescribed by the President, whether such appointments are made by the President himself or by the Governor or other officer of any State or Territory to perform any duty in the execution of this act, are hereby required to perform such duty as the President shall order or direct, and all such officers and agents and persons so designated or appointed shall hereby have full authority for all acts done by them in the execution of this act by the direction of the President. Correspondence in the execution of this act may be carried in penalty envelopes, bearing the frank of the War Department. Any person charged, as herein provided, with the duty of carrying into effect any of the provisions of this act or the regulations made or directions given thereunder who shall fail or

neglect to perform such duty, and any person charged with such duty or having and exercising any authority under said act, regulations, or directions, who shall knowingly make or be a party to the making of any false or incorrect registration, physical examination, exemption, enlistment, enrollment, or muster, and any person who shall make or be a party to the making of any false statement or certificate as to the fitness or liability of himself or any other person for service under the provisions of this act, or regulations made by the President thereunder, or otherwise evades or aids another to evade the requirements of this act or of said regulations, or who, in any manner, shall fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him in the execution of this act, shall, if not subject to military law, be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction in the District Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, or, if subject to military law, shall be tried by court-martial and suffer such punishment as a court-marital may direct.

Now, Therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do call upon the Governor of each of the several States and Territories, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and all officers and agents of the several States and Territories, of the District of Columbia, and of the counties and municipalities therein, to perform certain duties in the execution of the foregoing law, which duties will be communicated to them directly in regulations of even date herewith.

And I do further proclaim and give notice to all persons subject to registration in the several States and in the District of Columbia, in accordance with the above law, that the time and place of such registration shall be between 7 A. M. and 7 P. M. on the fifth day of June, 1917, at the registration place in the precinct wherein they have their permanent homes. Those who shall have attained their twenty-first birthday and who shall not have attained their thirty-first birthday on or before the day here named are required to register, excepting only officers and enlisted men of the regular army, the navy, the Marine Corps, and the National Guard and Navy Militia, while in the service of the United States, and officers in the Officers' Reserve Corps and enlisted men in the Enlisted Reserve Corps while in active service. In the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico a day for registration will be named in a later proclamation.

And I do charge those who through sickness shall be unable to present themselves for registration that they apply on or before the day of registration to the County Clerk of the county where they may be for instructions as to how they may be registered by agent. Those who expect to be absent on the day named from the counties in which they have their permanent homes may register by mail, but their mailed registration cards must reach the places in which they have their per-

manent homes by the day named herein. They should apply as soon as practicable to the County Clerk of the county wherein they may be for instructions as to how they may accomplish their registration by mail. In case such persons as, through sickness or absence, may be unable to present themselves personally for registration shall be sojourning in cities of over 30,000 population, they shall apply to the City Clerk of the city wherein they may be sojourning rather than to the Clerk of the county. The Clerks of counties and of cities of over 30,000 population in which numerous applications from the sick and from nonresidents are expected are authorized to establish such agencies and to employ and deputize such clerical force as may be necessary to accommodate these applications.

The power against which we are arrayed has sought to impose its will upon the world by force. To this end it has increased armament until it has changed the face of war. In the sense in which we have been wont to think of armies, there are no armies in this struggle, there are entire nations armed. Thus, the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is France than the men beneath the battle flags. It must be so with us. It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation.

To this end our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this cannot be if each man pursues a private purpose. All must pursue one purpose. The nation needs all men; but it needs each man not in the field that will most pleasure him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. Thus, though a sharpshooter pleases to operate a trip-hammer for the forging of great guns and an expert machinist desires to march with the flag, the nation is being served only when the sharpshooter marches and the machinist remains at his levers.

The whole nation must be a team, in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end, Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him.

The significance of this cannot be overstated. It is a new thing in our history and a landmark in our progress. It is a new manner of accepting and vitalizing our duty to give ourselves with thoughtful de-

votion to the common purpose of us all. It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass. It is no more a choosing of those who shall march with the colors than it is a selection of those who shall serve an equally necessary and devoted purpose in the industries that lie behind the battle line.

The day here named is the time upon which all shall present themselves for assignment to their tasks. It is for that reason destined to be remembered as one of the most conspicuous moments in our history. It is nothing less than the day upon which the manhood of the country shall step forward in one solid rank in defense of the ideals to which this nation is consecrated. It is important to those ideals no less than to the pride of this generation in manifesting its devotion to them, that there be no gaps in the ranks.

It is essential that the day be approached in thoughtful apprehension of its significance, and that we accord to it the honor and the meaning that it deserves. Our industrial need prescribes that it be not made a technical holiday, but the stern sacrifice that is before us urges that it be carried in all our hearts as a great day of patriotic devotion and obligation, when the duty shall lie upon every man, whether he is himself to be registered or not, to see to it that the name of every male person of the designated ages is written on these lists of honor.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this 18th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

By the President:

Woodrow Wilson

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

The New American Army

Operation of the Selective Draft Law and Formation of the Nation's Military Forces

CONGRESS passed the bill May 18 authorizing the formation of the new army by conscription—after a month's earnest debate. The measure provides for increasing the regular army to 287,000 men and the National Guard to 625,000. It further adopts for the United States the theory and system of compulsory service—which constitutes a revolutionary change—and provides a system of selective drafts between the ages of 21 and 30 years whereby men may be taken by the Government.

The President is authorized to take 500,000 at once and 500,000 later, in addition to the regular army and National Guard increases. In all, this legislation provides an army of approximately 2,000,000 to be raised in the first year following the passage of the law. The vote in the Senate was 81 to 8 and in the House 397 to 24.

President Wilson signed the measure the day it passed, and at once issued the proclamation printed in the preceding pages, calling the nation to arms. In this proclamation he defined the workings of the law, and fixed June 5 as the day for registration. This day is to be made the occasion of great patriotic demonstrations throughout the country.

About 10,000,000 men between 21 and 30, inclusive, are expected to be registered. After the registration and exemptions have been completed, those declared to be eligible for drafting will have their names placed in jury wheels and 500,000 will be drafted for Federal service in the formation of the new national army. It is expected that the second call for 500,000 men will follow within a few weeks. The new army will be completed as follows:

The regular army will be recruited to the maximum war strength of 287,000 men by voluntary enlistment or, as a last resort, by selective enrollment.

The National Guard will be recruited to the maximum war strength of 625,000 men by voluntary enlistment or, as a last resort, by selective enrollment.

The first additional force of 500,000 men will be raised by selective enrollment.

The new army will be mobilized in 16 divisions of 28,000 men each, distributed among the States as follows:

First—Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire.

Second—Lower New York State and Long Island.

Third—Upper New York State and Northern Pennsylvania.

Fourth—Southern Pennsylvania.

Fifth—Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and District of Columbia.

Sixth — Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Seventh—Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Eighth—Ohio and West Virginia.

Ninth—Indiana and Kentucky.

Tenth—Wisconsin and Michigan.

Eleventh—Illinois.

Twelfth—Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Thirteenth—North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa.

Fourteenth—Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri.

Fifteenth—Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Sixteenth — Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, California, Nevada, and Utah.

National Guard Called Out

Coincident with the proclamation, President Wilson issued orders for the mobilization of the entire National Guard, which will immediately be drafted into the Federal service; 60,000 of this force out of a total of 160,000 were drafted into the Federal service prior to May 15. New National Guard units will be expanded to a total of 400,000, to be known as the National Guard Army, consisting of sixteen divisions.

All men taken into the army will serve for the period of the war.

Although local units will be kept intact, so far as possible, the regular army, National Guard, and enrolled men will be welded into a homogeneous army, with

officers appointed and assigned by the President.

Enlisted men will receive pay of $30 a month, an increase of $15, and the pay of the other grades is increased.

Recruits of the regular army will go into training at once. The National Guard units will be in training, it is expected, by July 1, and the 500,000 enrolled men by Sept. 1.

There was a prolonged conflict over a provision authorizing the formation of four divisions of volunteers at the pleasure of the President, which was intended to authorize former President Roosevelt to head this volunteer army; it was finally incorporated into the bill. Announcement was made on May 19, however, that the President had decided not to avail himself of the authority to organize volunteer divisions. He announced at the same time that a division of the United States regulars would be sent to France at the earliest date practicable, to be commanded by Major Gen. John J. Pershing, who had been in command of the expedition to Mexico. The Secretary of the Navy announced May 19 that 2,600 marines would accompany the Pershing expedition.

Training Camps Established

Officers' training camps were opened on May 15 as follows:

First—Troops from all New England States, Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.

Second—New York Congressional Districts 1 to 26, (including Long Island, New York City, and a strip north of the city,) Plattsburg Barracks, N. Y.

Third—Remainder of New York State and Pennsylvania Congressional Districts 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 25, and 28, Madison Barracks, N. Y.

Fourth—Remainder of Pennsylvania State, including Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Fort Niagara, N. Y.

Fifth—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and District of Columbia, Fort Myer, Va.

Sixth—North and South Carolina and Tennessee, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., near Chattanooga, Tenn.

Seventh—Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, Fort McPherson, Ga., near Atlanta.

Eighth—Ohio and West Virginia, Fort Benjamin Harrison, near Indianapolis.

Ninth—Indiana and Kentucky, Fort Benjamin Harrison.

Tenth—Illinois, Fort Sheridan, near Chicago.

Eleventh—Michigan and Wisconsin, Fort Sheridan.

Twelfth—Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, Fort Logan H. Root, Ark., near Little Rock.

Thirteenth—Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska, Fort Snelling, Minn., near St. Paul.

Fourteenth—Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado, Fort Riley, Kan.

Fifteenth — Oklahoma and Texas, Leon Springs, Texas, near San Antonio.

Sixteenth—Montana, Idaho, Oregon, California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico, Presidio, San Francisco.

In addition there will be two separate cavalry divisions which probably will be situated in the Southwest, near the Mexican border. Officers for the cavalry divisions will be trained at all of the sixteen officers' training camps, which will open with 40,000 prospective officers under training.

Each infantry division consists of nine full regiments of infantry, three regiments of field artillery, one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of engineers, one division hospital, and four camp infirmaries. The total strength of the sixteen is 15,022 officers and 439,792 men.

The two cavalry divisions combined will have 1,214 officers and 32,062 fighting men, including mounted engineers and horse artillery units, and each will have also its divisional hospital and camp infirmaries.

The proportion of coast artillery troops to be provided out of the first 500,000 will be 666 officers and 20,000 men, with requisite medical troops.

Supplementing these tactical units will be: Sixteen regiments of heavy field artillery, strength, 768 officers and 21,104 men; eight aero squadrons, or one new squadron to each two new infantry divisions; eight balloon companies, ten field hospitals, ten ambulance companies, twenty-two field bakeries, six telephone battalions, sixteen pack companies, six ammunition trains, and six supply trains.

Provisions of Conscription Bill

Under the provisions of the conscription measure men without dependent wives or children are required to serve unless exempted on some other ground. Unmarried men with dependents, on the other hand, are not required to serve. Unmarried men belonging to exempted

classes under regulations to be prescribed by the President also may be exempted, even if they have no dependents.

The President himself is the final authority on all questions of exemption or discharge. The law authorizes him to appoint a local board for each county or similar subdivision and a local board for each 30,000 population in cities of 30,000 or more. These local boards will consist of three or more persons, none of them to be connected with the military establishment. The members of these boards will be chosen from local authorities or other citizens of the subdivision in which the board has jurisdiction.

Local boards have power to hear and determine, subject to review by district boards to be appointed for each Federal judicial district, all questions of exemption and all questions of including individuals or classes in the selective draft or of discharging them from it.

In densely populated judicial districts, as in New York City, more than one board will be appointed to revise the findings of local boards in each district when appeals are taken.

The entire scheme is to localize the exemption boards and boards of review as much as possible, officials feeling that in this way, and by keeping military men off the boards, the minimum of friction will result.

The district boards, also appointed solely by the President, have authority to review on appeal, affirm, modify, or reverse the decision of local boards, as to any individual or any class of individuals. Those not satisfied with the decision of the Board of Review may appeal directly to the President. In appointing all boards, the President has absolute control at all times of the exemption machinery. The exemption work is a purely civil procedure. The army has no part in the matter until after all questions of exemption or discharge of individuals or classes have been finally disposed of and the new draft army is called to the colors.

The specific exemptions fixed by the bill include State and Federal officials of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, persons in the naval or military service, members of religious sects with conscientious scruples against war. The President is authorized to exclude from the draft or to draft for "partial militar service only," county and municipal officers, Custom House clerks, persons employed by the United States in the transportation of the mails and certain other designated classes, together with "persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the military establishment or the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of the national interest during the emergency."

Mobilizing America's Resources

THE mobilizing of America's resources and the organizing of its man power for the war proceeded in earnest in May. In every direction new forms of co-operation in industry were established with the help of leading business men, technical experts, and men whose organizing abilities had been previously employed in private enterprise.

Committees to serve under Bernard M. Baruch, Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials of the Advisory Commission, and Julius Rosenwald, Chairman of the Committee of Supplies, were appointed by the Council of National Defense. These committees assisted in the co-ordination of industries. Judge Elbert H. Gary was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Steel, and among the members of the committee was Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Company. A. C. Bedford, President of the Standard Oil Company, was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Oil. Other committees to handle alcohol, aluminium, asbestos, magnesia, and roofing; brass, coal tar by-products, lumber, lead; mica, nickel, rubber, sulphur, wool, and zinc, were selected from the chief leaders in those lines.

The Commercial Economy Board of the Advisory Commission to promote efficiency, eliminate waste, and especially to assist commercial houses in releasing employes for Government service without dislocating business, proceeded with its work. A committee was appointed to increase output of coal and by co-operation with the Committees on Raw Materials and Transportation to accelerate the movement of coal to points where the need is greatest.

Medical men organized a board to work with the Council of National Defense.

The Women's Committee, presided over by Dr. Anna H. Shaw, endeavored to prevent overlapping by the numerous women's organizations, and to organize their work in an efficient manner.

Measures were undertaken to recruit for farm work boys between the age of 16 and the age of enlistment, of whom there are 5,000,000, with 2,000,000 estimated as idle. This was directed by the Department of Agriculture through the United States Boys' Working Reserve.

The leaders of capital and labor on May 15 met at Washington, and, putting aside all differences, agreed to co-operate. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor and Chairman of the Labor Committee of the Advisory Commission, invited a group of America's greatest industrial magnates to discuss methods of co-operation between employers and workers. Those who accepted included John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Emerson McMillan of New York, Daniel Guggenheim, Theodore Marburg of Baltimore, and Colgate Hoyt of New York. The meeting in the Labor Federation building at Washington was unprecedented. Mr. Rockefeller promised that he would do all he could to co-operate with labor. Similar pledges were received from other men representing great industrial interests, who were not present at the meeting. At its conclusion the spokesmen of capital and labor went in a body to the White House, and were received by the President, who said that this was a most welcome visit, because it meant a most welcome thing—co-operation of the whole nation. The labor union leaders of America have also conferred with the British labor representatives who have been visiting Washington and learning how in England employers and workers have co-operated for the prosecution of the war.

The Government received invaluable assistance from the iron and steel producers, who formed a central organization and took charge of all orders for war munitions. All steel mills were classified according to tonnage, so as to make a proper distribution of the financial burden. The copper producers made an agreement with the Metals Committee of the National Defense Council to supply copper at the average market price for the last ten years, instead of the current market prices. Secretary of the Navy Daniels stated that his department is thereby saving $850,000 in the cost of cartridge cases under contracts just awarded. The agreement was brought about by Bernard M. Baruch. Satisfactory arrangements were also made by the Navy Department with the petroleum interests to supply the navy's needs at reasonable cost. Judge Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, announced that the Government was to obtain the steel it required at lower prices. Other branches of trade and industry also acted on the principle that patriotism demands the subordination of profit-seeking to war needs.

The State Governments began to organize so as to help the National Government, New York in particular being well advanced with its scheme of defense work. Early in May a conference of Governors and State delegates was held at Washington and received explanations regarding the various projects of committees of the National Defense Council.

VISIT OF NOTED DIPLOMATS

Marshal Joffre and Ministers Balfour and Viviani Welcomed by the United States

Text of Their Most Eloquent Speeches

THE entrance of the United States into the great conflict was immediately followed by a decision on the part of the British and French Governments each to send on one of its warships a high commission to convey the greetings and sense of appreciation of those Governments to this country, and also to discuss ways and means for securing the most effective co-operation of the United States.

The British Commission was headed by Arthur J. Balfour, Foreign Minister and former Premier; his personal staff included the Hon. Sir Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., G. C. B.; Ian Malcolm, M. P.; C. F. Dormer, and G. Butler. Sir Eric Drummond is a half-brother and heir presumptive of the Earl of Perth. Mr. Malcolm at different times was an attaché of the British Embassies in Berlin, Paris, and Petrograd, and during the war has been the British Red Cross officer in France, Switzerland, and Russia.

Other members of the party were Rear Admiral Dudley R. S. de Chair, K. C. B., M. V. O.; Fleet Paymaster Vincent Lawford, D. S. O., Admiralty; Major General George T. M. Bridges, C. M. G., D. S. O.; Captain H. H. Spender-Clay, M. P.; Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England. Admiral de Chair is one of the naval advisers of the British Foreign Office. General Bridges was the head of the military mission with the Belgian field army and served in both the Boer war and the present conflict. Captain Spender-Clay married the daughter of William Waldorf Astor. The commission also included the following:

War Office.—Colonel Goodwin, Colonel Langhorne, Major L. W. B. Rees, V. C., M. C., Royal Flying Corps, and Major C. E. Dansey.

Blockade Department Experts.—Lord Eustace Percy of the Foreign Office. A. A. Paton of the Foreign Office, F. P. Robinson of the Board of Trade, S. McKenna of the War Trade Intelligence Department, and M. D. Peterson of the Foreign Trade Department, Foreign Office.

Wheat Commission.—A. A. Anderson, Chairman, and Mr. Vigor.

Munitions.—W. T. Layton, Director of Requirements and Statistics Branch, Secretariat of the Ministry of Munitions; C. T. Phillips, American and Transport Department, Ministry of Munitions; Captain Leeming, Mr. Amos.

Ordnance and Lines of Communication.—Captain Heron.

Supplies and Transports.—Major Puckle.

The French Commission was headed by former Premier Viviani, Minister of Justice; General Joffre, Marshal of France; Vice Admiral Chocheprat, Senior Vice Admiral of the French Navy, and Marquis de Chambrun, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a lineal descendant of Marquis de Lafayette. The party also included M. Simon, Inspector of Finance; M. Hovelacque, Inspector General of Public Instruction, and the personal staff of Marshal Joffre, comprising Lieut. Col. Fabry, Chief of Staff; Lieut. Col. Remond, (artillery,) General Headquarters; Major Rerquim, Ministry of War; Lieutenant de Tossan, Tenth Army, and Surgeon Major Dreyfus of the Medical Corps. The other members of the party are Lieutenant A. J. A. K. Lindeboom of the Ministry of Marine, a specialist in sea transport, and Captain George E. Simon, Aid de Camp of Admiral Chocheprat.

Arrival of British Mission

The visit of these eminent men was meant to fulfill two separate functions, the one to express to the people of America the gratification of the allied Governments over our action, and the other to discuss practical ways and means with our Government to secure its most effective co-operation with the Allies.

The British Commissioners stole secretly away from England April 11 on a

fast ship, protected in every possible way from German spies, who might have sent out word to lurking submarines. The voyage was entirely uneventful, however, and the party arrived at Halifax April 20. Crossing to St. John, a special train took them to the little Canadian town of McAdam, just across the International Bridge, which Werner Horn, a former German officer, had attempted to blow up.

Meanwhile the American Reception Committee, headed by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State; Rear Admiral Fletcher, and Major Gen. Wood, slipped out of Washington April 15 under the impression that the British party had started two days earlier than it did. With a five-car special train standing with steam up, the committee waited anxiously from Monday until Friday afternoon, when the word came from Halifax which sent them on a night ride to the border. At 9 A. M. of the 21st they arrived at the little frontier town of Vanceboro, Me. The American officials, with the army and navy representatives in uniform, descended to a dingy and deserted station platform in a thick, cold mist. News of the distinguished guests' arrival soon brought a small gathering of railroad workers, farmers, and French Canadians, reinforced by a squad of youngsters who came marching up with three worn American flags.

To these modest surroundings the special train, which had gone on to McAdam, returned two hours later bearing Mr. Balfour and his party. As it drew across the bridge, Secretary Long and his party mounted the rear of the observation car and disappeared inside to welcome the commission formally to American soil.

Mr. Balfour's Statement

The party reached Washington on Sunday, April 22. While en route Mr. Balfour issued the following statement:

I have not come here to make speeches or indulge in interviews, but to do what I can to make co-operation easy and effective between those who are striving with all their power to bring about a lasting peace by the only means that can secure it, namely, a successful war.

On my own behalf let me express the deep gratification I feel at being connected in any capacity whatever with events which associate our countries in a common effort for a great ideal.

On behalf of my countrymen, let me express our gratitude for all that the citizens of the United States of America have done to mitigate the lot of those who, in the allied countries, have suffered from the cruelties of the most deliberately cruel of all wars. To name no others, the efforts of Mr. Gerard to alleviate the condition of British and other prisoners of war in Germany and the administrative genius which Mr. Hoover has ungrudgingly devoted to the relief of the unhappy Belgians and French in the territories still in enemy occupation, will never be forgotten, while an inexhaustible stream of charitable effort has supplied medical and nursing skill to the service of the wounded and the sick.

These are the memorable doing of a beneficent neutrality. But the days of neutrality are, I rejoice to think, at an end, and the first page is being turned in a new chapter in the history of mankind.

Your President, in a most apt and vivid phrase, has proclaimed that the world must be made safe for democracy. Democracies, wherever they are to be found, and not least the democracies of the British Empire, will hail the pronouncement as a happy augury.

That self-governing communities are not to be treated as negligible simply because they are small, that the ruthless domination of one unscrupulous power imperils the future of civilization and the liberties of mankind, are truths of political ethics which the bitter experiences of war are burning into the souls of all freedom-loving peoples. That this great people should have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into this mighty struggle, prepared for all the efforts and sacrifices that may be required to win success for this most righteous cause, is an event at once so happy and so momentous that only the historian of the future will be able, as I believe, to measure its true proportions.

At Washington the party was met in the station by Secretary of State Lansing and Colonel W. W. Harts, the President's Aid; Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department and Assistant Secretary of State; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador, and others. Escorted by two troops of cavalry, the visitors were taken to the private residence of Franklin MacVeagh, former Secretary of the Treasury, which had been placed at their disposal. The streets through which they passed were filled with welcoming crowds, and as they passed they were everywhere greeted with cheers and waving flags, the Stars

and Stripes and the union jack being freely intermingled.

Mr. Balfour first conferred with President Wilson on the morning of the 23d, and that night the President and Mrs. Wilson gave a dinner at the White House in honor of the party.

Seeking No Formal Alliance

On April 25 Mr. Balfour made his first important official declaration, in which he stated that the Entente Powers did not seek a formal alliance with the United States. Speaking to a group of newspaper correspondents, he said:

I do not suppose that it is possible for you—I am sure it would not be possible for me were I in your place—to realize in concrete detail all that the war means to those who have been engaged in it for now two years and a half. That is a feeling which comes, and can only come, by actual experience. We on the other side of the Atlantic have been living in an atmosphere of war since August, 1914, and you cannot move about the streets, you cannot go about your daily business, even if your affairs be disassociated with the war itself, without having evidences of the war brought to your notice every moment.

I arrived here on Sunday afternoon and went out in the evening after dark, and I was struck by a somewhat unusual feeling which at the first moment I did not analyze; and suddenly it came upon me that this was the first time for two years and a half or more when I had seen a properly lighted street. There is not a street in London, there is not a street in any city in the United Kingdom in which after dark the whole community is not wrapped in a gloom exceeding that which must have existed before the invention of gas or electric lighting. But that is a small matter, and I only mention it because it happened to strike me as one of my earliest experiences in this city.

Of course, the more tragic side of war is never, and cannot ever be, absent from our minds. I saw with great regret this morning in the newspapers that the son of Bonar Law, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, was wounded and missing in some of the operations now going on in Palestine, and I instinctively cast my mind back to the losses of this war in all circles, but as an illustration it seems to me impressive. I went over the melancholy list, and, if my memory serves me right, out of the small number of Cabinet Ministers, men of Cabinet rank who were serving the State when the war broke out in August, 1914, one has been killed in action, four at least have lost sons. That is the sort of things that have happened in quite a small and narrowly restricted class of men, but it is characteristic of what is happeneing throughout the whole country.

The condition of France in that respect is evidently even more full of sorrow and tragedy than our own, because we had not a great army, we had but a small army when war broke out, whereas the French Army was of the great Continental type, was on a war footing, and was, from the very inception of military operations, engaged in sanguinary conflict with the common enemy.

Tribute to General Joffre

We have today among us a mission from France. I doubt not—indeed, I am fully convinced—that they will receive a welcome not less warm, not less heartfelt, than that which you have so generously and encouragingly extended to us. That was and certainly will be increased by the reflection that one member of the mission is Marshal Joffre, who will go down through all time as the General in command of the allied forces at one of the most critical moments in the world's history.

I remember when I was here before there was a book which was given out in the schools called "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." I do not know whether they all quite deserve that title, but there can be no doubt or question whatever that, among the decisive battles of the world, the Battle of the Marne was the most decisive. It was a turning point in the history of mankind, and I rejoice that the hero of that event is today coming among us and will join us, the British Nation in laying before the people of the United States our gratitude for the sympathy which they have shown and are showing, and our warm confidence in the value of the assistance which they are affording the allied cause.

Gentlemen, I do not believe that the magnitude of that assistance can by any possibility be exaggerated. I am told that there are some doubting critics who seem to think that the object of the mission of France and Great Britain to this country is to inveigle the United States out of its traditional policy and to entangle it in formal alliances, secret or public, with European powers. I cannot imagine any rumor with less foundation, nor can I imagine a policy so utterly unnecessary.

Our confidence in the assistance which we are going to get from this community is not based upon such shallow considerations as those which arise out of formal treaties. No treaty could increase the undoubted confidence with which we look to the United States, who, having come into the war, are going to see the war through. * * * I feel perfectly certain that you will throw into it all your unequaled resources, all your powers of invention, of production, all your man power, all the resources of that country which has greater resources than any other country in the world, and, already having come to the decision, nothing will turn you from it but success crowning our joint efforts.

The vessel bearing the French High Commission was convoyed across the

Atlantic by French warships, and was met about a hundred miles at sea by American naval officers aboard a flotilla of our destroyers. The meeting was at night, and not a light was shown by either party; the vessels knew of each other's presence only by the phosporescence kicked up by the propellers. At dawn the flotilla and its guests fell in by rendezvous with an American cruiser, which led the way to Hampton Roads, arriving there on April 24. Here the visitors were tendered the use of President Wilson's yacht, the Mayflower, which they at once boarded.

French Mission Welcomed

Meanwhile, every American ship in the harbor hoisted the French tricolor to the masthead, and the band of a warship played "The Star-Spangled Banner." Marshal Joffre and the military and naval members stood at salute until the last note had floated across the water, while the civilian members stood with bared heads. Immediately after came the French national anthem, which was saluted in a similar manner.

The ship bearing the mission dropped anchor off Fort Monroe, while the convoy steamed several miles further on. High army and navy officers greeted the visitors and accompanied them to Washington, where the Mayflower arrived soon after noon on April 25.

On the broad landing stage were assembled a company of marines and two troops of the Second Cavalry, with the Marine Band at hand to play appropriate music, all these military contingents in blue dress uniforms, with service facings. The members of the French Embassy Staff were there also.

As the yacht docked, Secretary Lansing, accompanied by Frank L. Polk, the Counselor of the State Department; William Phillips, the Assistant Secretary of State, and Colonel W. W. Harts, U. S. A., the President's aid, walked up the gangplank to extend a welcome to the French Commissioners in the nation's name. As Mr. Lansing reached the deck of the ship trumpeters gave him four flourishes, and the Mayflower's band played a few bars of a ceremonial march. The greeting of the Secretary of State was first extended to M. Viviani, and then to Marshal Joffre, and was of an extremely cordial character. Only a few minutes were spent in exchanging felicitations, however, and then the whole party, French and American, came ashore, while the Marine Band played "The Marseillaise," the marines and troopers saluted, and the spectators applauded.

The trip through Washington to the residence of Henry White, former Ambassador to France, which was placed at their disposal, was one continuous ovation. The streets were lined with people, all of whom were carrying the French tricolor and the Stars and Stripes, and as the visitors passed they were greeted with enthusiastic cheers of welcome. Secretary Lansing issued this statement:

> It is very gratifying to this Government and to the people that we should have as our guests such distinguished representatives of the French Republic as arrived this noon. In sending men who so fully represent the French Government and people we have the very best evidence of the spirit and feeling of France toward the United States. We can assure the French people that we reciprocate this spirit which induced them to send these Commissioners, and rejoice that the two great nations are battling side by side for the liberty of mankind.

Statement by M. Viviani

M. Viviani's first official statement was issued on the 26th, after he had paid his formal visit to President Wilson. It was addressed to the representatives of the press, as follows:

> I am indeed happy to have been chosen to present the greetings of the French Republic to the illustrious man whose name is in every French mouth today, whose incomparable message is at this very hour being read and commented upon in all our schools as the most perfect charter of human rights and which so fully expresses the virtues of your race—long suffering patience before appealing to force; and force to avenge that long suffering patience when there can be no other means.
>
> Since you are here to listen to me I ask you to repeat a thousandfold the expression of our deep gratitude for the enthusiastic reception the American people has granted us in Washington. It is not to us, but to our beloved and heroic France that reception was accorded. We were proud to be her children

in those unforgettable moments when we read in the radiance of the faces we saw the noble sincerity of your hearts. And I desire to thank also the press of the United States represented by you. I fully realize the ardent and disinterested help you have given by your tireless propaganda in the cause of right.

We have come to this land to salute the American people and its Government, to call to fresh vigor our lifelong friendship, sweet and cordial in the ordinary course of our lives, and which these tragic hours have raised to all the ardor of brotherly love—a brotherly love which in these last years of suffering has multiplied its most touching expressions. You have given help, not only in treasure, but also in every act of kindness and good-will. For us your children have shed their blood, and the names of your sacred dead are inscribed forever in our hearts. And it was with a full knowledge of the meaning of what you did that you acted. Your inexhaustible generosity was not the charity of the fortunate to the distressed—it was an affirmation of your conscience, a reasoned approval of your judgment.

Your fellow-countrymen knew that under the savage assault of a nation of prey which has made of war, to quote a famous saying, "its national industry," we were upholding with our incomparable allies, faithful and valiant to the death, with all those who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us on the firing line, the sons of indomitable England, a struggle for the violated rights of man, for that democratic spirit which the forces of autocracy were attempting to crush throughout the world. We are ready to carry that struggle on to the end.

And now, as President Wilson has said, the Republic of the United States rises in its strength as a champion of right and rallies to the side of France and her allies. Only our descendants, when time has removed them sufficiently far from present events, will be able to measure the full significance, the grandeur of a historic act which has sent a thrill through the whole world. From today on all the forces of freedom are let loose, and not only victory, of which we were already assured, is certain; the true meaning of victory is made manifest. It cannot be merely a fortunate military conclusion to this struggle—it will be the victory of morality and right, and will forever secure the existence of a world in which all our children shall draw free breath in full peace and undisturbed pursuit of their labors.

"France Day" in New York

April 26 was officially designated as France Day by Governor Whitman of New York in commemoration of the historic friendship between the United States and the French Republic, with particular significance as the accepted anniversary of Lafayette's departure from France in 1777 to fight by the side of Washington.

From one end of New York City to the other the tricolor flew with the American flag to proclaim the union of the two republics in the war. Groups of children in their schoolrooms and of their elders in meeting halls sang the "Marseillaise" and applauded tributes in poetry and prose to Lafayette and France. Wreaths of flowers were piled high about the statue of Lafayette in Union Square, and Frenchmen were the guests of honor at luncheons and dinners. By order of Dr. Finley, State Commissioner of Education, President Wilson's war address to Congress was read in all the schools.

At Washington's Tomb

One of the most imposing and significant episodes during the sojourn of the distinguished guests was a visit by both commissions to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon on April 29. The two former Premiers of France and Great Britain, standing before the tomb of the first President, with the flags of the three great democracies floating together above it, spoke with deep emotion of the common fight for freedom in which all three were together engaged, while Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre, Marshal of France, laid on the marble sarcophagus with his own hands a bronze palm wound with the French tricolor. A card attached to a huge wreath of lilies placed beside the French palm bore the following words in Mr. Balfour's handwriting:

"Dedicated by the British Mission to the immortal memory of George Washington, soldier, statesman, patriot, who would have rejoiced to see the country of which he was by birth a citizen and the country his genius called into existence fighting side by side to save mankind from a military despotism."

An Eloquent Tribute

Mr. Viviani's speech on that occasion was a notable tribute in the following eloquent terms:

In this spot lies all that is mortal of a great hero. Close by this spot is the modest abode where Washington rested after the tre-

mendous labor of achieving for a nation its emancipation. In this spot meet the admiration of the whole world and the veneration of the American people. In this spot rise before us the glorious memories left by the soldiers of France led by Rochambeau and Lafayette. A descendant of the latter, my friend, M. de Chambrun, accompanies us. And I esteem it a supreme honor as well as a satisfaction for my conscience to be entitled to render this homage to our ancestors in the presence of my colleague and friend, Mr. Balfour, who so nobly represents his great nation. By thus coming to lay here the respectful tribute of every English mind, he shows, in this historic moment of communion which France has willed, what nations that live for liberty can do.

When we contemplate in the distant past the luminous presence of Washington; in nearer times the majestic figure of Abraham Lincoln; when we respectfully salute President Wilson, the worthy heir of these great memories, we at one glance measure the vast career of the American people. It is because the American people proclaimed and won for the nation the right to govern itself, it is because it proclaimed and won the equality of all men, that the free American public, at the hour marked by fate, has been enabled with commanding force to carry its action beyond the seas. It is because it was resolved to extend its action still further that Congress was enabled to obtain within the space of a few days the vote of conscription and to proclaim the necessity for a national army in the full splendor of civil peace.

In the name of France I salute the young army which will share in our common glory.

While paying this supreme tribute to the memory of Washington I do not diminish the effect of my words when I turn my thoughts to the memory of so many unnamed heroes. I ask you before this tomb to bow in earnest meditation and all the fervor of piety before all the soldiers of the allied nations who for nearly three years have been fighting under different flags for the same ideal. I beg you to address the homage of your hearts and souls to all the heroes, born to live in happiness, in the tranquil pursuit of their labors, in the enjoyment of all human affections, who went into battle with virile cheerfulness and gave themselves up, not to death alone, but to the eternal silence that closes over those whose sacrifice remains unnamed, in the full knowledge that save for those who loved them their names would disappear with their bodies. Their monument is in our hearts. Not the living alone greet us here; the ranks of the dead themselves rise to surround the soldiers of liberty.

At this solemn hour in the history of the world, while saluting from this sacred mound the final victory of justice, I send to the Republic of the United States the greetings of the French Republic.

Mr. Balfour, who followed M. Viviani, said:

My friend and colleague, M. Viviani, in phrases burning with emotion, and in eloquent language, not only has paid tribute to the hero who is buried here, but has brought our thoughts down to the present crisis, the greatest in the world's history. He has told us of the people of France, England, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Serbia who have sacrificed their lives for what they believe to be the cause of liberty. No spot on the face of the earth, where a speech in behalf of liberty might be made, could be more appropriate than the tomb of Washington.

Mr. Balfour concluded by reading the inscription on the card attached to the British wreath, which he himself had written.

Mr. Balfour was followed by Governor Stuart of Virginia, who spoke of the pride of his State in claiming Washington as its son, and expressed the appreciation of America at the honor that had been paid to her hero.

Marshal Joffre, as France's greatest soldier, added a tribute to the greatest soldier of the United States.

"In the French Army," he said, "all venerate the name and memory of Washington. I respectfully salute here the great soldier and lay upon his tomb the palm we offer our soldiers who have died for their country."

The bronze palm which is the symbol with which France honors her military heroes was laid on the sarcophagus by Marshal Joffre, assisted by Lieutenant de Tossan, his aid.

Mr. Balfour and General Bridges, Great Britain's chief army representative in the mission, placed the British wreath. The three flags of Great Britain, France and the United States rested on it. The French palm had on it only a wide band in the French national colors.

The earnestness and feeling with which the allied representatives spoke carried with it a full conviction of the reality of the symbolism which they sought to convey.

Visit to Senate Chamber

In the United States Senate Chamber May 1 Vice Premier Viviani, Marshal Joffre, and Ambassador Jusserand were granted the courtesies of the floor. A demonstration followed such as had not been witnessed in that Chamber since

MR. BALFOUR AND MR. LANSING

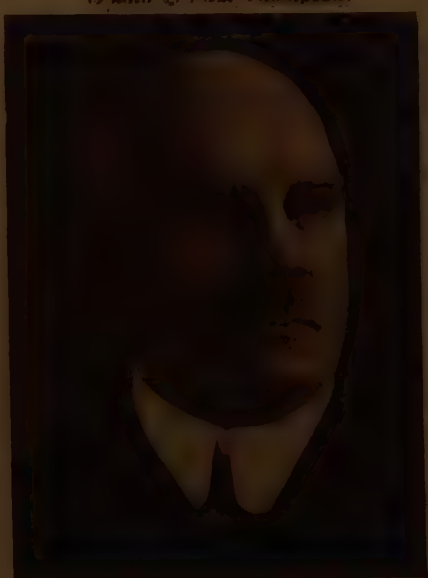
Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Minister and Head of Diplomatic Mission to United States.
(Secretary Lansing on Right)
(Photo Harris & Ewing)

PROMINENT WAR AMBASSADORS

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE
British Ambassador to United States
(American Press Ass'n)

WALTER H. PAGE
American Ambassador to Great Britain
(Photo © Paul Thompson)

JULES JUSSERAND
French Ambassador to United States
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



WILLIAM G. SHARP
American Ambassador to France

Lafayette was the guest of the United States in 1822.

The visit was made by invitation. The French Mission reached Vice President Marshall's room shortly before 12:30 o'clock. The Vice President was notified, and he named Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, who has been the active leader of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts, the ranking Republican of the committee, to usher the guests into the chamber.

The two Senators crossed the lobby to the Vice President's room and returned at once. M. Viviani entered with Mr. Hitchcock, Marshal Joffre with Mr. Lodge, and the French Ambassador with Admiral Chocheprat. The committee's return was not expected so soon, but grave salutes to Marshal Joffre by two bright-eyed little pages at the door, which the Marshal as gravely returned, gave the signal. The Senators clapped hands deafeningly and rose, the galleries shouted more deafeningly still and rose, leaning forward and waving, while members of the House standing at the back of the chamber surged forward.

The visitors shook hands with the Vice President and stood beside him, looking with evident pleasure at the wild scene before them. When the applause had lasted for several minutes Mr. Marshall tapped for order.

"The Senate of the United States," he said, "has had the pleasure and honor many times of receiving distinguished visitors to the Republic. It had the honor of receiving General Lafayette, and now, nearly a century later, it has the honor of welcoming the Vice Premier of the French Government and the Marshal of France."

"Mr. President," said Senator Martin of Virginia, the majority leader, "I move that the Senate now recess so that Senators may have the pleasure of greeting personally our distinguished guests."

The motion was carried by acclamation, and an informal reception began.

Viviani Addresses Senate

M. Viviani, during the reception, in which Representatives as well as Senators participated, was prevailed upon to make an address and spoke as follows:

Since I have been granted the supreme honor of speaking before the representatives of the American people, may I ask them first to allow me to thank this magnificent capital for the welcome it has accorded us? Accustomed as we are in our own free land to popular manifestations, and though we had been warned by your fellow-countrymen who live in Paris of the enthusiastic burning in your hearts, we are still full of the emotion raised by the sights that awaited us. I shall never cease to see the proud and stalwart men who saluted our passage; your women, whose grace adds fresh beauty to your city, their arms outstretched full of flowers, and your children hurrying to meet us at the call of their schoolmasters, as if our coming were looked upon as a lesson for them, all with one accord acclaiming, in our perishable persons, immortal France. And yet I predict there will be a yet grander manifestation the day when your illustrious President, relieved from the burden of power, will come among us bearing the salute of the Republic of the United States to a free Europe, whose foundations from end to end shall be based on right. It is with unspeakable emotion that we cross the threshold of this legislative palace where prudence and boldness meet, and that I, for the first time in the annals of America, though a foreigner, speak in this hall, which only a few days since resounded with the words of virile force.

You have set all the democracies of the world the most magnificent example. So soon as the common peril was made manifest to you, with simplicity and within a few short days you voted a formidable credit and proclaimed that a formidable army was to be raised. The commentary on his acts which President Wilson gave before acting, and which you made yours, remains in the history of free peoples the weightiest of lessons.

Doubtless you were resolved to avenge the insult offered your flag, which the whole world respected; doubtless through the thickness of these massive walls the mournful cry of all the victims which criminal hands hurled into the depths of the sea, has reached and stirred your souls; but it will be your honor in history that you also heard the cry of humanity, and invoked against autocracy the rights of democracies. And I can only wonder as I speak what, if they still have any power to think, are the thoughts of the autocrats who three years ago against us, three months ago against you, unchained this conflict.

Ah! doubtless they said among themselves that a democracy is an ideal Government, that it showers reforms on mankind, that it can in the domain of labor quicken all economic activities. And yet now we see the French Republic fighting in defense of its territory and the liberty of nations and opposing to the avalanche let loose by Prussian militarism the union of all its children who are still capable of striking many a weighty blow. And now we see England, far removed

like you from conscription, who has also, by virtue of a discipline all accept, raised from her soil millions of fighting men. And we see other nations accomplishing the same act; and that liberty not only inflames all hearts but co-ordinates and brings into being all needed efforts. And now we see all America rise and sharpen her weapons in the midst of peace for the common struggle.

Together we will carry on that struggle; and when by force we have at last imposed military victory, our labors will not be concluded. Our task will be—I quote the noble words of President Wilson—to organize the society of nations. I well know that our enemies, who have never seen before them anything but horizons of carnage, will never cease to jeer at so noble a dream. Such has always been the fate of ideas at their birth; and if thinkers and men of action had allowed themselves to be discouraged by skeptics mankind would still be in its infancy and we should still be slaves. After material victory we will win this moral victory. We will shatter the ponderous sword of militarism; we will establish guarantees for peace; and then we can disappear from the world's stage, since we shall leave at the cost of our common immolation the noblest heritage future generations can possess.

When he concluded, shouts of "Joffre!" "Joffre!" filled the Chamber, and the Marshal turned and said with a smile: "I do not speak English." Then raising his right hand, he called out, "Vivent les Etats-Unis!" With a military salute, he was gone.

Reception in the House

M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre visited the House of Representatives by invitation on May 3. Practically the entire membership of the House and the crowded galleries rose and applauded as the visitors were announced. Several children of members received kisses from the Marshal of France and the Vice Premier. When Miss Jeannette Rankin, woman member of the House, approached, M Viviani and Admiral Chocheprat kissed her hand.

M. Viviani mounted the Speaker's rostrum and said:

Gentlemen: Once more my fellow-countrymen and I are admitted to the honor of being present at a sitting in a legislative chamber. May I be permitted to express our emotion at this solemn derogation against rules more than a century old, and, so far as I am concerned, may I say that as a Member of Parliament accustomed for twenty years to the passions and storms which sweep through political assemblies I appreciate more than any one at this moment the supreme joy of being near this chair, which is in such a commanding position that, however feeble may be the voice that speaks thence, it is heard over the whole world?

Gentlemen, I will not thank you, not because our gratitude fails, but because words to express it fail. We feel that your sympathy and enthusiasm come not only from your hearts but from the jealousy which you have for your own honor. We have all felt that you were not merely fulfilling the obligation of international courtesy. Suddenly, in all its charming intimacy, the complexity of the American soul has been revealed to us. When one meets an American one is supposed to meet a practical man, merely a practical man, caring only for business, only interested in business. But when at certain hours in private life one studies the American soul one discovers at the same time how fresh and delicate it is; and when at certain moments of public life one considers the soul of the nation, then one sees all the force of the ideals that rise from it is so that this American people, in its perfect balance, is at once practical and sentimental, a realizer and a dreamer, and is always ready to place its practical qualities at the disposal of its puissant thoughts.

Intrusted with a mandate from a free people, we come among freemen to compare our ideas, exchange our views, to measure the whole extent of the problems raised by this war, and all the allied nations, simply because they repose on democratic institutions, through their Governments, meet in the same lofty region on equal terms, in full liberty.

I well know that at this very hour in the Central Empires there is an absolute monarchy which binds other peoples to its will by vassal links of steel. It has been said that this was a sign of strength; it is only an appearance of strength. In truth, only a few weeks ago, on the eve of the day when outraged America was about to rise in its force, on the morrow of the day when the Russian revolution, faithful to its alliance, called at once its soldiers to arms and its people to independence, this absolute monarch was seen to totter on the steps of his throne as he felt the first breath of the tempest pass over his crown. He bent toward his people in humiliation, and, in order to win their sympathy, borrowed from free peoples their highest institutions and promised his subjects universal suffrage.

The day before yesterday, in a public meeting at which I was present, I heard one of your greatest orators say with deep emotion: "It has been sworn on the tomb of Washington." And then I understood the full import of those words. If Washington could rise from his tomb, if from his sacred mound he could view the world as it now is—shrunk to smaller proportions by the lessening of material and moral distances and the mingling of every kind of communication be-

tween men—he would feel his labors were not yet concluded; and that, just as a man of superior and powerful mind owes a debt to all other men, so a superior and powerful nation owes a debt to other nations, and after establishing its own independence must aid others to maintain their independence or to conquer it. It is the mysterious logic of history which President Wilson so marvelously understood, thanks to a mind as vigorous as it is subtle, as capable of analysis as it is of synthesis, of minute observation followed by swift action.

It has been sworn on the tomb of Washington. It has been sworn on the tomb of our allied soldiers, fallen in a sacred cause. It has been sworn by the bedside of our wounded men. It has been sworn on the heads of our orphan children. It has been sworn on cradles and on tombs. It has been sworn!

Marshal Joffre in Chicago

The French Mission left Washington by special train on the 3d for a tour of the Middle Western States, and reached Chicago on the 4th. At a public reception Marshal Joffre delivered his first address, as follows:

My friends, I am proud to have in my hand the American flag, which is to the American people what the French flag is to the people of France, a symbol of liberty. I hold in my other hand the flag of France, who has given of her best, her stanchest, and her bravest, and which also stands for liberty. I had the honor to carry the French flag on the field of battle, and I am glad to join the flag of many battles to the flag that has never known defeat. With this flag I bring to you the salute of the French Army to the American people, our stanch ally in the common cause.

As he joined the two flags of red, white, and blue with the closing words, the whole assembly mounted the seats and cheered.

The mission was enthusiastically welcomed and hospitably entertained at Chicago, and thence proceeded to St. Louis. On May 6 at St. Louis 20,000 persons crowded into the Coliseum to welcome the visitors, and as many more stood outside, unable to obtain admission. From there they proceeded to Kansas City, where they were received with tumultuous enthusiasm. They returned to the East via Springfield, Ill., where they visited the tomb of Lincoln; a wreath was placed upon the sarcophagus by Marshal Joffre; here the Legislature was also addressed. At all towns through which they passed large crowds assembled and greeted the visitors with shouts of welcome.

At Philadelphia they were elaborately entertained. Independence Hall was visited. General Joffre, receiving a Marshal's baton made from a piece of one of the Independence Hall rafters, said he held "a piece of real liberty, and wished to convey to the American people the greetings of the French Army and an expression of happiness in having the co-operation of Americans."

At Independence Hall M. Viviani said: "We do not feel in America as if we were far from home. The ideals and aims of America and of France are the same. It was in this holy place that freedom was first breathed from the mouths of men for the inspiration of every nation."

French Envoys in New York

The visitors reached New York City on the afternoon of May 9. The reception tendered them on their arrival was the most enthusiastic ever granted any man or group of men in the city's history. For two days and nights enormous crowds filled Fifth Avenue and Broadway and overflowed far back into adjoining streets. Flags, bunting, and illuminations appeared from one end of the city to the other, and the visitors passed for miles along Fifth Avenue amid a wonderful vista of the French tricolor, the British union jack and the American Stars and Stripes.

The New York Public Library and the Court of Honor in front of it were remarkable for the beauty of the decorations. The columns of plaster, surmounted by the American eagle standing on globes with wings outstretched, supported streamers of the dark blue of France and poles from which hung the flags of the three allies. In front of the library many pine trees gave a touch of color to the great marble building. Along the terrace and on either side of the entrance way were five great poles supporting streaming banners alternately displaying the rooster of France, the lion of Britain, and the American eagle. At night the scene was far more beautiful, with the great lines of the library out-

lined with indirect lighting and each column of the court standing clear in a blaze of golden illumination.

Address at City Hall

At the City Hall, where the formal reception was held on the evening of the mission's arrival, M. Viviani, in response to an address by Mayor Mitchel, replied as follows:

You were right when you dwelt on the wonderful spectacle which France has given to the world for three years. You were right when you said that the blood of France is flowing like water. From the open wounds of our soldiers has flowed the pure red blood of France. It has flooded our plains in the very spots where formerly our farmers and our workmen were living at peace.

And why does the invader pollute our soil? We are a pacific nation, as pacific as yourselves, but you have seen for yourselves how easy it was to remain faithful to dreams of universal peace. You cherished such dreams. You were a great people, with only one thought—humanity and justice. We were a free democracy and we had only one thought—universal right and humanity. But German aggression was thrust upon us. We were compelled to rise in arms, and now we fight—we fight for our territory, for our wealth, for our historical traditions—in order that the invader may not take another step on our sacred soil. France fights for the world—for justice, for humanity—and it is because she fights for that that at last the American people have risen to give France and her allies their moral and material aid.

Slavery Worse Than War

I fully understand how you faltered in the face of the awful duty that confronted you. For war has its dangers and its horrors, its moaning widows, its premature deaths, and casts a blight on the mothers of infants who are our hope and joy and who know only woe and calamity.

War is a horrible thing, but could there be anything more terrible for people than to live without honor or independence? Just as you were unwilling to allow your national honor to be humiliated under the insolent threats and mandates of Germany, we were unwilling to submit to break our oaths. When we look back into the events of the last three years, you have seen small peoples oppressed and great nations like Russia, England, France, and Italy rush to the defense of the rights of mankind in order to save from the wreck some portion of their national honor. You have felt the revolt of your consciences from the first hour when German aggression struck at your brothers, and it was then an easy matter for those who had witnessed the evolution of American feeling to foresee what would happen and what has actually happened since.

All America has risen in arms. We have just visited the Middle West. We have just seen what enthusiasm has arisen among the men, the women, and the children of these regions.

We have found everywhere, even in those very places where we had been told we would not find it, the virile resolution of a whole people acclaiming our message, and we find it here again in these streets of New York, this great city where millions of men surge like waves of the sea.

Democracy in Arms

I cannot do better in order to symbolize this union of the French and American people than to appear before you side by side with Marshal Joffre. It is indeed pleasing to me in this by no means foreign land, in this friendly land, bound by so many ties to France, to thank the French Army for the heroic manner it has fought, for the great deeds it has done. That army at the outset of the war had to give way materially before the most formidable onslaught that the history of man has ever recorded, but came back and hurled itself upon the invader. Yes, they threw themselves into the fray, those youths in their teens, their eyes aflame and their hearts, going into battle, going to death, but going for the country, for civilization, for mankind.

Our army is our nation in arms. It is democracy in arms for its honor and independence. You will say—you also—that you have seen that wonderful sight of democracy which has known how to organize its forces, how to marshal its strength. A democracy which has not awaited the hour of danger, which, like our own, had its army, its leaders, its chiefs, and which, thanks to what it had done, was able to hold its own.

As I was on my way here I heard the crowd acclaiming those who accompanied me, and who wear the uniform like Marshal Joffre, as the saviors of the world. Yes, the soldiers of the Marne are the saviors of the world. But if we had not had conscription, if there had not been the men to answer the call of mobilization, what would have befallen our country despite its courage, its enthusiasm, its valor? There, citizens, you have the great and grave legend taught by the war.

So long as there is in the world a warlike Germany, so long as there is a nation of prey, a country bent on oppression, on treachery and violence, so long will democracies be imperiled. If they would save the treasures of civilization and the heritage of mankind which are theirs they must meet the danger, they must be ready, they must arm themselves, but with the purpose never to place the sword at the service of aught but the right.

The home of Henry C. Frick on Fifth Avenue was placed at the service of the guests. On May 10 the whole city united

in demonstrations. The commission went in the morning to attend the unveiling of a statue of Lafayette in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, and later were entertained at luncheon by the Merchants' Association of New York. In the afternoon Columbia University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Marshal Joffre and Vice Premier Viviani, after which they visited Grant's Tomb. In the evening a reception was given in the Public Library by the French patriotic societies, and a great gala concert followed in the Metropolitan Opera House, where the audience contributed $85,000 for Marshal Joffre's use in relief work. The Marshal's arrival in the Opera House at 11 o'clock at night, when the audience interrupted Paderewski's playing of a masterpiece to rise and cheer the victor of the Marne, marked the climax of a memorable and strenuous day for the visitors.

Balfour Visits Congress

Meanwhile at Washington the British Commissioners remained in daily conference with Cabinet officials. On May 5 Mr. Balfour, head of the commission, was invited to attend Congress. In the scene that followed two precedents of a century and a half were broken. It was the first time in American history that a British official had been invited to address the House of Representatives, and it was the first time that a President of the United States had sat in the gallery. The welcome to Mr. Balfour and his associates equaled, if it did not surpass, the demonstration which had greeted M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre earlier in the week.

The demonstration given to the President rivaled that which Mr. Balfour received. Unannounced, he slipped into the Executive Gallery. For several minutes no one on the floor saw Mr. Wilson, although he was sitting in the front row. Then suddenly a member on the floor discovered him, and a group rose, applauding. The whole House followed, and for several minutes the floor and galleries joined in hearty applause.

As the applause died down, Speaker Clark appointed a committee to escort the British Mission into the Chamber. At a few minutes after 12:30 o'clock they appeared and the whole House rose to greet them while hearty applause swept the floor and the galleries. The ovation lasted several minutes, subsiding only to start with a new outburst of cheers and hand-clapping when the Speaker introduced Mr. Balfour. The British Minister was visibly affected by the warmth of his reception.

Through it all the President joined vigorously in the applause. When the speaker had finished and stood below the rostrum with General Bridges, Admiral de Chair, and the British Ambassador, shaking hands with the members as they filed past, Mr. Wilson again surprised those present by slipping downstairs quietly and passing down the line with the Congressmen.

Balfour's Address to the House

In his address before the House of Representatives Mr. Balfour said:

Will you permit me, on behalf of my friends and myself, to offer you my deepest and sincerest thanks for the rare and valued honor which you have done us by receiving us here today? We all feel the greatness of this honor, but I think to none of us can it come home so closely as to one who, like myself, has been for forty-three years in the service of a free assembly like your own.

I rejoice to think that a member, a very old member I am sorry to say, of the British House of Commons has been received here today by this great sister assembly with such kindness as you have shown to me and to my friends.

Ladies and gentlemen, these two assemblies are the greatest and the oldest of the free assemblies now governing great nations in the world. The history, indeed, of the two is very different. The beginnings of the British House of Commons go back to a dim historic past, and its full rights and status have only been conquered and permanently secured after centuries of political struggle.

Your fate has been a happier one. You were called into existence at a much later stage of social development. You came into being complete and perfected and all your powers determined and your place in the constitution secured beyond chance of revolution, but though the history of these two great assemblies is different, each of them represents the great democratic principle to which we look forward as the security for the future peace of the world. All of the free assemblies now to be found governing the great nations of the earth have been modeled either upon your practice or upon ours, or upon both combined.

Mr. Speaker, the compliment paid to the mission from Great Britain by such an as-

sembly and upon such an occasion is one not one of us is ever likely to forget; but there is something, after all, even deeper and more significant in the circumstances under which I now have the honor to address you than any which arise out of the interchange of courtesies, however sincere, between two great and friendly nations.

We all, I think, feel instinctively that this is one of the great moments in the history of the world, and that what is now happening on both sides of the Atlantic represents the drawing together of great and free peoples for mutual protection against the aggression of military despotism.

I am not one of those, none of you are among those, who are such bad democrats as to say that democracies make no mistakes. All free assemblies have made blunders, sometimes they have committed crimes. Why is it then that we look forward to the spirit of free institutions, and especially among our present enemies, as one of the greatest guarantees of the future peace of the world? I will say to you, gentlemen, how it seems to me.

It is quite true that the people and the representatives of the people may be betrayed by some momentary gust of passion into a policy which they ultimately deplore, but it is only a military despotism of the German type that can through generations, if need be, pursue steadily, remorselessly, unscrupulously, and appallingly the object of dominating the civilization of mankind. And, mark you, this evil, this menace, under which we are now suffering, is not one which diminishes with the growth of knowledge and progress of material civilization, but, on the contrary, it increases with them.

When I was young we used to flatter ourselves that progress inevitably meant peace, and that growth of knowledge was always accompanied as its natural fruit by the growth of good-will among the nations of the earth. Unhappily, we know better now, and we know there is such a thing in the world as a power which can with unvarying persistency focus all the resources of knowledge and of civilization into the one great task of making itself the moral and material master of the world. It is against that danger that we, the free peoples of Western civilization, have banded ourselves together.

British in New York

Mr. Balfour and the other members of the British Commission reached New York by special train Friday afternoon, May 11, and every step of their way from the Battery to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Astor, which had been placed at their service, lay through cheering crowds. The party was formally received at the City Hall by Mayor Mitchel and a delegation of distinguished citizens. An enormous crowd was in attendance. The lawn at the entrance was filled with 2,000 schoolgirls, all clad in white middy blouses and dark blue skirts with red hair ribbons, and each with a flag. Behind this group was a column of Boy Scouts in mass and pyramid formations, all clad in khaki. Every available foot of space in the park and surrounding streets was filled with cheering people, among whom the flags of the United States, France, and Great Britain were freely intermingled.

Mr. Balfour was formally greeted by the Mayor, who was followed by Joseph H. Choate, former Ambassador to Great Britain. [Mr. Choate died suddenly three days later in his New York home.] In the course of his speech Mr. Choate said:

We hesitated, we doubted, we hung back, not from any lack of sympathy, not from any lack of enthusiasm, not because we did not know what was the right path; but how to take it and when to take it was always the question. I feared at one time that we might enter into it for some selfish purpose, for the punishment of aggressions against our individual, national, personal rights, for the destruction of American ships or of a few American lives, ample ground for war; but we waited, and it turns out now that we waited wisely, because we were able at last to enter into this great contest of the whole world for a noble and lofty purpose, such as never attracted nations before. We are entering into it under your lead, Sir, for the purpose of the vindication of human rights, for the vindication of free government throughout the world, for the establishment—by and by; soon, we hope; late, it may be—of a peace which shall endure and not a peace that shall be no peace at all.

Fortunately, we have now no room for choice. Under the guidance of the President, we stand pledged now before all the world to all the allies whom we have joined to carry into this contest all that we have, all that we hope for, and all that we ever aspire unto. We shall be in time to take part in that peace which shall forever stand and prevent any more such national outrages as commenced this war on the side of Germany. We have been only thirty days in the war, and already it has had a marvelous effect upon our own people. Before that there was apathy, there was indifference, there was indulgence in personal pursuits, in personal prosperity; but today every young man in America, and every old man, too, is asking: "What can I do best to serve my country?"

Mr. Balfour, in the course of his reply, said:

Those who had the good fortune to drive

through the streets of the city up to this hall, I am sure must have been astounded at the whole-hearted exhibition of enthusiasm which, from every street, from every window, from every house, made itself visible and audible to the spectators. Seldom have I seen a sight—and my experience, alas, is an old one—seldom, or never, have I seen a sight so deeply moving; never have I seen a sight which went more to the heart. If, on the other side of the Atlantic, where the stress and strain of battle seem sometimes hard to sustain, they could have one glimpse of the sympathies shown them in this vast and noble community, it would give them, if there be faint hearts—I have not heard of them on the other side—if faint hearts there be, they indeed would regain new strength, new courage, new enthusiasm, new resolution, and they would feel again, if they ever ceased to feel it, that firm determination to carry through at all sacrifices this great struggle to its appointed end, which, after all, is the very strength and nerve of the allied forces.

Dinner of Mayor's Committee

The climax of all these proceedings was the joint reception in New York on May 12 to both the French and English Commissions. It took the form of a dinner at the Waldorf tendered by the Mayor's Reception Committee, which was attended by 1,000 of New York City's leading men; in addition there were present the only two living ex-Presidents, Taft and Roosevelt, the Governor of New York, and other men distinguished in official and civic life.

Here again Mr. Choate delivered the principal address on the part of the city, following Mayor Mitchel. In the course of his speech Mr. Choate said:

America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf, America has learned what this war is about, what it is for—that it is for the establishment of freedom against slavery, for the vindication of free government against tyranny, and oppression and autocracy and all the other horrible names that you can apply to misgovernment. When it came to that there was but one question for America, and our President at Washington has solved it for us. Nobody can tell how far he saw ahead any more than we at this moment can tell how far we can see ahead.

Balfour on the War's Meaning

In his address Mr. Balfour said:

I have not come here authorized by my Government to set myself up or to set my friends up as instructors of the great American people. They know and you know how to manage your affairs, and do not require us to teach you. It may be, it probably is, the fact, that a study of the history of this war will show those who run and desire to read that there are certain mistakes which a great democracy, imperfectly prepared for war, may easily make. We shall be happy to describe these mistakes to you, if happily it will be your desire to learn the lesson from them. But I do not propose either now or at any other occasion to set myself up as an adviser or monitor on these great themes. It is enough that I proclaim my unalterable conviction that we have reached a moment in the world's history on which the future, not of this country, but of every country, not of its interests, but of every interest of civilization is trembling in the balance. At that critical moment it is my bounden duty to raise my voice and to appeal to all who will listen to me today in the great task which we have been bearing for two and a half years, and which you have cheerfully and generously determined to take the weight of upon your own shoulders. * * *

Why is it that the people of this great city have come forth instinctively—I was going to say by thousands; I feel inclined to say by millions—to show their enthusiasm for the cause you have taken up? It is because they instinctively feel what is the vital issue at stake, because they instinctively feel that it is neither desirable nor, were it desirable, possible for this great Republic to hold itself aloof from a world in suffering and not do its part to redeem mankind.

Surely it is a significant fact that here we are, the representatives of three great democracies, in the very heart of New York, to plead a common cause. What has brought us all together? What is the meaning of this unique gathering? What is the meaning of the multitude crowding your streets today and yesterday? It is a shallow view to suppose that each of these great nations has had a separate and different cause of controversy with the enemy—that Russia was dragged in because of Serbia, that France was dragged in because of Russia, that Great Britain was dragged in because of the violation of Belgian territory, and that the United States has been dragged in because of the piratical warfare of the German submarines.

All those causes are, each of them, and separately, no doubt a sufficient reason, but for a moment to consider this war carried on by the Allies as that of separate interests, separate causes of controversy, is an utterly inadequate and false view of the situation. These are but symptoms of the absolute necessity in which a civilized world finds itself, to deal with an imminent and overmastering peril. What is that peril? What is it we feel that we have got to stop? I will tell you my view of it. It is the calculated and remorseless use of every civilized weapon to carry out the ends of pure barbarism. To us of English speech it seems

impossible, incredible, that a nation should clearly set itself to work and co-ordinate every means of science, every means that knowledge, that industry can provide, not for the bettering of its own people, but for the demolition of other peoples.

The history of the world is too full of the adventures of unscrupulous ambition. We know all through history of men who have endeavored, at the cost of others, to expand their own State. Within the last century, or a little more, we have seen men of genius trying to coerce the world. But this is not a case of a new Napoleon arising to carry out a new adventure. This is not a case of adventure, of a genius seeking to satisfy his ambition within the limits of his own country.

It is something far different and far more dangerous for mankind. It is the settled determination to use every means to put the whole world at her feet. We all know it is a commonplace that science has enormously expanded the means by which men can kill each other. Modern destruction is carried out as much in the laboratory of your universities as it is on the field of battle, but we have always believed, we have always hoped, that this increased power of destruction would be limited and controlled by the growing forces of humanity and civilization. We have been taught, not by Germany, but by those who rule Germany, by the military caste which controls Germany—we have been taught a different lesson, and we now know not merely that every scientific weapon will be put in force to make war more horrible than it was in barbarous times, but that even the rights of civilization, of trade, of commerce, even the intercommunication between different peoples, will be used for the same sinister object.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the danger we have to meet, and if at this moment the world is bathed in blood and tears from the highlands of distant Armenia down to the very fields of France, almost within sight of the Strait of Dover—if we have seen a reckless destruction of life, not merely of soldiers but of civilians; if we have seen peaceful communities dragged through the mire, ruined, outraged; if horror has been heaped upon horror, until really we almost get callous in reading our newspapers in the morning—if all these things are true, shall we not rise up and resist them?

Shall we who know what freedom is become the humble and obsequious servants of those who only know what power is? That will never be tolerated. The free nations of the earth are not thus to be crushed out of existence, and if any proof is required that that consummation is impossible, it is a gathering like this where the three great democracies of the West are joined together under circumstances unique in the whole history of the world.

And that fact should also give strength and consolation to those who, feeling the magnitude of the issue at stake, are inclined to doubt how the contest will end. But we will fail unless all here who love liberty, and who are prepared to labor together, to fight together, to make our sacrifices in common—unless that happens we may be destroyed piecemeal and the civilization of the world may receive a wound from which it will not easily recover.

Viviani's Dinner Speech

M. Viviani's speech was one of impassioned and vivid eloquence. In part he said:

The Kultur of Germany is all very well so long as its interests are not crossed, but when they are it is like a wild beast. Germany did not know the spirit of England, of France, or of Russia. They said that England would not fight, that Englishmen would remain at home while the Continent of Europe was overrun, but they did not know the history of that country.

You in America cannot realize, cannot imagine the suffering and horror of what war has meant to France and her people. But you will arouse yourselves to the battle for liberty, justice, democracy, and humanity.

When the war is over and peace reigns in the world—and Germany is vanquished—history will say that the free peoples of the earth joined their powers and resources to make the world safe for justice, for good faith between nation and nation, and for humanity.

In the name of France and my companions I thank you all and the entire population of New York for the great ovation and welcome you have extended us. The soul of America is so great and noble that it is fitting that America should arise to fight for the cause of freedom and justice. It is the greatest honor of my life to have been here and see and realize the spirit of this sister republic. You may depend upon Joffre and myself to do all we can to aid you and inform you in all the details of the great task ahead of you. I see before me now the might and strength of Germany and realize that it must—that it will—be overthrown.

Following the dinner at the Waldorf Mr. Balfour was driven to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt. There he was presented with the diploma of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him on Thursday by Columbia University. The presentation was made by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the university, who explained how the degree had been conferred.

In accepting, Mr. Balfour was deeply touched. He said afterward that he had

been thrilled as never before in his life by the reception in New York.

Address to Lawyers' Club

Earlier in the day M. Viviani was the guest of the lawyers of New York. On this occasion he delivered another of his important utterances, of which the following are among the significant passages:

It is not an abstract salute which the French Mission has brought to America. No, we are not here merely to exchange expressions of international friendship; we have not come merely for the purpose of shaking hands with you; we have not come here to salute you nor to become intoxicated by the clamorous acclamations which greet us in your streets. We have come here to penetrate your souls, to penetrate your hearts. Yes, this I say, we have come, however unworthy we may be of our mission, to show you the great soul of wounded France, of suffering France, of eternal France.

All the orators who have preceded me upon this platform have accorded me too much praise to permit me, with modesty, to surpass the height of their eulogy. You have shown the French, isolated at the beginning of the war, sleeping in muddy and bloody trenches, fighting night and day, constantly, not only for themselves, but for humanity. You have considered the French Army as the vanguard of all the armies of free men. Yes, indeed, that is true. For the last three years we have been fighting for liberty; we are flinging to the breeze under the fire of cannon the banner of universal democracy. May free men now rise and come to our side! For the honor of humanity let us not be alone in this fight!

Come to us, American brothers, whose hearts have been attached to ours since Lafayette, with his French soldiers, landed upon your soil and loaned the aid of his arms to American independence. It is not for France; it is not for you; it is not for England; it is not for Russia. No; it is not for the nations; it is for the whole world; it is for all humanity.

On May 11 Marshal Joffre visited West Point, reviewed the Cadet Corps, and was entertained by the staff. Previously the same day he visited Washington's Headquarters at Newburg, N. Y., where he was received by Governor Whitman. Here the Eagle of the Society of the Cincinnati was conferred on him. He had been elected an honorary member of this society. The only other foreigners who had thus been honored were Rochambeau and Lafayette.

From New York the French Mission visited Boston, where they were enthusiastically received. M. Viviani proceeded to Ottawa.

Chamber of Commerce Speech

The New York Chamber of Commerce luncheon to Mr. Balfour and the English party was attended by more than 1,000 members and guests. In his address, after thanking the President, E. H. Outerbridge, for his kindly references to the bond between the United States and England, Mr. Balfour said the hope of his life had been that before he died "the union between the English-speaking, freedom-loving branches of the human race should be drawn far closer than in the past, and that all temporary causes of difference which may ever have separated the two great peoples would be seen in their true and just proportion, and that we should all realize, on whatever side of the Atlantic fortune had placed us, that the things wherein we have differed in the past sink into absolute insignificance when compared with those vital agreements which at all times, but never more than at such a time as the present, unite us in one great spiritual whole."

In alluding to the bonds between the English-speaking races, he said:

You have absorbed in your midst many admirable citizens drawn from all parts of Europe, whom American institutions and American ways of thought have molded and are molding into one great people. I rejoice to think it should be so. A similar process on a smaller scale is going on in the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. It is a good process, it is a noble process. Let us never forget that wherever be the place in which that great and beneficent process is going on, whether it be in Canada, whether it be in Australia, or whether on the largest scale of all it be in the United States of America, the spirit which the immigrant absorbs is the spirit in all these places largely due to a historic past in which your forefathers and my forefathers, gentlemen, all had their share.

In speaking of the Chairman's reference to the splendid work of the British fleet, Mr. Balfour said:

Does anybody think that if the sea power were transferred from British to German hands the historian of the future could say the same of the German fleet? By their fruits we know them. Deliberately brought into ex-

istence in the hope that it would break down that naval power which the German autocracy—not the German people, but the German autocracy—recognizes as one of the greatest bulwarks of freedom, and one of the most powerful defenses against world domination, knowing that instinctively they have been feverishly building for eighteen or twenty years in order that, if it might be so, they could destroy the country with which they had no quarrel, and no cause of quarrel, but which they regarded with an instinctive and unalterable jealousy. They have been disappointed. Their fleet remains safely in the harbor.

What puts out to sea is not the battleship or the battle cruiser; there is no successor of the great fleets of ancient times; but the submarine which, in their hands, finds its natural prey in the destruction of defenseless merchantmen and the butchery of defenseless women and children. I will do the German fleet the justice to say that I do not believe that this was its ideal when this war started, or when its ships were under construction. What I do say is that the use which the German governing classes are now making of this new weapon, while it will never decide the issue of this war, nevertheless indicates a menace to the future commerce of the world which must be absolutely stopped for the future. Under the old maritime laws, which the United States and Great Britain in particular have always recognized, fleets undoubtedly did interfere with the commerce of any enemy belligerents, and it is very difficult to see how that could or ought to be avoided until that happy time comes when war is neither on land nor sea permitted to interfere with private rights, or indeed permitted to go on at all.

Germans Made War Inhuman.

But, gentlemen, maritime warfare as it has been carried on by civlized nations in the past has been a human affair, carried out under recognized laws, under which as little injury was done to the neutral trader as was possible under the circumstances, compared to the abominations which are now insisted upon by the German staff. Huge tracts of ocean are marked out at the arbitrary will of one belligerent, and within these vast areas neutrals, peaceable traders, do not merely have their ships taken in, adjudged in the prize court, dealt with, and non-belligerent life carefully regarded, but they are sunk at sea, no examination, no knowledge of what is in the ship, no knowledge of the character of the crew, no knowledge of whether there are or are not passengers aboard, no knowledge of the goods which are being transported, of the place from which they came or the destination designed. That, gentlemen, is carrying out the methods of barbarism, and in a manner which would have been regarded as incredible even in Germany two years ago. It has been carried out by a Government which, when it thought worth while for diplomatic reasons, was never wearied of talking of the freedom of the seas.

But it is a method of conducting warfare which in its indirect consequences, as well as its direct consequences, is of such a character that the civilized world must, when this war is over, take effectual precautions against its repetition. For, if not, it seems to me that, whenever two countries go to war, and whenever it suits the least scrupulous of the belligerents, not merely will a great wrong have been inflicted upon its opponent, but the commerce of the whole civilized world will be disorganized and destroyed. That is impossible to tolerate. And this Chamber has under its guardianship the interests of trade and commerce, and it is of all bodies the one most interested in seeing that, so long as wars are still permitted—and I hope that will not be long—maritime warfare shall be conducted under methods consistent with public law, consistent with ordinary humanity, consistent with those fundamental principles of morality which underlie—or ought to underlie—all law.

Problems After the War

When this tremendous conflict has drawn to its appointed close, and when, as I believe, victory shall have crowned our joint efforts, there will arise not merely between nations but within nations a series of problems which will tax all our statesmanship to deal with. I look forward to that time, not, indeed, wholly without anxiety, but in the main with hope and with confidence; and one of the reasons for that hope and one of the foundations of that confidence is to be found in the fact that your nation and my nation will have so much to do with the settlement of the questions.

I do not think anybody will accuse me of being insensible to the genius and to the accomplishments of other nations. I am one of those who believe that only in the multitude of different forms of culture can the completed movement of progress have all the variety in unity of which it is capable; and, while I admire other cultures, and while I recognize how absolutely all important they are to the future of mankind, I do think that among the English-speaking peoples is especially and peculiarly to be found a certain political moderation in all classes which gives one the surest hope of dealing in a reasonable, progressive spirit with social and political difficulties. And without that reasonable moderation interchanges are violent, and as they are violent reactions are violent also, and the smooth advance of humanity is seriously interfered with.

I believe that on this side of the Atlantic, and I hope on the other side of the Atlantic, if and when these great problems have actively to be dealt with, it will not be beyond the reach of your statesmanship, or of our own, to deal with them in such a manner that

we cannot merely look back upon this great war as the beginning of a time of improved international relations, of settled peace, of deliberate refusal to pour out oceans of blood to satisfy some notion of domination; but that in addition to those blessings the war, and what happens after the war, may prove to be the beginning of a revivified civilization, which will be felt in all departments of human activity, which will not merely touch the material but also the spiritual side of mankind, and which will make the second decade of the twentieth century memorable in the history of mankind.

The Italian War Commission reached New York on May 10, headed by Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Maritime and Railway Transportation, with the following associates: General Gugliemotti, representing the Italian Army; Commander Vannutelli, representing the navy; Alvise Bragadini of the Transportation Department, G. Pardo of the Department of Industry and Commerce, and Gaetano Pietra of the Agricultural Department.

The Battle of Arras Day by Day

By Philip Gibbs

[Published by arrangement with The London Chronicle]

The progress of the great struggle in the region of Arras is here graphically described as seen from day to day by one of the most brilliant correspondents with the British armies in France. The battle of Arras began on April 9, 1917, and the story is here taken up where it broke off in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

[*See Map on Page 422*]

APRIL 23, 1917.—The battle of Arras has entered into its second phase; that is to say, into a struggle harder than the first day of the battle on April 9, when by a surprise, following great preparations, we gained great successes all along the line.

This morning shortly before 5 o'clock English, Welsh, and Scottish troops made new and strong assaults east of Arras upon the German line between Gavrelle, Guémappe, and Fontaine les Croisilles, which is the last switch line on this part of the front between the British and the main Hindenburg line. It has been hard fighting everywhere, for the enemy was no longer uncertain of the place where the British should attack him. As soon as the battle of Arras started it was clear to him that they should deliver their next blow when they had moved forward their guns upon this "Oppy line," as the British call it, which protects the Hindenburg position north and south of Vitry-en-Artois. His troops were told to expect the British attack at any moment and hold on at all costs of life.

To meet the British strength the enemy had brought up many new batteries, which were placed in front of the Hindenburg line and close behind the Oppy line, and massed large numbers of machine guns in the villages, trenches, and emplacements, from which they could sweep the line of advance by direct and enfilade fire. These machine guns were thick in the ruins of Roeux, just north of the River Scarpe, in Pelves, just south of it, in two small woods called Bois du Sart and Bois de Vert, immediately facing Monchy, on the slope of the hill, and in and about the village of Guémappe, which we had assaulted and entered twice before.

Many German snipers, men of good marksmanship and tried courage, had been placed all about in shell holes with orders to pick off the British officers and men, and the enemy's gunners had registered all British positions so that they were ready to drop down a heavy barrage directly the British made a sign of attacking.

A Battle to the Death

It was only to be expected that this second phase of the battle of Arras should be extremely hard. For the British it is a battle to the death. Fighting is in progress at all points attained by the troops, and there is the ebb and flow of men—beaten back for a while

by the intensity of fire, but attacking again and getting forward.

At the outset of the attack, according to accounts given me by men who went over with the first waves, the enemy showed himself ready to meet it with fierce resistance. Last night was terribly cold, and the British troops lying out in shell holes or in shallow trenches dug a day or two ago suffered from this exposure. Some of the Scottish troops had fought in the first day's battles of Arras, and, with English troops, had gone forward to Monchy and into the storm centre of German fire. Some of the men I met today had been buried by German crumps and had been dug out again, and as they lay waiting for the hour of attack shells fell about them and the sky was aflame with the flashes of British bombs. The men craved for something hot to drink. But they nibbled dry biscuits and waited for the dawn, and hoped they would not be too numb when the light came to get up and walk.

The light came very pale over the earth, and with it the signal to attack. The bombardment had been steady all through the night and then broke into a hurricane of fire. As soon as the men left the trenches the gunners laid down a barrage in front of them and made a moving wall of shells ahead of them—a frightful thing to follow, but the safest if the men did not go too quickly or failed to distinguish between the line of German shells and the British. It is not easy to distinguish, for the men had hardly risen from the shell holes and ditches before the enemy's barrage started and all the ground about them was vomiting up fountains of mud and shell splinters. At the same time there came above all the noise of shellfire a furnace blast of machine guns. The machine gunners in Roeux and Pelves, in the two small woods in front of Monchy, and in the ground about Guémappe were slashing all the slopes and roads below Monchy on the hill. "It was the most awful machine-gun fire I have heard," said a young Scot this morning as he came back with a bullet in the hip.

Desperate Fighting at Monchy

April 24.—Fighting, harder and more stubborn on both sides, more desperate in resistance on the enemy's part than anything since the battles of the Somme, has been in progress east of Arras since the hour of attack yesterday morning. For the German Army they have been two days of dreadful sacrifice, for the British days of grim struggle, with many attacks and counterattacks which in the end have won and held important ground.

The village of Monchy dominates the present scene of battle, and is the key position above the Cambrai road, for which the enemy is fighting with full strength. His gunners made it one of their fixed targets yesterday and today and flung enormous high explosive shells at it, so that it is no longer the white village I saw last week, but a heap of broken walls and skeleton barns. Opposite lie the two woods of Bois Vert and the Bois du Sart on the slope of the opposite ridge, and it is from these woods that the enemy has come in his counterattacks. At 10 o'clock yesterday morning strong bodies of Rhinelanders left the cover of Bois Vert and, in spite of heavy losses from British machine-gun fire and field batteries, succeeded in driving back part of the British foremost line. Four thousand Germans of a fresh division gathered in the Bois du Sart for a further attempt to break the line, but they were seen by flying officers, and the British batteries filled the wood with gas shells so that great slaughter was done there. This body of men was literally shelled to death, and it was a human hell in that wood under the blue sky.

Like the Somme Battle

April 25.—The battle which is still in progress east of Arras is developing rather like the early days of the Somme battles, when the British fought stubbornly to gain or regain a few hundred yards of trenches in which the enemy resisted under cover of great-gun fire and to which he sent up strong bodies of supporting troops to drive the British out by counterattacks. The attack made by the Scottish troops yesterday afternoon and English troops at 3:30 this morning re-

established the line on this side of the two woods called Bois Vert and Bois du Sart, and on the further side of Guémappe. Parties of British troops who had been cut off, and were believed to be in the hands of the enemy, were recovered yesterday, having held out in the most gallant way in isolated positions. The British barrage preceding an infantry attack actually swept over them, and they gave themselves up for lost, but escaped from the British shells and German shells which burst all around them and seemed in competition for their lives.

A similar case happened with a party of Worcester men, recovered last night. They were cut off in a small copse, and lay quiet there for several days, surrounded by the enemy. They had rations with them, and lived on them until they were gone. They were then starving and suffering great agony for lack of water, but still would not surrender, and last night they were rewarded for their endurance by seeing the enemy retire before the advancing waves of English troops, the enemy suffering big losses, but replacing them each time by fresh battalions.

It is impossible to estimate the German losses during the last three days, but successive counterattacks were smashed by shell fire, machine-gun fire, and rifle fire, so that the ground was heaped with their dead. There have been no fewer than eight counterattacks already upon the village of Gavrelle, and not one of them reached the British front line, but they have been broken and dispersed. In the first counterattack upon the British line opposite Monchy between 2,000 and 3,000 Germans left Bois Vert, but after many hundreds had fallen they retired to reorganize. The second attack was in greater numbers and rolled back the British line for a time, but has now been forced to retire to its old position in the woods, which the British kept continually under an intense fire, so that the slaughter there must be great. The guns never cease their laboring night and day, shelling the enemy's infantry positions, batteries, lines of communication, railheads, and crossroads, so that no troops may move except under the menace of death or mutilation.

Fierce Aerial Combats

April 26.—East of Arras, after three days of battle, the British hold good lines, with almost all the high and commanding positions south of Scarpe, and the enemy so far has made no further effort to recapture ground by sending out masses of men behind heavy curtain fire. He has paid a heavy price already in these endeavors, and is reorganizing and replacing his shattered divisions and carrying back his wounded to join that vast army of cripples, blind men, and nerve-broken men who in Germany are hideously eloquent of the truth and reveal the mockery of official history.

In the daily official reports a brief picture has been given of the battle which has raged in the skies while the earthmen have been struggling below. Truly during these last few days the air service has fought wonderfully. There have been hours when I have overheard the continual tattoo of the Lewis guns, and when the great sweep of the sky has been tracked out with white shrapnel clouds, following the British flying squadrons, engaged hotly with hostile machines.

British Daring in Raids

The British airmen go daily far back across the German lines, taking thousands of photos, engaging enemy squadrons so that they are held back from the line of battle, and dropping tons of explosives upon ammunition dumps, railheads, and transport. The boys (for they are absurdly young in average age) take all these deadly risks and do all this work of terror with the same spirit as did the young gentlemen of England who rode out with Sir John Chandos and Sir Walter Manny to seek combat with the French knights many hundred years ago along roads where the modern British men at arms go marching today. During this recent fighting one of them challenged a German albatross, who accepted fight, and for an hour they did every trick known to flying—stalling, banking, sideslipping, and looping—in order to get in the first shot. It was the German who tired first, though he

showed himself master of his machine. There are boys in the British air service who have killed six or seven Germans in single combat and a few who have accounted for many more and go off again for mornings, hunting men as if on a good adventure. Yet they know the risks and the fortune of war. They cannot have all the luck all the time. When their turn comes it is quick to the end, or if hit and left alive they do amazing things up there in the high skies to save the final crash.

During this battle of Arras the British airmen have made thousands of flights over the German lines, have engaged in hundreds of combats with hostile squadrons, and at the cost of their own lives in many cases have saved the British infantry great losses by keeping down the fire of the German batteries, destroying their kite balloons, signaling preparations for the German counter-attacks, photographing the enemy's trenches and positions, and blinding his own power of observation to some extent, at least, by chasing his airplanes away from the lines on a day when the British infantry is not hard pressed. It is good to pay this tribute to the flying men, whose exploits are not much recorded, though they are always overheard and though the droning song of their engines is always the accompaniment of battle down below.

Capture of Arleux

April 29.—Yesterday the attack northward was delivered against the Oppy switch line, which the British broke by the capture of Arleux en Gohelle, which has fallen to the Canadians, and by successful assaults upon Oppy Village, from which the British troops afterward fell back for a few hundred yards owing to the intense enemy fire making a target of the village. English divisions have also swept across the northern and western slopes of Greenland Hill, which I already described as the dominating position above Roeux, and hold the ground in spite of the most resolute counter-attacks and heavy shelling. Roeux itself has been entered by the British, and their line now runs through the station there.

Further north the Canadians fought hard in Arleux Wood, and English troops, who had advanced up to Oppy, came against strong forces of the enemy, who came up from Neuvireuil and had to swing back a little upon a defensive line. South of the River Scarpe there was shellfire heavier than the British had yet encountered since the full height of the Somme battle, as heavy perhaps as that on July 1 at Gommecourt. The enemy has not only brought up new divisions, massing great reserves, but has dragged up many new batteries of heavy guns which are now firing ceaselessly day and night at long range.

At Lagnicourt I saw the corpses of the Germans who tried to capture the Australians' guns, and I was told that the first estimate of 1,500 men caught on their own wire by the British artillery and rifle fire was much below the number afterward reckoned. This German army is paying a fearful price for Hindenburg's strategic plans, but the men are fighting now as fiercely as ever they fought in this war. and this battle, now raging under a blue sky, is a most bloody episode of history.

Terrible Word Picture

April 30.—There has been but little time lately to describe the scenes of war or chronicle the small human episodes of this great battle between Lens and St. Quentin, with its storm centre at Arras, where men are fighting in mass, killing in mass, and dying sometimes in mass, as when German counterattacks were broken and destroyed at Gavrelle, Monchy, Guémappe, and Lagnicourt. The scene of battle changed during the last few days, because Spring has come at last and warm sunshine. It has made a tremendous difference to the look of things and sense of things.

More frightful now even than in the worst days of Winter is the way up to the front. In all that great stretch of desolation the British left behind the shell craters which were full of water, red water and green water, are now dried up and are hard, deep pits, scooped

out of the powdered earth from which all vitality is gone so that Spring brings no life to it. I thought, perhaps, that some of these shell-slashed woods would put out new shoots when Spring came, and I watched them curiously for any sign of rebirth. But there is no sign and their poor mutilated limbs, their broken and tattered trunks, stand naked and stark under the blue sky. Everything is dead, with a white, ghastly look in the brilliant sunshine except where here and there in a litter of timber and brickwork which marks the site of a French village a little bush is in bud or flowers blossom in a scrap heap which once was a garden.

All this is the background of the present battle, and through this vast stretch of barren country British battalions move slowly forward to take part in the battle when their turn comes, resting a night or two among the ruins where other men who work always behind the lines road-mending, wiring, on the supply column, at ammunition dumps, in casualty clearing stations, and railheads make their billets on the lee side of the broken walls or in holes dug deep by the enemy and reported safe for use. Dead horses lie on the roadsides or in great shell craters. I passed a row of these poor beasts as though all had fallen down and died together in a last comradeship. Dead Germans or bits of dead Germans lie in old trenches, and a few days ago I watched the bombardment of Lens close to the bones of a little Frenchman who had worn the red trousers of the old army when he fought down the slopes of Notre Dame de Lorette to the outskirts of Souchez. He seemed like a man of ancient history, and that red scrap of clothing belonged to an epoch long gone.

May Day in the Trenches

May 1.—May Day has been quiet along the British front so far as infantry activity was concerned, although noisy enough with gunfire. It was a day of perfect weather, rich in sunshine under a cloudless sky, through which the British air squadrons went away this morning flying low, so that they were fine to see, with glistening wings and wires. Today as well as yesterday the enemy's chief targets were Arleux, captured by the Canadians, and Guémappe, which fell to the Scottish troops, both of which places he tried to take back by repeated and violent counterattacks. He is still in a trench on the east side of Guémappe running down to a bit of ruin called Cavalry Farm, where there has been close fighting for several days since the great battle of April 23, when Guémappe was taken by the Scots.

Two hundred prisoners were taken in that first forward sweep, when the kilted men advanced in long lines and went through and beyond the village of Guémappe with loud shouts and cheers. For nearly three hours the Scots were held up by the fire of German machine guns and artillery, and suffered many casualties, but they fought on, each little group of men acting with separate initiative, and it is to their great honor as soldiers that they destroyed every machine-gun post in front of them. They were checked again by machine-gun fire from many different directions and from the ruin called Cavalry immediately ahead of them. This was afterward cleared and many Germans lie dead there. Then between 11 and 12 in the morning the enemy developed his first counterattack. He massed great numbers of men in the valley below Guémappe, flung a great storm of shell on to the village and then sent forward his troops to work around it. It was then that these Scottish troops showed their fierce and stubborn fighting spirit. They tore rents in the lines of advancing Bavarians with Lewis guns and rifle and grenade fire, and the enemy's losses were so great that the supporting troops passed over lines of dead comrades.

Canadians Take Fresnoy

May 3.—Another day of close, fierce, difficult fighting is in progress, having begun early this morning in the darkness and going on down the long front in hot sunshine and dust and the smoke of innumerable shells. At many points the British troops succeeded splendidly, in spite of great resistance from fresh German regiments and intense artillery fire. The most important gains of the day were in the direction of the village of

Chérisy, where ground has been won by the English battalions, and in Bullecourt, where street fighting is in progress. This thrust at the enemy by Fontaine lez Croiselles, where he is still holding out in a narrow-pointed salient, which should be an utterly unendurable way to Chérisy, was taken rapidly without any serious check, although there was savage machine-gun fire. At Fontaine lez Croiselles the British troops found it very difficult to get forward, owing to the strength of the German defenses south of the wood and the barrage of heavy shellfire.

North of the river Scarpe there was great fighting around Roeux, Gavrelle, and Oppy. When the British advanced they were met by masses of Germans, and once more the line of battle had an ebb and flow and both sides passed over the dead and wounded in assault and retirement. Four times the old windmill beyond the village changed hands. Men were fighting here as if these bits of brick and wall were worth a King's ransom or a world's empire, and in a way they were worth it, for the windmill at Gavrelle is one point which will decide a battle or a series of battles upon which the fate of two empires is at stake.

In Oppy, above the cathedral, the Germans had been very businesslike. They knew this attack was coming. It was clear that it must come to them, and at night they worked hard to proteet themselves. They made machine-gun emplacements not only in pits and trenches, but in branches of many trees, and wired themselves in with many twisted strands. A second Guards reserve, newly brought up, held the village and wood and a white château, with its empty windows and broken roofs, and kept below ground when the British gunfire stormed about them. So when the British attacked in that pale darkness of the night they found themselves at once in a hail of machine-gun bullets and later under shellfire which made fury about them. They penetrated into Oppy Wood, but, owing to the massed German troops, who counterattacked fiercely, they did not go far into the wood or lose themselves in a sure deathtrap. They were withdrawn to the outskirts of Oppy, so that the British guns could get at the enemy and drive him below ground again.

To the northward the British stormed and won long trenches running up from Oppy to Arleux, and, most necessary for their further progress, linking up with the Canadians, who made a great and successful attack upon the village of Fresnoy, just south of Acheville. This was a very gallant feat, in the face of many difficulties of ground and savage fire. They completely surrounded the village and caught the garrison in a trap from which they had no escape. The prisoners escaped the British shellfire, but were nearly done to death by their own guns. I saw this incident this morning. They had been put in an inclosure next to the Canadian field dressing station, flying the Red Cross flag, when suddenly the German guns began shelling the area with 5.9s. They burst again and again during a half hour with tremendous crashes and smoke clouds.

Deadly Windmill Fight

May 4.—I told yesterday of the windmill at Gavrelle and said it changed hands four times. That figure has now doubled since yesterday morning. Eight times the Germans recaptured it and eight times lost it again. While the British hold it and look above its chaos of timbers and bricks and sandbags and rusty wire to those stretches of shelled earth where many hundred forms lie, other field-gray men are approaching from Fresnes Woods, shoulder to shoulder, until the British guns tear holes in their ranks and they crumble away under the machine-gun bullets. So it is at Oppy and Roeux, in this battleground north of the Scarpe. Picked troops have been chosen to hold the villages, and, although so far they have held them by counter-attacks in great strength against the British advanced posts, they suffered losses which one cannot reckon but I know to be most bloody under the British bombardments.

In this fighting just north of Oppy the British took many prisoners yesterday.

I saw the prisoners made around the chemical works, whose bricks are pock-

EX-SENATOR ELIHU ROOT

Former Secretary of State. Who Heads the Advisory Commission Sent to Russia by the United States Government.

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

MICHAEL V. RODZIANKO

President of the Russian Duma, a Leader in the Revolution, and a Potent Force in the Provisional Government

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

marked by the incessant patter of bullets from machine guns. There were a great many Poles among them, speaking a queer patois, and these men, though they fought according to order, loathe war and want to finish with it. They are tall, lean, swarthy fellows, unlike the blonde, square-shouldered Prussians brought down with them from Roeux. The Prussian machine gunners stood in a separate group and were a sturdy-looking crowd, not very dirty, in spite of their fighting, and looking well fed. Other prisoners, twenty of them, came in like earthmen or men buried and dug up again, which was their actual fate, although they did the digging with their own hands. Their dugouts blown in by the British shellfire and all the stairways and openings closed, they found themselves entombed. Horrible enough as it happens to the British, buried in shell craters or trenches with friends above to rescue them quickly if they have that luck, but most horrible for those men, cut off from the world in the battle which swept over them. For two days they used their spades, digging furiously till they were drenched with sweat and weak and parched with thirst. At last they broke up to daylight and surrendered to British soldiers, who were surprised to see them rise out of their tombs.

Some of the British wounded lying out on these battlefields must have been picked up by the Germans as the fighting swayed to and fro, but here and there a man lay where he fell and was recovered again by his comrades in a new advance just as parties of unwounded men held out or hid until the British line reached them again. One man had been lying out since April 23. He was brought in yesterday. He was an officer who had been hit in the stomach by a piece of shell and lay in a crater for five days, unconscious for a time and suffering in his conscious hours the agony of thirst, which is the greatest torture of all.

End of Fourth Week

May 7.—The battle of Arras has now lasted for a month, with successive shocks of attack and counterattack, and for both sides the struggle has been a fiery ordeal, in which a great sum of human life has been burned and blasted. On the great day of April 9 the British losses were very light, as losses must be counted nowadays, and in comparison with the great gains. The enemy losses on that day were huge in prisoners, in killed and wounded, in guns, and in all material of war. Since then, after hours and even days of panic lest the British tide of men should break all barriers and overwhelm his Hindenburg line, the enemy has been able to rally, to rush up great reserves, and to replace his captured and battered guns by many new batteries. That has saved the Hindenburg line for a time at least, but has not reduced his daiy toil of life and limb, for he has only been able to defend himself by counterattacking, and, although that is the best means of defense, according to the German textbooks, it has proved to be frightful in cost for the German soldiers. They succeeded in flinging back the British here and there by sheer weight of numbers when, after hard days' fighting, they lie exhausted in their advanced positions, but every time they have been swept by machine-gun fire and shrapnel, so that they have fallen in great numbers. To pretend that the British escaped scot free would be a silly lie. The casualty lists tell how many the British have lost.

In the battle of Arras there was individual courage, incredible almost in human nature, but what to me is more amazing is the general stolidity of all of them—this common valor of shop boys and cooks and farmers' lads and factory hands. To say they are always without fear would be ridiculous. They are often very much afraid, as all men must be when high explosives come out of the blue skies with frightful noises for abominable slaughter, but these lads are by some magic, which is in experience, steeled against ordinary apprehensiveness and against imaginative terror. A few days ago near Oppy I passed a group who had just been knocked out by a shell. It was a sight to turn one sick and cold, but a company

of boys came along on the way to the front line, where other shells were falling, and they paid very little heed to this group of men.

Night Scenes at Lens

May 8.—Last night and after daylight this morning the enemy's gunfire was very heavy southward from the neighborhood of Loos and Lens, and he launched a violent counterattack against the British line north of Fresnoy, captured a few days ago by the Canadians. Further south still, at Bullecourt, the Scots are fighting at close quarters, mainly with bombs, routing the enemy down trenches and out of the village, regained for a while in the backward and forward drives of this fierce struggle westward of Queant, where the Hindenburg line is most closely menaced. Elsewhere in the northern lines it was a night of small raids on both sides, and along all the front a night of great artillery. I watched this battle of guns from the old trenches looking across to Lens and giving a wide sweep of the battle front from the field of Loos to the ground below the sloping shoulder of Vimy Ridge.

This ground was the storm centre of the world's war last night just after dark, and before the coming of the moon lights rose from the German lines. The old devil was lighting his tapers round the witches' caldrons of fire. These rockets rose high, flung up like jugglers' balls, then falling slowly and going out. Some of them burned for a minute or more and the woods and trenches beneath them were illuminated with sharp white lights. One remained hanging high over Lens for more than five minutes like a great star. All through the night the battle of the guns went on and the sky was filled with the rush of the shells and the moon veiled his face from this horror which made hell on earth. But in a little wood a nightingale sang all through the night.

Germans Recapture Fresnoy

May 9.—The night bombardment I described yesterday was the preliminary of a strong morning attack against the British position in and around Fresnoy. Upon this village and the neighboring ground the enemy concentrated everything he has in artillery which can be directed on this sector of the front, and, in addition to the ordinary high explosives and shrapnel, he flung a storm of gas shells wherever he thought the British had battery positions. Fresnoy itself had been a difficult place to hold since the Canadians took it so gallantly on May 3. Having Acheville to the north of it and Oppy to the south, it jutted like a square-walled bastion with exposed sides, along which at the time of capture the Canadians had to form defensive flanks. The enemy had marked it down for attack, and for several days made strong counterthrusts on each side of it in order to prevent British troops getting forward to straighten out the line. English troops had to bear the brunt of the German concentrated fury. The German Army Corps Staff evidently decided to attack with the greatest strength possible on a narrow front, which was already held by their best troops. For a time that village is lost, but one day sooner or later the British will take it back. These men do not reckon cost, even though it is their own life that pays.

Australians at Bullecourt

May 13.—While the British were fighting north and south of the Scarpe an attack was made yesterday morning by the English and Scots at Bullecourt, supported by the Australians on their flank. The English and Scottish troops advanced from the south and west and drove forward through the village, establishing themselves first on the road which runs through the centre of the ruins and then going forward again to a line at the extreme north of the village, from which they have pushed out posts. The place is a rabbit warren of tunnels, in which there may still be Germans holding out, cut off from all chance of escape. When the British got through, the enemy seemed to run up these tunnels, hoping to get away to Riencourt, but by this time the Australians had just come up and captured a crowd of them numbering two officers and over 180

men, bayonetting a number who refused to surrender and fought like tigers.

The history of this fighting at Bullecourt is, however, inseparably bound up with the Australian troops who broke through the Hindenburg line to the right of this village and held on to their positions with amazing and splendid courage, although they were utterly exposed on their left and subjected to at least a dozen counterattacks in considerable force, preceded and followed by severe shelling.

All Australian officers pay high and touching tribute to the work of their stretcher bearers, who were superb in courage and self-sacrifice. I have seen the ground they had to cross and I know the evil and peril of it, but they went forward with the infantry and day after day crossed this country in the open with their heavy burdens, never stopping to glance at the bursting shells on either side of them, regardless of their own lives so that they could save their comrades. Unfortunately, the enemy did not respect ambulances, although they could clearly see the sign of the Red Cross, but sniped them continually with shells and shrapnel bullets, as well as stretcher parties which had more faith in German chivalry and for that reason walked deliberately in the open, so that they could not be mistaken. The percentage of mortality among these men is rather higher than that of the infantry themselves.

Heroic Incidents at Roeux

May 15.—The account I have already given of the way in which Roeux was taken a few nights ago left out some episodes which should be told and remembered, for the winning of this place was the result of many weeks' most fierce and tragic fighting.

After dusk some British lost their way from the cemetery and wandered off the track into the ruined streets of Roeux. There were some Irishmen among them, bold and reckless fellows who are very quick to do the right things in a tight corner when, as they say, they are on their own. They searched some dugouts and hauled out, by good luck, a group of staff officers belonging to the 362d Regiment and a doctor.

The doctor found his position rather obscure. He remained in his dugout for some time, attending British wounded brought down to him, and, according to these men, labeled them for Berlin. It was quite a time before he realized that his patients were not German prisoners, but that he was a British prisoner.

May 16.—The enemy is still making violent efforts to gain back Roeux and the part which he recently lost of Bullecourt, two places where for four weeks men fought on both sides in a daily struggle so deadly that the ground thereabout is heaped with bodies.

Yesterday, as I wrote, all Roeux was in British hands—the chemical works beyond the station, where many prisoners were taken; the château, with its great dugouts and machine-gun emplacements; the cemetery from which a great tunnel runs westward to Mount Pleasant Wood, and the village of Roeux itself. The British established machine-gun posts in the edge of the old German emplacements, dug defensive trenches, and cleaned out the dugouts in which dead Germans lay. There can hardly have been a patch of ground between the shell craters and the rubbish heap of the houses and barns on which there was not a German corpse. Among them lay men of the British Army. Some day, when the nightmare of this war has passed and the enemy has gone back to his own place, some of the men now fighting will come to Roeux as to a sepulchre where the dust of heroes lies; for all this place is a graveyard, although no dead lie quiet there yet. Living men are fighting there again amid all that mortality. Today's fighting here began this story of blood all over again; it piled new dead on the old dead; it refilled the cup of agony which has overflowed around these heaps of brickwork and tattered timbers.

While the artillery protects the enemy's present line he is digging hard behind in order to safeguard any further retreat that may be forced upon him. Now that the old Hindenburg line is breached both at Bullecourt and Wan-

court up north he is trying to strengthen his new line of defense running down through Montigny, Drocourt, and Queant. To fall back on that would mean the abandonment of Lens and of the Oppy-Mericourt line and the ground about Fontaine lez Croiselles, and Chérisy, which is gravely menaced. His industry on this back line is helped by forced labor and there is evidence that he is employing British prisoners of war under British shellfire on this work.

May 17.—The British troops today completed the capture of the village of Bullecourt, for which they have been fighting since May 3.

French Offensive On the Aisne

From April 16 to May 17, 1917

[See Map on Page 422]

A NEW battle of the Aisne has been in progress since April 16, when General Nivelle, the French Commander in Chief, launched a great offensive on a front of twenty-five miles between Soissons and Rheims. This was on the line to which the Germans fell back after the battle of the Marne and from which the Allies had been unable to drive them.

In expectation of a strong offensive in this region, the enemy had massed large numbers of men and many guns, the intense bombardment of the previous ten days having given them ample warning that the French were preparing an attack. The Germans fought with great desperation along the whole front, realizing that a successful French advance would isolate the important city of Laon, upon which the Hindenburg line depends, but, according to General Nivelle's report at the end of the first day's fighting, "everywhere the valor of our troops overcame the energetic defense of our adversary."

The German first-line positions along the entire front were captured, and at some places the second line also. Over 10,000 prisoners were taken, as well as a large quantity of war material. On the two succeeding days the offensive was continued with unabated vigor. By the end of the third day the total number of prisoners taken was 17,000, with 75 guns. In many places the Germans were forced to fall back in disorder. The French gained several important positions, including the villages of Chavonne, Chivy, Ostel, and Braye-en-Laonnois. Further to the west, where the old German line stood on the south bank of the Aisne, the French delivered another attack, no less successful. The important town of Vailly was captured in its entirety, while a powerfully organized bridgehead between Vailly and Condé-sur-Aisne also fell into the hands of the attackers. At the same time the French struck a strong blow against the western leg of the German salient, which has its apex at Fort Condé on the Aisne, capturing the village of Nanteuil-le-Fosse. East of Craonne, in the forest of La Ville-au-Bois, the French surrounded a body of 1,300 Germans, who threw down their arms. Further to the east, where the French in their first onslaught captured the German second-line positions, the Germans delivered a counterattack, employing two divisions, or about 40,000 men. The attackers met a hail of artillery and machine-gun fire, and suffered heavy losses. At no point were they able to reach the French lines. Twenty-four guns and three large cannon with their shell dépôts were captured by the French in this region during the day's fighting, the guns being immediately turned against the enemy.

South of St. Quentin the Germans made two strong counterattacks. The first one failed completely, the second had only momentary success, as a French attack immediately afterward retook all positions, capturing or killing all the enemy who had penetrated the line.

To stem the French advance, Hinden-

burg threw twelve new German divisions, approximately 240,000 men, into the lines on the night of April 18, but next day the French pushed further ahead. The most desperate attempt made by the Germans on April 19 was between Juvincourt and Berry-au-Bac, the weakest point on the line. Here 30,000 of the best German troops were hurled forward in a furious counterattack, but were beaten off with heavy losses. The most important French gains were made at two widely separated points—at the angle of the new front east of Soissons and north of Vailly, where a sharp salient was developed, and just northwest of Auberive, in the Champagne, where the town of Moronvillers was threatened with capture.

Following up these successes in squeezing out the German salient, which had its point at Fort Condé, on the Oise, the French continued to press back the enemy in this sector on April 20 toward the Chemin des Dames, the road running along the crest of the heights north of the river. General Nivelle's troops occupied the village of Sancy, between Aizy and Nanteuil. They also made appreciable progress east of Laffaux. Immediately in front of the French in this sector is the fort of Malmaison, standing on a range of high hills and protecting the high road from Soissons to Laon. West of Craonne the Germans launched a heavy attack in the region of Ailles and Hurtebise Farm, employing large forces of troops. They met a withering fire from the French artillery and machine guns and fell back in disorder. In Champagne the French also made progress, capturing several important points of support in Moronvillers Wood. Here, also, the Germans attempted strong counterattacks, but without result.

On April 22 and 23 the Germans concentrated their energies to capture Mont Haut, the dominating position in Western Champagne, but without result. Meanwhile the French gained more ground at the western end of the Soissons-Rheims front. South of St. Quentin the artillery duel which had been in progress several days continued with vigor. April 25 was notable for strong German attacks on the French positions at Hurtebise Farm, north of the Chemin des Dames, but the advantage remained with the French, who on April 27 gained further ground.

There was now some diminution of the intensity of the fighting. The French were in possession of the chief heights of Moronvillers. On April 30 they began another offensive on the left of the previous advance in Western Champagne. The fighting was particularly severe on the north slopes of Mont Haut, to the northeast of which the French pushed a salient reaching the approaches to the Nauroy - Moronvillers road. Artillery fighting of considerable violence continued along the Chemin des Dames, north of the Aisne, and in the region northwest of Rheims. By May 1 the French had taken well over 21,000 prisoners since the opening of the drive on April 16.

Scenes of Awful Combat

"One of the most awful parts of the battle line in France," wrote G. H. Perris, The London Daily Chronicle correspondent with the French Army, on May 14, "is the Chemin des Dames and the neighboring points of the Aisne heights, where mutual bombardments never cease and infantry fighting goes on continuously. Before a resistance of unprecedented obstinacy the French have slowly made good and slightly extended their hold upon the ridge, and every day makes its commanding views more useful to them. I suppose that in the whole extent of the war there could hardly be found a natural stronghold put to better defensive use than this has been. From the outset the German armies have been richly provided with machine guns. They are now employed upon a larger scale than ever, and in this rugged ground, with its ravines, cliffs, woods, and stone villages, they are peculiarly formidable. The chalk slopes are honeycombed with caverns and grottoes, natural and artificial, which the German engineers had furnished, enlarged and connected by tunnels. Here they awaited the end of the bombardment in comparative immunity, while the French had to approach from a valley 300 feet below by trenches that were nearly everywhere overlooked.

"It is true that when the barbed wire was completely broken and the chasseurs, zouaves, Moroccans, and other troops of assault were able to dash over No Man's Land, the caves proved to be traps and yielded up several thousands of prisoners. On the crest the Germans had pierced a number of tunnels through the chalk from the front to the back slopes of the hills. Sometimes, as above Chivy, they let the wave of the assault pass and then fired upon the French from behind. Sometimes there were bloody combats in the entries of these warrens and the tenants were shot down as they came out. There was at the head of the Chivy ravine a wide hole in the earth down which the Moroccans threw some grenades and then passed on. It turned out to be the entrance to a great tunnel which led by no fewer than 112 steps to another entrance on the back of the hillside. Apparently against the eventuality of assault the tunnel had been mined with five large charges. The grenades filled the place with smoke and threw the occupants into panic. Fearing that they would be blown up with their own explosives, they bolted upstairs to the back door, but by that time the Moroccans had discovered the second entry, and here they collected 200 frightened Boches as they emerged.

"Generally the German resistance was brave and determined. In one day near Cerny counterattacks were launched only to break like spume upon the extemporized French positions. They became daily stronger, but still thousands of graycoats were sent to the assault. In their attempts to recover the Cerny sugar factory (a heap of ruins, of course) they started from some specially wide communication trenches up which columns of grenadiers came four abreast. As soon as four were shot down another line stepped forward. Thousands and thousands of bombs were thrown, but the French mitrailleuses could not be passed."

The Capture of Craonne

The village of Craonne, several fortified points north and east of the village, and the German first-line positions on a front of two and a half miles northwest of Rheims were captured by the French on May 4. Craonne, about nine miles southeast of Laon, stands upon an isolated height at the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames. It not only protects the entire plateau north of the Aisne, but defends also the lowlands between this height and Neufchatel. The Germans had been intrenched in this position since the first battle of the Aisne, and many French attacks had broken against the cliffs on which the village stands. Its capture by the French gave them an open road up the valley of the Miette, where more than two weeks previously they captured the enemy's second line south of Juvincourt. An advance up this corridor would outflank the entire German position depending on Laon as a centre. Such an advance would have been a hazardous operation so long as the Germans clung to Craonne. The corridor is protected on the east by the heights of Brimont.

Another brilliant victory was gained by the French on May 5 on the front north of the Aisne River at both ends of the Chemin des Dames. Over 4,300 prisoners were taken. On both sides of the Soissons-Laon road the French carried a salient in the Hindenburg line over a front of nearly four miles, extending from the Moisy farm (southeast of Vauxaillon) to a point north of Sancy, including the Laffaux Mill, which stands on a height at the intersection of the Soissons-Laon road with that running north to La Fère. The French line north of Nanteuil la Fosse and Sancy was pushed forward to the immediate vicinity of the Soissons road.

At the eastern end of the Chemin des Dames the French not only repulsed all German counterattacks, but cleared the entire plateau from east of the Cerny en Laonnois to a point east of Craonne, and pushed forward to the hills which dominate the valley of the Aillette River, south of Ailles, and the Vanclerc Forest. The Germans counterattacked more violently than at any time since the offensive began, throwing fresh troops into the battle at threatened points in fierce efforts to regain their lost positions. The fighting was especially prolonged and

violent around Craonne, where the French took prisoners from two fresh German divisions and maintained all their gains. The obstacles confronting the French armies were in many cases natural, and, it would seem, insurmountable, and the French accomplished magnificent exploits in scaling them in the face of the enemy, who had accumulated divisions and batteries.

Fighting Near Rheims

There was no diminution in the heavy German onslaughts in the neighborhood of Rheims, where the German positions between Beine and Sapigneul form a pronounced salient, which includes Fort Brimont and Forts Witry, Berru, and Nogent. After three days' more fighting the French gained further successes, capturing first-line trenches over a front of three-quarters of a mile northeast of Chevreux, near Craonne, and also a minor position northwest of Rheims.

In a determined effort to secure the initiative, the Germans on May 16 delivered a powerful attack on a front of two and a half miles northeast of Soissons, attempting to break through the French lines north and northwest of Laffaux Mill, where the French seriously threatened the whole German position as far north as La Fère. So huge were the masses of troops thrown by the Germans against the French lines that at several points the French were driven back by sheer force of numbers, but counterattacks immediately organized enabled them to regain the lost ground.

On May 17 the German counterattacks still continued with extraordinary insistence, especially on the Chemin des Dames. A correspondent on that day summed up the situation in these words: "To the north of Laffaux village and the neighboring crossroads in particular the battle has gone on practically without intermission for a month. This district of sharp hills, wooded ravines, and limestone caverns is the corner at which the Siegfried line turns eastward. The French advance was desperately opposed from the first, and it has been possible to extend it only slightly, but the chief end has been very fully attained. The tide of the German assault swells up, splashes over a piece of trench here or there, is broken, and in its ebb leaves terrible human wreckage to mark one more failure."

The Famous Fight for Vimy Ridge

The story of the remarkable capture of Vimy Ridge by the Canadians, one of the outstanding episodes of the British offensive in France in April, 1917, is officially related as follows by the Canadian War Records Office:

AGAIN the Canadians have "acquired merit." In the capture of Vimy Ridge on April 9, as in the lesser action of Courcelette in September of last year, they have shown the same high qualities in victorious advance as they displayed in early days in desperate resistance on many stricken fields. At half-past 5 on Easter Monday morning the great attack was launched with terrible fire from our massed artillery and from many field guns in hidden advanced positions. Our "heavies" bombarded the enemy positions on and beyond the ridge, and trenches, dugouts, emplacements, and roads, which for long had been kept in a continual state of disrepair by our fire, were now smashed to uselessness. An intense barrage of shrapnel from our field guns, strengthened by the indirect fire of hundreds of machine guns, was laid along the front.

At the same moment the Canadian troops advanced in line, in three waves of attack. Flurries of snow drifted over the battlefield as the Canadians left their jumping-off trenches behind the rolling barrage. The light was sufficient for manoeuvring purposes and yet obscure enough to obstruct the range of vision and lessen the accuracy of fire of the German riflemen and machine-gunners.

The troops on the extreme left made a start under conditions as favorable as those in the centre and right, but they were soon confronted by a strong and constantly strengthening opposition. The advance of these troops was soon checked between its first and second lines of objectives by heavy fighting, which was more formidable against the centre of the line than against the flanks.

A dip in the ground caused a change of direction, which swung these troops off their central objectives. They reached their goals on the flanks, only to find themselves subjected to heavy, close-range fire of machine guns and rifles. To be enfiladed from the centre and the north was bad enough, but to add to the situation, caves, or a tunnel, in the hostile line over which we had already advanced now disgorged Germans, who promptly reoccupied their old front and opened fire on our rear. The enemy at these points fought with unusual vigor and resolution.

These troops on the extreme left fought all day against the Huns, and by 10 o'clock at night succeeded in disposing of the enemy in their rear and capturing the major portion of the enemy trenches in their centre. "The Pimple," in the north, still remained to the enemy, but by then snow was falling heavily and it was wisely decided to consolidate the hard-won gains and prepare for a counterattack rather than to undertake a further assault that night. "The Pimple" would keep for the morrow.

In the meantime the other troops fought forward to one line after another without serious check, but with many brisk encounters and not without casualties. Most of these were the result of shrapnel fire, only a small percentage were fatal, and the majority of the wounds were of a minor character.

On the German second line the troops drew breath and consolidated their gains. Our barrage was laid before them steady as a wall. Fresh troops came up and deployed into position. They waited for the barrage to lift at the ordained minute and lead them on. The enemy's artillery fire—their counterbarrage and bombardment of our gun positions—was not strong as strength in such things is considered today. Prisoners were already hurrying to our rear in hundreds, pathetically and often ludicrously grateful to the fortunes of war that had saved them alive for capture. They surrendered promptly and willingly.

The barrage lifted, and the two divisions on the right followed it forward to the German third line. Here again they paused for a time, then advanced again, behind the ever-ready and unslackening barrage, for a distance of about 1,200 yards. This advance included the capture of several villages, Hill 140, a number of fortified woods, and several trenches and belts of wire. And still the enemy surrendered by hundreds and scuttled rearward to safety. Their resistance grew feebler, their hands more eager to relinquish their weapons and ascend high above their heads, at each stage of our advance.

At 10 o'clock snow fell heavily from black clouds sweeping low across the ridge. Half an hour later the snow ceased, the clouds thinned, and the sun shone fitfully over the shattered and clamorous battlefield. Word was received at the advanced headquarters that the British division on our immediate right was enjoying a degree of success in its operations equal to the Canadian success.

Events continued to develop with rapidity and precision. By 1 o'clock every point in the enemy's third line of our objectives had been reached and secured. By this time the troops on the right had consolidated their gains and advanced strong patrols. From their new positions they commanded a wide view of enemy territory to the eastward. They reported a massing of Germans on a road in the new field of vision, and our heavy guns immediately dealt with the matter. By noon one of the battalions of a division had received and dealt drastically with three counterattacks. Its front remained unshaken. Shortly after this the Canadian Corps was able to state that the prisoners already to hand numbered three battalion commanders, 15 other officers, and more than 2,000 noncommissioned

officers and men—with plenty more in sight—making for our "cages" as fast as their legs could carry them.

The final stage of the attack of the troops on the right was now made. They passed through the wide belts of enemy wire which fringed the plateau by way of wide gaps torn by our heavy artillery at fixed intervals. So they issued on the eastern slopes of Vimy Ridge—the first allied troops to look down upon the level plain of Douai since the German occupation in 1914. They saw the villages of Farbus, Vimy, and Petit Vimy at their feet, and beyond these the hamlets of Willerval, Bailleul, Oppy, and Mericourt. They pressed on to Farbus Wood and Goulot Wood, and possessed themselves of several hostile batteries and much ammunition.

By an early hour of the afternoon all our objectives, save those of the left of the attack, were in our possession, and the task of consolidating and strengthening our gains was well in hand. Throughout the day the most courageous and devoted co-operation was rendered to the Canadian Corps by a brigade and a squadron of the Royal Flying Corps.

The night saw all of Vimy Ridge, with the exception of a few trenches on Hill 145, secure in Canadian hands.

Last Inhabitants Driven From Rheims

The City of Rheims was evacuated by its civil population on Easter Sunday, when the last 17,000 *inhabitants, who had withstood the German bombardment for two and one-half years, withdrew. Henry Wood describes this episode as follows:*

BEFORE the German declaration of war Rheims was a prosperous city, with 117,000 inhabitants, and though about 100,000 of the population left by degrees, the remainder refused to go. They organized an underground cellar life, with schools and municipal, social, and business activities.

The enemy apparently chose Holy Week for the final destruction of the city. On Palm Sunday nearly 1,000 shells were thrown into the city, and the local authorities immediately suggested the final evacuation of the city, but the faithful 17,000 said, "Oh! but we have seen much worse than this in 1914." On Holy Monday another thousand shells came. The faithful 17,000 began to look a little dubious, but cheered each other up heroically. But on Tuesday another thousand shells deluged the city, and the local authorities had some bills printed begging the people to flee; but the bombardment was so terrific that it was impossible to post the bills. On Wednesday there came still another thousand shells. The two newspapers of Rheims, which had never missed a single issue even under the severest bombardment, invited their readers at last to abandon their homes as they were abandoning their newspapers. Thursday saw another thousand shells hurled into Rheims and the authorities prepared more posters, this time ordering the population to flee immediately. The bombardment again prevented the posting of the bills and the 17,000 still refused to flee.

On Good Friday not only was the number of shells increased, but their size as well, and on Saturday were added shells filled with asphyxiating gas. It was then, and then only, the faithful 17,000 admitted their defeat.

They still hung out till Easter morning, however, and then, getting together their few possessions, and under a new deluge of shells, they went out, and Rheims remained a city without life and without breath.

The damage done to the remains of Rheims Cathedral during the bombardments of April and May was so serious that architects apprehend the complete collapse of the building.

Military Review of the Month

Period from April 18 to May 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

THE object of these reviews is two-fold—to give a rèsumé of recent fighting in the various theatres of military operations and to outline the general situation as it exists at the moment of writing. The second of these I will take up first, as it will bring into clearer view the objects on either side of the fighting, and to what extent those objects are being attained.

Germany has two chances of winning the war. The first is the submarine campaign. If this campaign is successful to the point that oversea communication between the New World and the Old is completely broken up German victory is almost certain to ensue. The second is a separate peace with Russia. This will not necessarily make Germany the winner, but it will greatly enhance Germany's chances and make victory a possibility. As to the first, it is practically impossible. The second is not impossible, but improbable. At the same time a situation exists in Russia which is not without an omen of ill for the Allies.

Ominous Conditions in Russia

The situation is one of chaos. Instead of liberty and an active struggle to defeat the most persistent foe to republican ideas, there is almost unbridled license and a complete breaking down of discipline in the military force. As one of the Russian leaders stated it, the people have had a sip from the cup of liberty, and it has intoxicated them. The ablest Generals, the greatest statesmen, have all left their posts, either through removal or resignation. Nicholas, Brusiloff, Rusky have gone, and there is no one apparently able to take their places. Discipline in the army has disappeared, the control of the officers over the men has gone with it, and no important order can be given unless approved by the soldiers themselves. The Russians and the Germans are fraternizing openly in No Man's Land, and there seems no means of breaking up this ruinous communication. The situation could not, in a military way, be very much worse.

It is not that Russia will make a separate peace. The probabilities are that she will not. While this still keeps Germany away from the Russian granaries, it nevertheless, in so far as military operations are concerned, gives Germany the same advantages that such a peace would bring. That is, it eliminates Russia from the war, at least for the current year, and thereby permits the Central Powers to concentrate in other quarters a large part of the forces which have been held on the eastern front by Russia's swift, hard offensive strokes. This is an element that has an important bearing on the fighting in France.

General Hindenburg's Plan

Let us turn back a little to the beginning of the great German retreat and outline the reasons given by Germany, or fairly implied as reasons therefor. The first was undoubtedly to gain time—to delay the attack of the Allies, which they felt sure would be launched. The almost inconceivable devastation left in their wake is sufficient proof of this. The second was to give their submarines an opportunity to destroy sufficient tonnage to give them the advantage in the land fighting. Finally, having accumulated during the Winter a certain reserve of new material through new levies, returns from the hospitals, and men released from manufacturing duties through the enslavement of the Belgians, their aim was to begin an offensive in a new field through open warfare, using this reserve for the purpose.

What this new reserve amounted to in

numbers we do not know. The normal yearly increment is approximately 500,000; it does not seem reasonable that the number from other sources could be greater. This would give the total reserve figure at about 1,000,000. It is apparent, however, from the statement as to the German plan—which statement comes from Berlin—that Germany planned to take the initiative which the Allies had held since the ending of the battle of Verdun. If she did not, indeed, there was but little sense in collecting this reserve which was formed largely by mortgaging the future. It was a stake with which to gamble, and therefore must have been intended to be used in an effort to accomplish some result through offensive operations initiated by Germany.

Plans That Have Failed

To what extent, then, do the operations of the last month indicate success in conformity with the German plan? The first part—to gain time—has proved a failure. They did not gain time because the British and French, knowing of the coming retirement, (I myself was advised of it from an authoritative source the first week in February,) had, before it began, prepared to strike elsewhere than on the Somme. The British preparation for the attack on Vimy Ridge was made in February, the French preparation for the attacks on Craonne and in Champagne somewhat later.

The second part of the plan, while in one sense partially successful, since many hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping have been sunk, has in reality been a ruinous failure, since it has thrown the resources of America into the balance against Germany. Nor has it even approached cutting England off from the New World. Indeed, Canada is sending troopships across weekly, and there is no record of any one of them ever having been sunk.

As for the third, its defeat has been most complete. Germany has been utterly unable to take the initiative or to use for this purpose the million men she had gathered at serious cost to her later operations. On the contrary, she has had to use this reserve to resist the terrific and unrelenting pressure which the British and French have applied to the two most vital sections of the German front. And even this does not seem to have been sufficient. Aside from throwing this reserve into action long before it was expected, she has had to call on the Russian front for additional men, and is using many divisions of them now. The Russian situation permits this to be done without present danger. It is another case of mortgaging the future because of the exigencies of the present. When Russia is ready to strike again the result will show how serious the damage is. We see, therefore, that in every particular the German plans have met with defeat.

Less Hopeful Elements

To this extent the situation is entirely favorable to the Allies. But it is a negative advantage. In reality the situation is not as hopeful as might appear from what has already been said. There is reason for a somewhat dubious feeling about any great success this year. The whole thing hinges on Russia, and we know what the Russian situation is. The only way a group of nations holding the advantage of interior lines can be beaten is by striking simultaneously at many points on the inclosing circle. And this cannot happen. Russia, we have seen, cannot attack. Any Italian attack will be met by Austrian reserves, drawn with impunity from the Russian front. Rumania is dependent upon Russian assistance and Russian supplies, and may consequently be classed with Russia as incapable of offensive action. The army in Saloniki, although spasmodically active, is really performing no other function than that of a holding force, neutralizing the army of Bulgaria. Only on the western front can effective fighting be done, and the forces on this front must bear the brunt of the entire German Army. This, then, is the situation with which the British and French are confronted, and which must be borne in mind in following the western fighting.

French Fighting on the Aisne

As for the actual fighting, it has been more severe than during any correspond-

BRITISH AND FRENCH BATTLE FRONTS NEAR ARRAS AND ON THE AISNE

ing period of the war. The first attack to be noted—it began as last month's review was going to press—was the French attack west of Rheims and in Champagne. The attack west of Rheims was against the southern pivot of the so-called "Hindenburg Line"—against the Laon position. It was leveled principally against the heights of the Aisne, where the allied attacks which followed the battle of the Marne broke down. From the Aisne, passing north toward Craonne, there is an abrupt limestone plateau, rising in a very difficult, heavily wooded country and terminating sharply at Craonne itself.

The first French rush, which was preceded by the usual terrific bombardment, carried Nivelle's men well up to this plateau and accounted for a great many guns and thousands of prisoners, many of the latter being caught in the limestone caves—some natural, some created by the Germans—with which the plateau is honeycombed. Following up this success, the French struck again and again until the plateau was taken and Craonne occupied. French lines were established about three-quarters of a mile from the Aillette River, which they now parallel from Courtecon to Chevreux. The floor of this valley is now under complete domination by the French guns, which occupy the ridge that parallels the valley throughout.

Here the French have had to stop. The Germans have thrown into the fighting over 100,000 new troops in their efforts to hold back the French thrust, and have made the most furious counterattacks, particularly against the Craonne position. But the French have maintained their new positions entirely. Indeed, it was the terrain which has held the French back, more than the reserve material which the Germans have thrown into the battle. The truth of the matter is that both sides hold positions which are exceedingly strong defensively. Each holds a ridge paralleling the river—one on one side, one on the other. There is no object in the French pushing down to the river unless they can cross it and seize the heights on the other side. This promises to be a most difficult operation, and one accompanied by heavy losses;

and there is no indication that any such attempt is being considered. Indeed, it would seem that the French have reached the limit of possibilities here, and that this section of the line will wait for an attack to be made from the east, where the terrain is much more simple and less favorable for defense.

Between Rheims and Berry-au-Bac the country is open, gently rolling, without positions of any particular dominating value. The attack here almost entirely cleared the Aisne Canal north of Soivre and forced the Germans back to within a mile of the Suippes River. Here, too, the advance has halted and the French have had to withstand the heaviest of countermovements. In the Champagne country east of Rheims, to which the French attack extended, there was also a decided gain in the early days of the fighting, but the advance stopped at the heights of Moronvillers. Against this section, too, the Germans have countered heavily, but everywhere the French lines have held. Division after division of the German reserves has been used up in these three sections of the line and withdrawn to recuperate and re-form.

On the British Front

All the British fighting of the month has been over the narrow front from Fresnoy to Queant. The ground gained has been unimportant, but the apparent plan of the British is important. It must be realized, first, that the western fighting still has with it the idea of attrition—of wearing the Germans down. This has never been lost sight of by the allied General Staff since trench warfare developed. And it is toward this end that the fight in the west is directed. The idea of the British, then, seems to be to provoke the Germans to counter-attack rather than to gain ground themselves.

The percentage of men lost in such attacks is always greater than in the original attack. There are several reasons for this, chief of which is that counter-attacks, whether made to stop an advance or to recover lost ground, promise success only when made before the hostile infantry can consolidate the ground gained and settle down into new positions. The artillery, therefore, cannot be used to the same extent either to prepare for or to protect the infantry as it moves forward. The losses involved in such fighting are always excessive. Such attacks are justified only when important positions are at stake. Here is apparently the key to the fighting at Roeux, at Oppy, and at Bullecourt.

There are indications of activity both on the Saloniki and the Italian fronts, but such attacks as have been delivered are only in the preparatory stage. The Saloniki fighting has been confined to the Vardar Valley, on both sides of which the French and British have made slight advances. On the Italian front, about midway between Tolmino and Gorizia, a new crossing of the Isonzo has been forced and several heights on the eastern bank have been seized. In general, however, the engagement has been without definite result.

German Version of the Month's Fighting

April 18 to May 17, 1917

GERMAN accounts of the fighting on the western front during the month have maintained that the British and French attacks have been failures attended by appalling losses. "After a week of incomparably wrathful onslaught," wrote the correspondent of the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger on April 22, "the German front still stands unshaken, although covered with bruises and pools of blood on the Aisne and in Champagne, a guarantee that, since the enemy did not succeed in the first two days of this gigantic battle, when their valor and vigor were fresh, in breaking the German lines, they will never succeed hereafter."

The German War Office report of April 23, the day on which the British

launched their second great assault since April 9, said that on the battlefield of Arras the new offensive had broken down without success under very heavy enemy losses, and the report of April 25, referring to the same day's fighting, added that the number of British dead and wounded lying in front of the German lines, according to aviators and men in the trenches, was unusually high. Only on the Cambrai-Arras road did the British gain ground.

The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger correspondent described this offensive as the most gigantic infantry effort ever made by the British. "British humanity in khaki," he wrote, "flooded the whole country in front of the German trenches at Loos and Arras. Between Hulluch and Lens they formed a living battering ram and thus succeeded in taking about a kilometer of the German first trench. But a German counterattack, following immediately, not only ejected them from the trench, but left every British soldier on the battlefield. The troops welcomed an infantry attack as relief from the rain of iron that the British artillery is pouring on them incessantly. The German soldiers who had for days been exposed to the hell of gunfire never lost their nerve one moment when the human sea of khaki threatened to swamp them. On the Aisne and in Champagne, too, a sanguinary struggle around the hills continues as bitterly as in the last eight days. Evidently the French have received fresh munitions and replaced their tired divisions by new formations."

British Failure Announced

The third attempt of the British to break through the German lines on the battlefield of Arras was, according to the Berlin official statement of April 28, another complete failure, involving heavy losses, and followed by a German counterattack ending in "a heavy defeat" for the British. The War Office report of the following day contained this account of the battle:

"A very heavy drum fire, which was begun before daybreak over the whole front from Lens as far as Queant, was the prelude to a battle by which the British for the third time hoped to pierce the German lines near Arras. By midday the great battle was decided by a heavy defeat of the British. At dawn, on a front of about thirty kilometers, (eighteen miles,) British storming columns followed curtains of steel, dust, gas, and smoke, which had been advanced by degrees. The weight of the enemy thrust north of the Scarpe was directed against our positions from Achéville as far as Roeux, where the battle raged with extraordinary violence. The British forced their way into Arleux-en-Gohelle and Oppy and near Gavrelle and Roeux, occupied by us as advanced positions. They were met by a counterattack by our infantry. In a severe hand-to-hand struggle the enemy was defeated. At some points he was driven beyond our former lines, the whole of which, with the exception of Arleux-en-Gohelle, is again in our hands. South of the Scarpe, in the lowlands, a desperate battle also raged. In their wrecked positions our brave troops withstood the British charges, repeated several times. Here also the British attacks failed. On the wings of the battlefield enemy attacking waves broke down under destructive fire. The British losses were extraordinarily heavy. April 28 was a new day of honor. Our infantry, powerfully led and excellently supported by its sister and auxiliary arm, showed itself fully equal to its tasks."

Claim Heavy French Losses

The French preparations for a new attack at the end of April are described in the following dispatch, dated May 1, from the Berlin Mittagszeitung correspondent at the German headquarters:

"The great battle enters upon the fourth week and looks very much as though a new change of parts is about to take place. On April 9 the English began a great onslaught, on April 16 the French fell in line, while on April 23 the English carried out a second assault, which they followed with a third on the 28th. Now it is evidently the French turn again. The country around Artois is still vibrating with the fierce battle of the last eight days, and the artillery continues its chaotic noise, especially around

Oppy, which yesterday withstood the British onslaught four different times.

"On the Aisne and in Champagne the guns are roaring worse than ever today. As early as Saturday night one noticed at Berry-au-Bac, where I was at the time, the thunder of artillery and the flash and bang of exploding shells increasing in rapidity. Toward Sunday morning, of course, everything was prepared for a new onslaught. The French, however, did not think their artillery preparation sufficient, and continued the bombardment with all the more ferocity, since the German guns gave them tit for tat. Toward Monday morning the French developed a regular drumfire, which was mainly directed against the left wing of the Aisne front around Vauxaillon and against the line of Braye-Craonne-Brimont.

"Observation and the testimony of prisoners tell an awful story of the overwhelming losses on the French side. Large detachments ceased to exist in the original form. The battlefields which the Germans have to cross in their counterattacks are full of the terrors of slaughter. There are countless bodies along the whole front which in view of the French inconsiderateness for the life of their own men are not to be wondered at. The Germans, too, mourn many dead heroes, but it is quite natural that the French, who have been trying the front now for three weeks, should have suffered many more losses. The Germans know that, and they know that, thanks to the splendid efficiency of their artillery and the untiring efforts of their flying squadrons, they shall have the upper hand to the end."

Gigantic British Effort

Meanwhile the British were once more on the offensive, and again, according to German accounts, with no real success. "At this last hour," wrote the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger correspondent on May 4, "the last waves of the hostile flood against the German walls east of Arras are receding. Another gigantic effort has spent itself without the desired effect of breaking through the German lines in even one single spot." He continued:

"Led by countless tanks, the British infantry rushed on as often as five times in some places. About noon on May 3 the most powerful of all the English onslaughts that brought them nearly one kilometer deep into the German lines near the village of Fresnoy broke down completely. At Oppy, where the field was literally covered with English bodies, they received a staggering blow and retired. In the valley of the Scarpe toward Roeux and in the direction of Pelves their onslaughts met a like fate in the fire of German sharpshooters and machine guns.

"Large, dense masses of troops operating against the German south flank succeeded in the first heat of the assault in piercing the line to Chérisy, which, however, was recovered by a counterattack. Having completely failed here, the British sought to gain a foothold at the village of Bullecourt, four kilometers east of Queant. Again they were defeated, but managed to occupy a short stretch of trenches, where they are now completely shut off from their connections. At 4:30 o'clock this morning (May 4) the British sent dense masses against Bullecourt. As far as we know by this time this attack was also successfully repulsed. All the enemy got for the thousands of dead and wounded sacrificed in this fourth battle is mostly a pile of walls and burned woodwork, where once stood a village of 200 inhabitants, and that after a bombardment that hardly ever had its equal, and after seventeen divisions spent their breath against narrow stretches of the German position.

"While this furor of attack on the Arras front seems subsiding, the valleys of the Aisne and Champagne are again shrouded in steam, dust, smoke, and the noise of battle. Since early dawn the French have been trying to rush the German position between the Aisne and Brimont. The night before their projectiles were raining on the Vauxaillon-Laffaux-Braye-Craonne line. Guns of all calibres seem to have joined in the hellish concert, and for a change the Germans now and then were treated to gas shells. Now the battle of human masses is again raging in those valleys. There is no doubting what it will be."

Fall of Craonne Not Announced

The German reports made no reference to the capture of Craonne. On the other hand, the War Office report of May 8 announced the recapture of Fresnoy. On May 11 it was stated that the mutual activity of the artilleries had increased to great violence on the whole Arras battle front and that local advances by the British at Fresnoy and Roeux and between Monchy and Chérisy remained unsuccessful. On May 13 it was admitted that the British had succeeded in forcing their way through the German lines at Roeux. One report read:

"The great attacks of the English have broken down. After very strong artillery preparation, which extended throughout the whole battlefield of Arras, from Lens to Queant, the English in the early morning attacked the lines between Gavrelle and the Scarpe, astride the Arras-Cambrai Road, and near Bullecourt. At Roeux they were successful in forcing an entry, but at all other points they were repulsed by our fire and hand-to-hand fighting, and sustained the heaviest losses. In the evening several fresh attacks were made on both sides of Monchy. These likewise broke down with sanguinary losses. The advantages which the English succeeded in obtaining at Bullecourt were again wrested from them by powerful counterthrusts of a Guard battalion."

The capture of La Neuville, on the Aisne front, was announced by the War Office on May 16. A later report said that rain and mist had rendered the fighting activity on the western front slight. On May 17 the German official statement admitted the loss of ground at Roeux, but announced the capture of 2,300 English prisoners and 2,700 Frenchmen since May 1. The British capture of Bullecourt was conceded.

Kaiser to the Crown Prince

Earlier in the struggle—on April 22—the German Kaiser sent the following telegram to the Crown Prince:

"The troops of all the German tribes under your command, with steel-hard determination and strongly led, have brought to failure the great French attempt to break through on the Aisne and in Champagne. Also there the infantry again had to bear the brunt, and, thanks to the indefatigable assistance of the artillery and other arms, has accomplished great things in death-defying perseverance and irresistible attack. Convey my thanks and those of the Fatherland to the leaders and men. The battle on the Aisne and in Champagne is not yet over, but all who fight and bleed there shall know that the whole of Germany will remember their deeds, and is at one with them to carry through the fight for existence to a victorious end. God grant it."

Germany's Peace Discussion

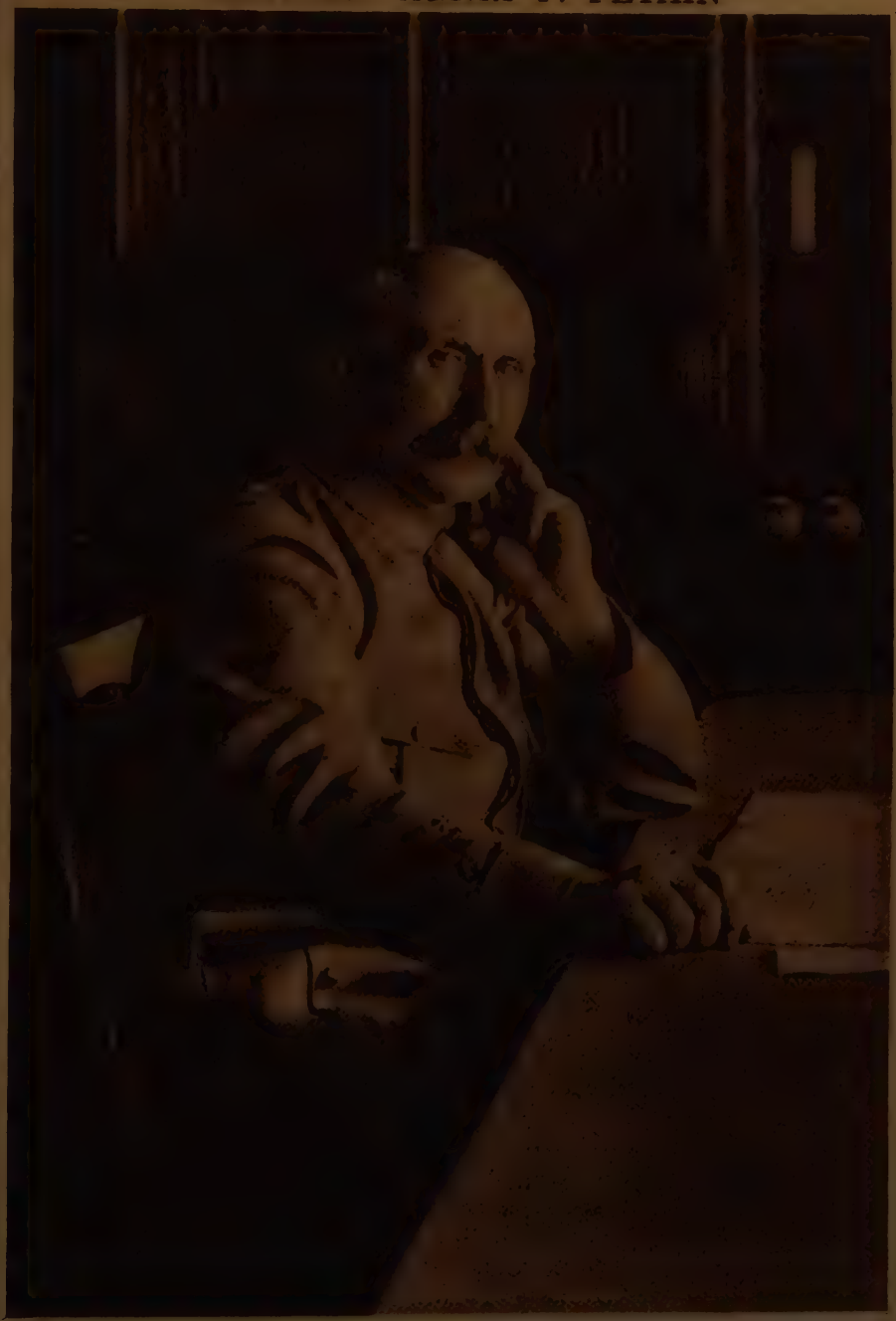
Chancellor's Address of May 15, 1917

THE German Chancellor at a meeting of the Reichstag on May 15 delivered an address which had been anxiously awaited in the hope that it would be a definite proffer of peace; but it proved to be a disappointment in that regard. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg was preceded by Dr. Roesicke, Conservative and President of the German Farmers' Union, who said:

"While our brave troops maintain with streams of blood our territorial gains, the Social Democratic Party urges the Imperial Chancellor to conclude a peace without any indemnity and without any annexation. The Imperial Government has met the Social Democratic demands to such an extraordinary extent that this party enjoys preferential treatment beyond that accorded to other parties, and the imperial word, 'I know no parties,' is rendered valueless.

"In a statement recently published in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung we see a far-reaching similarity with the

GENERAL HENRI P. PETAIN



Newly Appointed Commander in Chief of All French Armies
Operating on the Western Front

INTERIOR OF CHURCH AT ROYE

All That Remains of One of France's Most Ancient Churches After the Passing of the German Army of Occupation

(Photo from Pictorial Press)

declaration of various party committees concerning our relations with Russia. The Austro-Hungarian Government has allowed to be issued through the press declarations which are not far removed from the views of the Social Democratic Party's resolution. Telegrams were exchanged between the Imperial Chancellor and Count Czernin [Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister] emphasizing the mutual agreement between the two countries. It can therefore be assumed that the Imperial Government met also in this case the Social Democratic wishes."

Herr Roesicke proceeded to denounce the Socialist aims as sinister and antinational and as tending to a prolongation of the war, since, he said, the Entente based their hopes on German disunion.

"President Wilson," Herr Roesicke continued, "wants no peace with the Hohenzollerns, but the monarchy is too deeply rooted in German hearts for the malignity of the Entente or of President Wilson to be capable of destroying it."

He said the Germans acknowledged that Russia was keeping faith with her allies, while from Germany disloyalty to the Hohenzollerns was expected. Proceeding to denounce the Socialist aims and expressing doubt as to the Government's "will to victory," Herr Roesicke continued:

"The desire for renunciation of annexation and indemnity gives our enemies a charter to prolong the war without risking anything. A rejection of the renunciation proposals by the Reichstag will be a manifestation of our strength and of our will to secure an enduring peace which will safeguard Germany's future. The nation demands a clear reply."

Calls Annexationists Robbers

Philip Scheidemann, in introducing the Social Democratic interpellation, said:

"The party's decision does not demand immediate peace, but action by the Socialists of all countries. My Breslau utterance was to the effect that the Chancellor had stated he had nothing to do with the memorial which had incited our enemies to agree with Herr Roesicke, that we must emerge from all obscurity, and that the Chancellor must say what he wanted.

"We adhere to the same point of view as contained in the demand of Aug. 4—the territorial integrity of Germany and her economic independence and development; but today we still refuse to oppress foreign peoples. On both sides the nations are being put off with the promise of an imminent final decision. It is our task to expose this playing with the life of peoples, and we cry to all Governments, 'It is enough!'

"We are convinced that the Central Powers will stand fast in repelling intentions of annihilation, but also that the wishes of the French, English, and German annexationists shall not be realized. Thus think the Socialists, and millions are with us.

"The supporters of conquest shout for increase of power, increase of territory, money, and raw material. That can only be wanted by a nationally organized gang of robbers. [This statement provoked a storm of indignation on the Right.] The drawing of the Kaiser into this agitation has as a result that abroad the Kaiser is made responsible for Pan-German madness and the outbreak of war, and that he is continually being insulted.

"Peace by agreement would be good fortune for Europe. Ninety-nine per cent. of all the peoples look with hope and longing to Stockholm. If France and Great Britain renounce annexation and Germany insists thereon, we shall have a revolution in the country."

There were prolonged shouts of indignation at this and cries of "Shame! Stand down!" The President called Herr Scheidemann to order, but Scheidemann continued:

"It has not gone so far as that yet; the enemy does not renounce annexation. A peace just to all parties should be concluded. I am firmly convinced that no peace can be concluded without an alteration of frontiers, and that must be arranged by mutual understanding. I am bitterly opposed to the slaughter of an-

other million men simply because certain Germans desire peace that would follow conquests. Long live peace! Long live Europe!"

Bethman Hollweg's Speech

The Chancellor replied to these attacks in the following terms:

"These interpellations demand from me a definite statement on the question of our war aims. To make such a statement at the present moment would not serve the country's interests. I must therefore decline to make it.

"Since the Winter of 1914-15 I have been pressed now from one side, now from the other, publicly to state our war aims, if possible with details. Every day they were demanded from me. To force me to speak an attempt was made to construe my silence regarding the program of the war aims of individual parties as agreement. Against that I must resolutely protest. On giving liberty for free discussion of war aims I had it expressly declared that the Government could not and would not participate in the conflict of views. I also protested against any positive conclusions whatever regarding the Government's attitude being drawn from the Government's silence.

"I now repeat this protest in the most conclusive form. What I was ever able to say about our war aims I say here in the Reichstag publicly. They were general principles—they could not be more—but they were clear enough to exclude identification such as was attempted with other programs. These fundamental lines have been adhered to up to today. They found further solemn expression in the peace offer made conjointly with our allies on Dec. 12, 1916.

"The supposition which has recently arisen that some differences of opinion existed on the peace question between us and our allies belongs to the realm of fable. I expressly affirm this now with certainty. I am at the same time also expressing the conviction that the leading statesmen of the powers which are our allies are with us.

"I thoroughly and fully understand the passionate interest of the people in the war aims and peace conditions. I understand the call for clearness which today is addressed to me from the Right and the Left. But in the discussion of our war aims the only guiding line for me is the early and satisfactory conclusion of the war. Beyond that I cannot do or say anything.

Scornful Reference to Socialists

"If the general situation forces me to reserve, as is the case now, I shall keep this reserve, and no pressure either from Herr Scheidemann or Herr Roesicke will force me from my path. I shall not allow myself to be led astray by utterances with which Scheidemann, at a time when drumfire sounds on the Aisne and at Arras, believed he could spread among the people the possibility of a revolution. The German people will be with me in condemning such utterances, and also Roesicke's attempt to represent me as being under the influence of the Social Democrats.

"I am reproached for being in the hands of one party, but I am not in the hands of any party, either the Right or the Left. I am glad I can state that definitely. If I am in the hands of any one, I am in the hands of my people, whom alone I have to serve, and all of whose sons, fighting for the existence of the nation, are firmly ranged around the Kaiser, whom they trust and who trusts them. The Kaiser's word of August lives unaltered. Roesicke, who sets himself forward as a particular protector of this word, has received in the Kaiser's Easter message the assurance of the unaltered existence of the Kaiser's word.

"I trust that the reserve which I must exercise—it would be unscrupulous on my part did I not exercise it—will find support from the majority of the Reichstag, and also among the people. For a month past unparalleled battles have been waging on the west front. The entire people, with all its thoughts and sorrows and feelings, is with its sons up there, who with unexampled tenacity and defiance of death resist the daily renewed attacks of the English and French.

"Even today I see no readiness for peace on the part of England or France,

nothing of the abandonment of their excessive aims of conquest and economic destruction. Where, then, were the Governments who last Winter openly stood up before the world in order to terminate this insane slaughter of peoples? Were they in London or in Paris? The most recent utterances which I have heard from London declare that the war aims which were announced two years ago remain unaltered.

"Even Herr Scheidemann will not believe that I could meet this declaration with a beau geste. Does any one believe, in view of the state of mind of our western enemies, that they could be induced to conclude peace by a program of renunciation?

"It comes to this. Shall I immediately give our western enemies an assurance which will enable them to prolong the war indefinitely without danger of losses to themselves? Shall I tell these enemies: 'Come what may, we shall under all circumstances be people who renounce; we shall not touch a hair of your head. But you want our lives—you can, without any risks, continue to try your luck?'

"Shall I nail down the German Empire in all directions by a one-sided formula which only comprises one part of the total peace conditions and which renounces successes won by the blood of our sons and brothers and leaves all other matters in suspense?

"No, I will not pursue such a policy. That would be the basest ingratitude toward the heroic deeds of our people at the front and at home. It would permanently press down our people, to the smallest worker, in their entire conditions of life. It would be equivalent to surrendering the future of the Fatherland.

"Or ought I, conversely, to set forth a program of conquest. I decline to do that. [Cries from the Right: "We are not demanding that."] If it has not been demanded, then we are of one opinion. I also decline to set forth a program of conquest. We did not go forth to war, and we stand in battle now against almost the whole world, not in order to make conquests, but exclusively to secure our existence and to establish firmly the future of the nation. A program of conquest helps as little as a program of reconciliation to win victory and the war.

"On the contrary, I should thereby merely play the game of hostile rulers and make it easier for them further to delude their war-weary peoples into prolonging the war immeasurably. That, too, would be base ingratitude toward our warriors near Arras and the Aisne.

"As regards our eastern neighbor, Russia, I have already recently spoken. It appears as if new Russia had declined for herself these violent plans of conquest. Whether Russia will or can act in the same sense on her allies I am unable to estimate. Doubtless England, with the assistance of her allies, is employing all her efforts to keep Russia harnessed to England's war chariot and to traverse Russian wishes for the speedy restoration of the world's peace.

Proffer of Peace to Russia

"If, however, Russia wants to prevent further bloodshed and renounces all violent plans of conquest for herself, if she wishes to restore durable relations of peaceful life side by side with us, then surely it is a matter of course that we, as we share this wish, will not disturb the permanent relationship in the future and will not render its development impossible by demands which, indeed, do not accord with the freedom of nations and would deposit in the Russian Nation the germ of enmity. [Thunderous applause.]

"I doubt not that an agreement aiming exclusively at a mutual understanding could be attained which excludes every thought of oppression and which would leave behind no sting and no discord.

"Our military position has never been so good since the beginning of the war. The enemy in the west, despite his terrible losses, cannot break through. Our U-boats are operating with increasing success. I won't use any fine words about them—the deeds of our U-boat men speak for themselves. I think even the neutrals will recognize that.

"So far as compatible with our duty toward our own people, who come first, we take into account the interests of the neutral States. The concessions which we have made to them are not empty promises. That is the case in regard to our frontier neighbors. Holland and Scandinavia, as well as those States which, on account of their geographical position, are especially greatly exposed to enemy pressure. I am thinking in this connection especially of Spain, which, loyal to her noble traditions, is endeavoring under great difficulties to preserve her independent policy of neutrality. We thankfully recognize this attitude and have only one wish—that the Spanish people reap the reward of their strong, independent policy by further developing their power.

"Thus, time is on our side. With full confidence we can trust that we are approaching a satisfactory end. Then the time will come when we can negotiate with our enemies about our war aims, regarding which I am in full harmony with the supreme army command. Then we will attain a peace which will bring us liberty to rebuild what the war has destroyed in the unhampered development of our strength, so that from all the blood and all the sacrifices an empire, a people will rise again strong, independent, and unthreatened by its enemies, a bulwark of peace and labor."

A motion to end the debate was lost, after which the middle-of-the-road parties, made up of the Centrists, National Liberals, Progressive People's Party and German fraction presented a joint declaration approving the Chancellor's attitude.

Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party, spoke in behalf of the groups just mentioned, approving the Chancellor's attitude and declaring his resolute opposition to all enemy interference with Germany's domestic affairs. "If the enemy," he said, "is combating Prussian militarism and the Hohenzollerns in the illustrious person of the Emperor, it will only result in bringing his Majesty closer to the hearts of the German people."

A Republic Suggested

Georg Ledebour, an Independent Socialist, created a distinct stir by an allusion to a republic in his address following the Chancellor. He said:

"The Chancellor doubtless desires annexations both in the east and west. With the exception of extravagant visionaries, nobody believes that Germany can win a war of subjugation. The Russian Socialists have made an offer which opens up the possibility of peace. This is what the Chancellor forgets. It is true that a separate peace with Russia cannot be achieved, but the Russian Government can convert the Entente, and in this direction we ought to assist it.

"Herr Scheidemann must take up the cudgels against the Government if he does not want strong words, which do not shrink even from the announcement of a revolution, to be followed by deeds. We are convinced that events must happen in Germany as they have happened in Russia. That is what those in power are working for. We must soon introduce a republic in Germany, and we shall propose that the Constitution Committee take preparatory steps in that direction."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From April 19 Up to and Including May 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

A British Commission headed by Lord Balfour and a French Commission headed by René Viviani conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war.

Heavy loans, authorized by the Bond bill, were made to the Allies.

Military censorship was established over cables, telegraph lines, and telephone lines.

On May 16 announcement was made that a squadron of American torpedo boats, under the command of Rear Admiral Sims, had safely crossed the Atlantic and was aiding the British fleet in patrolling the seas.

The first hospital unit authorized by the United States Government arrived in England May 18.

The Army Conscription bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Wilson May 18. The President issued a proclamation fixing June 5 as the day for the registration of men between the ages of 21 and 30. Announcement was made that an expeditionary force of regular troops under Major Gen. Pershing would be sent to France at the earliest possible moment.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Dr. Karl Helfferich informed the Reichstag that more than 1,600,000 tons of shipping had been sunk by the Germans in February and March.

The British official announcement for the week ended April 29 showed that thirty-eight merchant ships of over 1,600 tons each had been sunk. The report for the week ended May 9 showed sixty-two vessels lost, but of smaller tonnage than in the three weeks preceding. In the week ended May 16 twenty-six vessels, eighteen of over 1,600 tons, were lost. Seventy-five Norwegian ships were sunk during April and more than 100 sailors lost their lives. Captain Persius estimated that the total tonnage of merchant craft destroyed by the Germans from the beginning of the war up to April 1 was 6,641,000.

The Belgian relief ship Kongsli was sunk, either by a mine or a torpedo.

Two British hospital ships, the Donegal and the Lanfranc, were sunk without warning and seventy-five men were killed, including some wounded German prisoners. Other British losses included the troopship Ballarat, the freighter Harpagus, and the transport Cameronia, on which 140 lives were lost. Ninety lives were lost when the African steamer Abosso was torpedoed on April 24.

The list of American ships sunk included the schooners Woodward Abraham and Percy Birdsall, the oil tanker Vacuum, on which seventeen lives were lost; the unarmed steamer Hilonian, on which four persons were lost, and the Rockingham, with two persons killed. Germany disclaimed the sinking of the American tank steamer Healdton.

The Dutch fishing fleet was forced to suspend operations because of the constant torpedoing of vessels and because of Germany's failure to provide coal as she promised. Germany, in reprisal, announced that the Relief Commission would not be allowed to import fish for the population of Belgium and Northern France.

Argentina sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding satisfaction for the sinking of the sailing ship Monte Protegido. Germany apologized and offered an indemnity.

Guatemala severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

The President of Haiti sent a message to Congress demanding a declaration of war against Germany. The Congress, acting in accordance with the report of a special commission, decided against war, but a strong protest was sent to Germany against the drowning of five Haitian citizens on the French steamship Montreal, with the announcement that diplomatic relations would be severed unless reparation was made.

Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the United States.

The Chinese House of Representatives refused to pass a resolution declaring war on Germany.

Liberia severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

April 28—Increased activity of Russian guns near Lutsk and the Zlota Lipa, Marayuvka, and Putna Rivers.

May 5—Russian fire increases from Kovel to Stanislau.

May 6—German offensive beaten back near Zolotschevsk.

May 18—Russians beat back German attacks in the region of Shelvov.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

April 19—French occupy Aizy, Jouy, Laffaux, and Fort de Condé, in the Vailly

district, take several heights east of Moronvillers, and carry trench lines near Auberive.

April 20—French occupy Sancy and drive Germans to heights dominated by Malmaison Fort; Germans announce abandonment of the bank of the River Aisne, between Condé and Soupir.

April 21—French push forward toward ridge topped by the Chemin des Dames and make progress south of Juvincourt; British capture Gonnelieu, drawing their lines closer around Havrincourt Wood.

April 22—British close in on Havrincourt Wood and take part of Trescault; Germans repulsed by French in attack on Mont Haut.

April 23—French repulse German attacks in Belgium.

April 24—British advance east of Monchy and between Monchy and the Sensée River; French improve their positions south of St. Quentin.

April 25—British advance south of the Scarpe and extend their lines from Trescault to Bilhemion, south of the Bapaume-Cambrai Road.

April 26—French beat off German counterattacks near the Chemin des Dames.

April 28—British begin new attack north of the Scarpe, capture German positions on a two-mile front north and south of Arleux, push forward northeast of Gravelle, and gain ground north of Monchy.

April 29—British capture German trenches south of Oppy on a front of half a mile.

April 30—French make new attack in Champagne and capture trenches on both sides of Mont Carnillet.

May 2—French in Champagne push forward south of Beire.

May 3—British penetrate the Hindenburg line west of Queant, take Fresnoy, and part of Bullecourt.

May 4—French capture Craonne and German first line trenches on a front of two and a half miles northwest of Rheims.

May 5—French carry a salient in the Hindenburg line on both sides of the Soissons-Laon Road, on a front of nearly four miles, clear Craonne Plateau from east of Cerny-en-Laonnais to a point east of Craonne, and push forward to the hills dominating the valley of the Ailette River.

May 6—French clear all but a small section of the Chemin des Dames; British repulse strong German counterattacks on their new positions near Bullecourt.

May 8—Germans retake Fresnoy.

May 9—British regain part of the ground lost at Fresnoy and repel attacks near Gavrelle; French capture first line of German trenches northeast of Chevreux and repulse attacks on the plateau of Chemin des Dames.

May 11—Allies repulse German attacks against Lens and in the Cerny section.

May 12—British troops enter Bullecourt and capture fortified works at Roeux and Cavalry Farm; French in Verdun region penetrate German line north of Bezonvaux.

May 13—British advance their outposts north of Bullecourt and take part of Roeux Village.

May 14—British capture the whole of Roeux and advance toward Oppy.

May 15—Germans launch four massed attacks on new British positions in Bullecourt and penetrate first French line southwest of Filaine.

May 16—British forced back temporarily at Roeux, but retake all positions; Germans strike hard northeast of Soissons, but are driven back by French counterattacks.

May 17—British complete the capture of Bullecourt; French win ground east of Craonne and repulse attacks in Laffaux district; many villages near St. Quentin afire.

May 18—Germans repulsed by French with grenades near Craonne; French penetrate German lines in Lorraine near Petoncourt.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

April 20—French recapture trenches lost April 18 near Trsvena Stena.

April 22—Fighting renewed in the bend of the Cerna River and near Lake Doiran.

April 23—Russians drive Teutons from advanced posts in Rumania and re-establish first lines.

April 26—British take Bulgar trenches west of Lake Doiran on a 1,000-meter front.

May 5—French and Venizelist troops in Macedonia occupy enemy positions in the region of Jumnica.

May 9—Russian troops on the Rumanian front northwest of Senne break through Teuton positions and advance upon Jenawer.

May 10—British take two miles of Bulgar trenches.

May 12—Germans and Bulgarians gain a foothold on Srka di Legen, west of the Vardar heights; Venizelos troops carry an enemy work near Lymnitsa.

May 16—British troops in Macedonia capture Kjupri, on the Struma front, and advance trenches on a wide front southwest of Ernekeoi.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

May 13—Italians begin terrific bombardment to destroy Austrian defenses on the Carso front.

May 15—Italians take the offensive on the Isonzo front and make progress in the Plava area, on the slopes of Monte Cucco, and on the hills east of Gorizia and Vertobizza.

May 16—Italians force a passage of the Isonzo River, capturing Bombrez, Zagora, and Zagomila.

May 17—Italians cross the Isonzo River and take Mount Kuk; right wing takes Duino, on the way to Trieste.

May 18—British War Office announces that British heavy artillery batteries are co-operating with the Italians against the Austrians on the Julian front.

ASIA MINOR

April 20—British force a passage of the Shatt-el-Adhem and rout Turkish forces covering the Istabulat station.

April 23—Turks evacuate Istabulat.

April 24—British occupy Samara station.

April 30—Turks intrench fifteen miles north of Samara.

May 2—Russians evacuate Mush.

May 12—Russians force their way across the Diala River at two points northwest of Bagdad.

AERIAL RECORD

The Germans reported that 362 French and British airplanes were brought down in April, but admitted the loss of only seventy-four of their own. In three days, April 23 to April 25, the Allies reported fifty-five German machines brought down and thirty-nine of their own lost. From May 1 to May 7 seventy-six German airplanes were brought down, according to a French report. A compilation from official sources showed 717 machines lost in April—369 German, 201 French and Belgian, and 147 British. The Germans bombarded Dunkirk, Nancy, and Belfort. In response for the bombardment of Châlons and Epernay by the Germans, French aviators bombarded Treves, on the Saare River.

The British steamer Gena was torpedoed and sunk by a German seaplane off the coast of Suffolk. German airplanes dropped bombs northeast of London on May 7, killing one person and injuring two. The Zeppelin L-22 was brought down in the North Sea by a British naval battleplane.

British aviators aided the attacking British monitors in a raid off Zeebrugge and photographed the entire Belgian coast, mapping the German defenses.

NAVAL RECORD

A Russian destroyer sank ten schooners in the Black Sea.

The Germans made several raids off the coast of England. On April 21 two German destroyers were sunk near Dover. Berlin reported a British outpost vessel destroyed and a scouting ship torpedoed. On April 27 German destroyers bombarded Ramsgate, but were driven off by land batteries after an attack in which a man and a woman were killed. British light cruisers and destroyers chased eleven German destroyers between the English and the Dutch coasts. One German torpedo boat was damaged.

German warships bombarded Calais, killing and wounding civilians. A French destroyer was sunk in a raid on Dunkirk.

A British torpedo-boat destroyer hit a mine on May 4. One officer and sixty-one men were lost. A British mine sweeper was torpedoed and sunk May 5, with the loss of two officers and twenty men.

British warships, aided by an air fleet, bombarded Zeebrugge on May 12, destroying two submarine sheds and killing sixty-three persons.

The armed American steamer Mongolia fired on a German submarine in British waters on April 19 and damaged it.

American warships began operations in the North Sea, and Japanese warships arrived at Marseilles to combat submarines off the coast of France.

Fourteen British mine sweepers were sunk, the British light cruiser Dartmouth was torpedoed, and an Italian destroyer was sunk in a raid by Austrian light cruisers in the Adriatic Sea.

RUSSIA

On May 5 the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted a vote of confidence in the Provisional Government by a small majority. There followed, however, a period of bitter conflict between the council and the Government. Generals Korniloff, Brusiloff, and Gurko resigned from the army, but the last two withdrew their resignations after partial harmony was restored. General Guchkoff resigned as Minister of War. He was succeeded by A. F. Kerensky. Paul N. Milukoff resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Tereschenko. On May 16 the Government, the Executive Committee of the Duma, and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates agreed on a basic program, including continuance of the war. A Coalition Cabinet, containing five representatives of the Socialist groups, was formed, with Prince Lvoff retained as Premier.

MISCELLANEOUS

Labor troubles and riots occurred in several cities in Germany because of food scarcity. The Constitution Committee of the Reichstag adopted several proposals to restrict the authority of the Emperor. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg in a speech to the Reichstag on May 15 announced Germany's willingness to make easy peace terms with Russia, but made no offer to the other Entente Allies.

A new Cabinet was formed in Greece by Alexander Zaimis.

General Pétain was appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front.

A new Cabinet was formed in Spain, with Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto as Premier. Announcement was made that strict neutrality would be maintained.

Brazil issued a proclamation of neutrality in respect to the war between the United States and Germany. Dr. Lauro Muller resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Nilo Pecanha was appointed to succeed him.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1917]

CONDUCT OF ENEMY ALIENS

THE conduct of the millions of Germans in the United States after the declaration of a state of war with their Fatherland, which was regarded with apprehension by many, proved a gratifying relief during the first six weeks after the war resolution was adopted. All Government officials were highly pleased over the success of the policy toward aliens which the President advocated in his war message to Congress, in which he declared that the generous spirit with which America entered the war, and the absence of vindictiveness on the part of the American people, could best be displayed by their kindly attitude toward Germans living in this country. According to a statement issued by the Department of Justice, it had been found necessary to arrest only 125 alien enemies under the President's proclamation. Attorney General Gregory said on May 7:

> The foreign-born citizens of America as a class deserve the highest commendation and praise for the manner in which they have conducted themselves since the declaration of war against Germany. As regards law and order, they have in almost all instances stood with the Government, and have vindicated the President's oft-repeated assertion that he had no misgivings as to how foreign-born Americans would measure up to their responsibilities and duties in the event of a national crisis.
>
> The number of arrests which the Government has been forced to make has been gratifyingly small. Agents of the Department of Justice have arrested only 125 alien enemies under the President's proclamation. About one-half of these are being held because it was decided that they would be dangerous to the Government if permitted to remain at large. The remainder of the alien enemies arrested since the declaration of war were taken into custody on charges of espionage or attempts to foment disloyalty or disorders.

* * *

LATIN AMERICA AND THE WAR

CUBA is the first nation of Latin America to enter the war as the ally of the United States and the Entente Powers. Other Latin-American countries, taken alphabetically, stand as follows: Argentina—which has between two and three million citizens of Italian origin and a quarter million French, while the British and German colonies are about equal, some 70,000 each—is still formally neutral, having presented an ultimatum to Germany and received an apology. The next submarine outrage may lead to severed relations or war. In Buenos Aires, the capital, there have been enthusiastic war parades, numbering 100,000 men. Bolivia was the first South American country to indorse the protest of the United States; the army is "German trained, but French equipped and strongly pro-ally." Bolivia, which has no merchant marine, protested on principle.

Brazil, where a strong German element is balanced by a much larger but less closely organized Italian colony, has severed relations with Germany, but is not yet at war, although the new Foreign Minister, Senhor Milo Pecanha, who succeeded Lauro Muller, is strongly pro-ally and is said to be pledged to go to war. In Rio de Janeiro the German Club and the Grande Hotel Schmidt have been burned to ashes, German newspapers have stopped publication, and German flags have been hauled down. In Chile, it is stated, 70 per cent. of the population is strongly pro-ally; it is reported that the Chilean Minister to Germany has demanded his passports.

Guatemala has broken with Germany and has offered the use of her ports and railroads to the United States for war purposes. A German wireless plant has been dismantled. Dr. Lehmann, German Minister to Guatemala, was one of the leading figures in the futile plot to stir up revolutions in Central America to embarrass the United States. Nicaragua and Salvador have offered their harbors to the United States, while Panama has declared war, and, like Cuba, is now the ally of the United States and the En-

tente. Mexico's final decision is still uncertain.

* * *

Lord Cecil and German Colonies

LORD ROBERT CECIL, speaking as Acting Foreign Secretary, in the absence of Arthur James Balfour, concerning the application of the non-annexation theory to Germany's former colonies in Africa, said that, while it was true that England had not taken these colonies in order to rescue the natives from German rule, but as a part of the war operations, nevertheless England, having rescued them, could hardly contemplate handing them over again to the tender mercies of their German tyrants. He then read an account of the shocking treatment suffered by the natives in both German East Africa and German West Africa, and said that if the Entente Powers won any measure of success in the war he would regard with horror the idea of returning natives who had been set free from a Government of that kind.

Corroboration of all that Lord Robert Cecil said comes from several independent sources—from the officers of the French armies which co-operated with the English in the capture of the Cameroon region; from the Belgian expeditionary force now operating in German East Africa in the direction of the Great Lakes, and from the Portuguese contingent, which has entered the same region from the south.

All evidence indicates that Germany has tried to rule her African colonies by the means which she applied in Belgium, in Poland, and in occupied France—enslavement, terrorism, and brutality. To pass over the habitual abuse of women of the native African races, who were treated as chattel slaves, there have been well-substantiated reports, published in detail in l'Illustration, of the wholesale murder and mutilation of natives suspected of being favorable to France and England—or, rather, to the French and English armies that were approaching to liberate them—as well as the customary terrorism to compel natives to fight in Germany's African armies; for Germany, from the outset, employed negro troops to fight against the French and English.

* * *

Britain's Vast War Expenses

GREAT Britain's war budget for the fiscal year, as introduced May 2 by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, carried estimates of $11,451,905,000 for expenditures. Mr. Law laid emphasis on the statement that Great Britain was paying a greater share of her war expenses from her income than were the other belligerents, the amount paid out of the revenue being 26 per cent. of the whole war expenditure. He said the total of Treasury bills outstanding was about two billion dollars—in exact figures, £463,000,000. He estimated the daily expenses of the war to Great Britain at $31,175,000. The excess profits tax was raised from 60 to 80 per cent. Discussing the expenditures of the last year, Mr. Bonar Law said they had been £372,000,000 higher than the estimate. The increase was largely due to expenditures on munitions and advances to the Allies and dominions. The estimate for the Allies and dominions had been exceeded by £100,000,000.

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First American Gun Fired

CAPTAIN RICE of the American steamship Mongolia, which arrived at Liverpool April 25, reported that the first gun of the war fired from an American ship was fired from the Mongolia April 19 at the periscope of a German submarine. He believed that the shell went true to the mark and sank the hostile craft. The periscope was sighted dead ahead on the last afternoon of the voyage. The Captain gave the order for full speed ahead with the intention of ramming the submarine. The periscope disappeared, and a few minutes later reappeared on the ship's broadside. The gunners fired at 1,000 yards. The submarine immediately disappeared and oil was seen on the water when it submerged. It was later reported that the periscope had been smashed and the commander killed, but the submarine was not sunk.

Portuguese Soldiers in France

A LARGE detachment of soldiers from Portugal are serving with the Entente Allies in France. These troops were landed at Brest early in March, 1917, and went at once to the front. They consist of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and occupy an independent sector under the command of General Tamagnani. Portugal also has an army in East Africa which, in co-operation with the English and Belgian forces, has practically occupied all the German territory there. Conquest was not the purpose of the Portuguese Government; traditional friendship with England and the natural sympathy of a Latin country with Italy and France led her to antagonize the Teutons. The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Soares, recently issued a statement which leaves the impression that Portugal would not have declared war, on its part, but would have maintained the attitude it took in the seizure of German ships in its harbors, if Germany had not chosen to force belligerency upon it. Fifty thousand Portuguese troops were reported in France in May.

* * *

Socialist Parties in the Duma

WITH the Socialists participating more fully in the provisional Russian Government, it is important to distinguish between the different Socialist parties. Kerensky has been incorrectly described as the Socialist leader, whereas he is only the leader of one of the three distinct parties into which the Russian working class movement is divided. His party is the Group of Toil, which in the strictest sense is not a Socialist party, but a political organization of the mujiks, or peasants, whose traditions are those of the old Russian communism, and who, at the election for the first Duma, were greatly attracted by the semi-communist program of the Group of Toil. At that election the Group of Toil succeeded in returning 104 Deputies to the Duma, but its representation was subsequently cut down by the Czar's Government, and it was able to elect only ten Deputies to the Fourth Duma. Kerensky was their leader, and his important position is due to the fact that the radical peasant movement is much greater than its Parliamentary representation indicates. In the reconstructed Cabinet the Group of Toil, or Social Populists, as they are also called, have three Ministers, including Kerensky. The second Socialist party is the Social Revolutionary Party, which has been more anarchistic in its aims and methods, and most closely connected with the terrorists and nihilists. The third party, the Social Democratic Labor Party, is the most representative of the industrial working class population and the counterpart of the real Socialist movement in other countries, for it is based upon the Marxian Socialist philosophy. All three Russian Socialist parties, however, have been recognized by the international congresses; and, though there are wide differences between the Social Democrats and the Group of Toil, and many minor differences within each party, they are united in their opposition to the property-owning and commercial classes.

* * *

The Personal Wealth of Nicholas Romanoff

HIGHLY picturesque and irreconcilably divergent accounts of the wealth of the former Emperor of Russia have been going the rounds of the press since the Russian revolution on the Ides of March. They should all be regarded with skepticism, for the reason that the vast Crown demesne of Russia has always been regarded as the personal property of the Emperors; it has never been included in the general fiscal statistics of Russia, and no items concerning it have ever appeared in the Russian budget. It has been managed by a separate minister, under the immediate supervision of the ruler, and has been treated as a family estate.

Here are a few facts, which seem to be quite authentic: The Crown demesne of the Romanoffs includes over a million square miles—that is, over 640,000,000 acres—of rich arable land, pasture, and forest, besides many mines of gold, platinum, copper, iron, and so forth. The area of

the Russian Crown demesne, thus stated by the Statesman's Year Book, is, therefore, larger than the combined areas of Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Austria; larger than the area of the United States east of the Mississippi. The Encyclopaedia Britannica makes itself responsible for the following details: In European Russia, the Crown demesne contains 400,000,000 acres, or 35 per cent. of the cultivated land, while 446,000,000 acres, or 38 per cent. is owned by peasants, the remainder being held by landowners and towns. In Poland, the Crown demesne includes 1,800,000 acres, much of it made up of confiscated estates.

These enormous Crown holdings become more intelligible, if we remember that the old Russia was, in fact, a patriarchal family, of which the Emperor was the patriarchal head, the source of all power and of all emoluments. The Crown lands paid for the maintenance of the numberless palaces, in Petrograd, Moscow, Tsarskoe-Selo, Gatchina, and elsewhere; for the expenses of the Emperor and his Court; for the numerous imperial family, of sixty or seventy members; and, further, large lots of land were given, in lieu of pensions, as a reward for services to the State. Between 1871 and 1881, 1,300,000 acres were thus distributed. * * *

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One Thousand Days of War

APRIL 30, 1917, was the thousandth day of the European war. Two days later Herr Joseph Freidrich Naumann, a former Conservative member of the German Reichstag, was reported in an Amsterdam dispatch to have made in a lecture the following statement:

"Until now the war has caused us a loss of 1,300,000 dead. This, together with the decrease in birth, gives a reduction of 3,800,000. The surplus of females has increased from 800,000 to far as never since the Thirty Years' War." more than 2,000,000. The nation has bled

It is stated that this estimate did not include the losses in the offensive begun April 1, 1917, which, it is estimated, will exceed in April alone 200,000. If such is the case the total number of Germans killed in the 1,000 days of war will not fall far short of 1,500,000, or 1,500 a day, about one in every minute of the twenty-four hours of each day in the thousand.

* * *

THE United States Shipping Board on May 13 awarded to the Los Angeles Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company a contract to build eight steel ships of 8,000 tons each, to cost $10,771,200. It is the first of momentous steps to rush ahead operations in all yards on a full-time basis. Other contracts already drafted and ready to be signed are to be awarded within a short time. The Shipping Board intends to build fully 1,000 such ships in the quickest time possible. For this purpose a fund of $750,000,000 was provided by Congress.

* * *

Turkey Breaks Relations

THE Turkish Government on April 20 officially informed the American Embassy that diplomatic relations with the United States had been broken off. Abram I. Elkus, the American Ambassador, was ill with typhus fever at the time, and was compelled to remain at Constantinople for some weeks afterward; his staff remained with him. Armenian interests in Turkey were confided to the Swedish Minister. The American State Department on April 23 gave passports to Abdul Hak Hussein Bey, First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires of the Embassy, and other members of the staff. The Turkish Ambassador, A. Rustem Bey, was recalled by the Government early in the war on account of injudicious criticisms of the President. Robert College and the Bible House and its branches were closed, and Americans left the Turkish capital. On April 27 the Swedish Minister cabled that the American colleges at Constantinople would be permitted to continue their activities.

* * *

France's New Chief Commander

GENERAL PETAIN was appointed on May 15 Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front. General Nivelle was placed in command of a group of armies. General Foch, who played an important rôle

in the battles of the Marne and the Yser, succeeds General Pétain as Chief of Staff of the Ministry of War.

The transfers were approved on the recommendation of the Ministry of War. General Nivelle some time ago succeeded General Joffre in chief command along the western front. Recently a new military office was created, that of Chief of the General Staff, to which General Pétain was assigned, with authority to act as the principal adviser to the Minister of War upon all military movements. This made General Pétain the chief consultative authority at the Ministry of War in formulating movements, but without actual command of troops in the field, for which his experience appeared to qualify him.

General Pétain, in a statement on the day of his appointment, urged America to send as many men as possible as soon as they can be transported to France, to be put into immediate training under French commanders, but to maintain their autonomy as American units.

* * *

Strikes in Germany

DURING the last days of April and early in May a serious strike situation arose in Germany, but the news censorship was so strict that only meagre reports could be obtained, and the facts were not fully authenticated. On April 23 it was stated that the military authorities had taken control of the German weapon and munition factory at Berlin, and the workmen were ordered to return to work immediately; otherwise they would be mobilized as soldiers and compelled to work at soldiers' wages. This ended that strike.

Strikes were reported all over the empire, and included the great Krupp works and other great industrial plants. Field Marshal Hindenburg sent a message to General Groener, head of the munitions department, urging the striking workingmen to resume their labors, in order that the military forces of the empire, especially on the western front, should not be seriously hampered. He said he recognized that the population had been hit hard by the reduction of the bread ration, but that undoubtedly the increase in meat and the regular delivery of potatoes would compensate therefor. He added: "Every strike, however small, may be the means of an unjustifiable weakening of our defensive forces and is an inexcusable crime against the fighting forces, especially the men in the trenches, who bleed in consequence."

In reply to this the German Labor Federation issued an address stating that the fairer distribution of food would allay the discontent, but added

> The chief causes for the prevailing spirit of unrest are the inadequacy of the food policy and a desire to obtain measures for providing for the complete requisition and just distribution of all available foodstuffs. Workers are aware, and the fact is undeniable, that large quantities of foodstuffs are still obtainable outside the rationing system, but at prices prohibitive to the workers. These foodstuffs are consumed mainly by people who are not compelled to place their full working capacities and service at the defense of the country. The desire to bring about a more equal distribution of foodstuffs has been the fundamental cause of these strikes.

The situation at one time grew menacing, according to all reports, but the firmness of the Government and the assurance of better food supplies finally quieted the workers, and the trouble subsided.

* * *

Democracy or Anarchy in Russia

WHILE Russia appears to have passed, for the moment, some of her more acute troubles, there is evidence that, for a long time to come, critical problems lie ahead of her. The recent establishment, for a few hours, of "an independent, autonomous republic" by the garrison of the military post at Schluesselburg may be merely laughable, the revolt of the Buriats was more more serious, because the Buriats are only one among scores of smaller and alien nationalities over which swept the vast, perpetually expanding Russian Empire, until it covered a fifth of the land surface of the world.

In European Russia there are many of these smaller nations, of whom the Poles, the Finns, the Lithuanians are the most conspicuous; in the Caucasus, a dozen more, like the Armenians and Georgians and Circassians; in Turkestan,

many more; in Siberia, perhaps a score, each with its national life and tongue. Among these the Buriats are one of the most civilized; they are Mongolians, of the race that gave mediaeval history some of its greatest conquerors, men like Genghis and Kublai Khan, like Bati and Tamerlane, like Baber and Akbar the Magnificent, a family that made far wider conquests than the Caesars, famous also for high literary gifts and, in an epoch of bigotry, for deep religious toleration.

The Buriats are spread out on both sides of Lake Baikal, the great obstacle in the way of the trans-Siberian railroad. They have their comparatively high civilization, their books in Mongolian, largely translated from the Northern Buddhist scriptures of Tibet, their chief Lama, with papal headquarters at Goose Lake. They are rich, possessing large herds of excellent horses and cattle, they are able to dress themselves in silks during the Summer, and in rich furs in Winter. They, like nearly all Mongolian peoples, have an innate gift for agriculture, giving more attention to intensive fertilization than do the Russian Siberians themselves, and being large purchasers of the newest American agricultural machinery. Here, it would seem, is a real national unit, as definite as Serbia. They ask, now, for national autonomy; many other Siberian tribes may follow their example.

* * *

American Destroyers at Work in European Waters

THE first contribution of American military power to the Entente Alliance against German aggression consisted of a flotilla of American torpedo-boat destroyers. The vessels reached England May 4, but no announcement was made of the fact until May 16. The squadron was placed under command of Rear Admiral Sims. Immediately on their arrival the American vessels began operations in the submarine zone. The British Admiralty announced that these swift fighting ships were rendering services of the greatest value to the allied cause. Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty, commander of the British Grand Fleet, sent the following mesage to Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commander of the United States Atlantic Fleet:

The Grand Fleet rejoices that the Atlantic Fleet will now share in preserving the liberties of the world and in maintaining the chivalry of the sea.

Admiral Mayo replied:

The United States Atlantic Fleet appreciates the message from the British fleet and welcomes opportunities for work with the British fleet for the freedom of the seas.

The fact is noted by commentators that the submarine toll, which reached high-water mark in the last week in April, showed a reduction after the American vessels reached the scene of operations.

* * *

British Navy's General Staff

A GENERAL STAFF for the British Navy was announced May 15. It is headed by Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord, who will have the title of Chief of the Naval Staff. Vice Admiral Sir Henry Oliver, Chief of the Admiralty War Staff, is an additional member of the Board of the Admiralty, with the title of Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff. Rear Admiral Alexander L. Duff also became an additional member of the Board of the Admiralty, with the title of Assistant Chief of the Naval Staff. Rear Admiral Halsey, formerly Fourth Sea Lord, became Third Sea Lord, in succession to Vice Admiral Frederick C. Tudor, who was appointed Commander in Chief of the China station. Rear Admiral Tothill succeeded Rear Admiral Halsey as Fourth Sea Lord.

* * *

First American Red Cross Unit

THE first of six fully organized and equipped hospital units which the American Red Cross is sending to France arrived in England on May 17. The unit comprised about 300 persons, including twenty army medical officers, sixty nurses, and more than 200 other attachés. It is Base Hospital 4 of Cleveland, Ohio, commanded by Major Harry L. Gilchrist, Medical Corps, U. S. A., and is under the direction of Dr. George W. Crile.

This unit will be the first officially

sanctioned by the United States Government to carry the American flag to the battlefields of France since the United States entered the war. After a brief stay in England the unit will be sent to the Continent, where it will take charge of a base hospital behind the British front. The hospital will have acommodations for 500 patients and be fully equipped by the British Hospital Service.

* * *

American Engineers in France

ANNOUNCEMENT was made May 7 by the War Department that orders had been given for the forming of nine regiments of army engineers, which were to be sent to France as quickly as possible for railroad work along the lines of military communications. There will be more than 1,000 men in each regiment, or nearly 10,000 in the expedition. Two regular army engineer officers—a Colonel and a Lieutenant Colonel—will be assigned to each regiment. The other officers will be chosen from the Engineer Officers' Reserve Corps, the members of which have been commissioned, or who will be chosen in the near future.

* * *

DURING the first three weeks of May the United States Government loaned the Entente Allies $670,000,000, divided as follows: Great Britain, $325,000,000; France, $100,000,000; Italy, $100,000,000; Russia, $100,000,000; Belgium, $45,000,000. Loans will be made in regular installments to the Allies, and it is estimated that the aggregate will reach $1,000,000,000 by June 15, 1917.

* * *

THE United States Government invited public subscriptions May 15 to $2,000,000,000 of the $5,000,000,000 loan authorized by Congress; interest, 3½ per cent., maturity thirty years, redeemable in fifteen years at the option of the Government. Denominations of bearer bonds are $50, $100, $500, $1,000; registered bonds $100, $500, $1,000, $5,000, $10,000, $50,000, $100,000. The bonds have privilege of conversion to any bonds of higher interest if issued; they are exempt from all taxes except inheritance.

The Month's Submarine Depredations

From April 15 to May 13, 1917

THE destruction of merchant ships by German submarines in the last month has shown a serious increase, followed by a decrease, according to the figures published by the British Admiralty.

The last weekly report in the May issue of this magazine was for the seven days ended April 15. Since then the losses of British merchant ships have been these:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended April 22.....	40	15	9
Week ended April 29.....	38	13	8
Week ended May 6.....	24	22	16
Week ended May 13.....	18	5	3
Total for four weeks..	120	55	36

According to a British naval expert, the corrected figures for the nine preceding weeks, including all British merchant ships sunk by mine or submarine, are as follows:

Week ended	1,600 Tons Gross or Over.	Under 1,600 Tons Gross.	Unsuccessfully Attacked.	Fishing Vessels Sunk.
Feb. 24.....	16	6	16	5
March 4.....	15	8	15	2
March 11...	12	4	12	3
March 18...	18	8	20	21
March 25...	20	7	12	18
April 1.....	17	14	20	3
April 8.....	17	2	13	7
April 15.....	17	9	12	11

As the British Admiralty does not give the aggregate tonnage of ships sunk, only approximate estimates can be formed. But if we can accept German official statements, the destruction of shipping since the new campaign began amounts to millions of tons. Dr. Karl Helfferich, Imperial Secretary of the Interior, speaking before the Reichstag Main Committee on April 28, said that the results of

the first two months (February and March) of the unrestricted submarine campaign was 1,600,000 tons sunk, one million tons being British. In the Reichstag on May 8, Dr. Pfleger, naval reporter of the Budget Committee, stated that when the complete figures for April were available they would show that the German submarines had destroyed at least 1,100,000 tons of shipping. Vice Admiral von Capelle, Minister of the Navy, who spoke after Dr. Pfleger, said that the results greatly exceeded the expectations of the German Admiralty, for during the three months of February, March, and April 2,800,000 tons had been sunk, the number of ships being 1,325. Details are lacking to show how Admiral von Capelle's figures for the number of ships are arrived at, since the British Admiralty reports only 275 British ships of over 1,600 tons and 130 of under 1,600 tons, a total of 405, sunk during the period between Feb. 1 and April 29, exclusive of fishing vessels and other minor craft.

A French official statement shows that the number of French merchantmen sunk during February, March, and April was 17. Norway lost 64 ships of unspecified tonnage during March and 75 during April, a total of 139. There are, of course, the losses of other Allies and neutrals to be taken into account, but some experts decline to accept the German figures.

Nevertheless, authoritative statements in the allied countries make it clear that the havoc wrought by the submarines is extremely serious. Lord Devonport, the British food controller, speaking in the House of Lords on April 25, said that British shipping was being depleted every day in large volume, and that it was at the moment "a wasting security." Herbert L. Samuel, a former Cabinet Minister, speaking in London on April 27, said that figures he had seen on the sinking of vessels showed that the situation was worse than official reports indicated. Admiral Lord Beresford, speaking in London on May 1, complained of the incompleteness of the official returns, and said that the losses were appalling. He was inclined, he added, to risk the penalties of the Defense of the Realm act and tell the people the truth.

American official utterances have been equally alarming. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, addressing a joint meeting of the Council of National Defense and Governors of States in Washington on May 2, made the startling statement that in the previous week German submarines had destroyed 400,000 tons of shipping. Secretary of State Lansing, without being so specific, was no less emphatic in declaring that the seriousness of the submarine situation could not be exaggerated. Reports to the State Department gave a total of eighty vessels lost in one week, figures much higher than any contained in recent British announcements.

J. Bernard Walker, editor of The Scientific American, speaking at the annual meeting of the National Security League in New York on May 2, said that it was more than likely that Germany had on the ways and nearing completion not fewer than 500 submarines of the U-53 type and within six months should have about 700 submarines afloat, and in twelve months 1,200. Evidence at hand, he added, indicated that German shipyards had room to keep work on 530 submarines constantly under way.

According to an interview with a member of the crew of the German submarine U-58, printed in the Amsterdam Telegraaf on May 15, the Germans have about 325 submarines in operation and about 80 to 100 have been lost through British nets alone. When at sea the submarines assemble at a given point every morning and receive wireless instructions, presumably from Heligoland. There are about thirty-nine U-boats of the newest type, each carrying a crew of 56 men, and this fleet is supplemented by a secondary squadron marked with a C. The first-class boats have a speed calculated as sufficient to overtake any cargo boat. Two-thirds of their crews are experienced and one-third novices. The boats carry a fortnight's stores and have a maximum period of submergence of from eight to ten hours. Each is equipped with two periscopes and sometimes descends to from 30 to 50 meters.

The two most important American vessels lost have been the oil tanker Vacuum and the steamer Rockingham. The Vacuum was sunk on April 28 off the north coast of Ireland. Seventeen of the crew, including American naval gunners, died from exposure in the boats in which they left the sinking steamer. The loss of the Rockingham was reported on May 2. The vessel, valued at $1,300,000 and carrying cargo worth nearly $2,000,000, was sunk just before reaching Liverpool from the United States. Two members of the crew were killed. The others on board, including an officer and gunners of the United States Navy, were saved.

Estimates of Captain Persius

Captain L. Persius, a German naval critic, writing in the Berliner Tageblatt in the last week of April, estimated the total tonnage of merchant craft destroyed by the German Navy from the beginning of the war up to April 1 at 6,641,000. Of this total, he said, 6,000,000 tons were enemy shipping, and 4,998,500 tons are said to have been sunk before the opening of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1 this year. The total of 1,642,500 tons destroyed in February and March are itemized by Captain Persius as follows:

FEBRUARY

	Tons.
368 ships, including	
292 enemy vessels	644,000
76 neutral vessels	137,500
MARCH	
435 ships, aggregating	861,000
Total	1,642,500

Warships and auxiliary cruisers such as the Emden, Karlsruhe, and Möwe have accounted, according to Captain Persius, for between 400,000 and 500,000 tons of enemy and neutral shipping; but he explains that these figures are put completely into the shade even by individual achievements of certain submarine commanders. Three of these are credited with having accounted for more than 100 ships each, aggregating between 250,000 and 300,000 tons.

As evidence of how U-boat activities have developed during the war, Captain Persius gives the following figures of tonnage sunk by submarines:

	Tons.
1915	
January	14,000
February	27,000
March	83,000
April	33,000
1916	
January-February	238,000
March-April	432,000
May-June	219,000
July-August	273,779
September	254,600
October	393,500
November	408,500
December	415,500
1917	
January	439,500

Commenting on these figures, Captain Persius said:

"Unless countermeasures can be found, the shipping losses of our enemies will swell to still greater proportions. It remains to be seen what will be the consequences. So much, however, is already tolerably certain today—the naval supremacy of Great Britain will emerge from this war at least shattered."

The Sinking of Hospital Ships

THE British Admiralty issued a statement on April 23 announcing the sinking of the two hospital steamships Donegal and Lanfranc without warning by submarines; nineteen British and fifteen wounded German officers were drowned. In their statement the British authorities denied the German charge that hospital ships were employed to transport troops and military supplies. The statement asserts that Germany was notified that under the rules of international law she had the right to visit and search any such suspicious craft, which she refused to do. Germany was notified that, if her course was persisted in, reprisals would follow, yet the British hospital ship Asturias was torpedoed without warning on the night of March 20. The ship was steaming with all

navigation lights burning and the proper Red Cross signs brilliantly illuminated. The cumulative evidence that she had been torpedoed and not mined was only accepted after it had been confirmed beyond all doubt and after exhaustive investigation. The loss of life on this occasion included a nursing sister and a stewardess. The German official wireless message of the 26th finally established the guilt of the German Government, who, having boasted of the deed, published on the 29th a further message, which said: "It would, moreover, be remarkable that the English in the case of the Asturias should have abstained from their customary procedure of using hospital ships for the transport of troops and munitions."

On the night of March 30-31 the hospital ship Gloucester Castle met with a similar fate. On this occasion the Berlin official wireless message again published a notification that she was torpedoed by a U-boat, thus removing any possible doubt in the matter. The British Government thereupon authorized prompt measures of reprisal, and on April 14 a large squadron of British and French airplanes bombarded the German town of Freiburg with satisfactory results.

In spite of the warnings conveyed to Germany that her barbarous attacks on hospital ships would result in such action on the part of Great Britain, the German Government published through a wireless message of April 16 an abusive protest which "categorically contested any justification" for this reprisal.

The markings agreed upon at The Hague Convention, which had hitherto guaranteed the immunity of hospital ships from attack, rendered them no longer inviolable. The custom of showing all navigating lights and illuminating the distinctive markings at night only afforded a better target for German submarines. It was therefore decided that sick and wounded, together with medical personnel and supplies, must in future be transported for their own safety in ships carrying no distinctive markings, and proceeding without lights in the same manner as ordinary mercantile traffic. Notice was accordingly given to the German Government that the British Government had withdrawn certain vessels from the list of hospital ships published in accordance with international law.

During the recent fighting on the western front a large number of wounded German prisoners have fallen into British hands. These have had to be transported to England for treatment by the same means as the British wounded, and practically all ships transporting wounded are bound to carry a proportion of German wounded. These naturally share with British wounded equal risks from the attacks of German submarines.

Although Germany did not frame any formal allegation of the misuse of hospital ships against the Allies until the commencement of 1917, the British hospital ship Asturias was fired at and missed by a German submarine on Feb. 1, 1915, in broad daylight while flying the Red Cross flag. In the light of recent events it seems reasonable to suppose that the hospital ships Braemar Castle and Britannic were also torpedoed in November, 1916, although the evidence at the time was not considered conclusive.

After the case of the Gloucester Castle the British authorities made no further announcement that German prisoners would be conveyed on hospital ships, but the German Government followed their hint by removing a number of imprisoned French and British officers to camps at unfortified cities, which action was announced to be in reprisal for the course of the Allies in bombarding such cities and conveying German prisoners on hospital ships. [See also article on "German Reprisals," Page 547.]

The British Government let it be known that, on account of the danger in transporting the wounded, they would be kept at hospitals in France. In consequence several thousand new medical men were ordered to the French front, and preparations were made to send an increased number of hospital units from the United States. It was stated that the first American hospital unit after the war declaration sailed from New York May 12, headed by Dr. Creel of Cleveland, Ohio.

Home Rule for Ireland

Events Attending the British Government's New Proposal of an Irish Council

THE question of the government of Ireland became a prominent issue in America after the entrance of this country into the war. Irish societies in all parts of the country passed resolutions demanding home rule; a majority of the House of Representatives signed a cablegram to the British authorities joining in the appeal. In England the demand grew more insistent for some definite proposal of a settlement of the question, and the issue became more acute through the election to Parliament of Joseph McGuinness, Sinn Feiner, from the Cork district, who was chosen over a Nationalist while serving a three-year sentence in Lewes Prison for connection with the Dublin rebellion.

A Sinn Fein convention was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, under the Chairmanship of Count Plunkett. There was a large attendance of Catholic priests, and the lay delegates represented a considerable number of public boards as well as local political organizations.

At the instance of the Chairman, votes of honor were passed in memory of the men who "sacrificed their lives for Ireland's liberty and to those at present in prison and in exile for Ireland's cause." These resolutions having been passed, there was a loud call of three cheers for the Irish Republic, which met with a ready response.

Count Plunkett said he wished to refer to the men who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for the cause of Ireland. "I will not," he said—and there was wild enthusiasm—"insult the courage of these men by pleading for their release. We ask no favor of the enemy, but I must refer to a dishonor put upon these men by the enemy. These men, among the noblest who have ever fought for Ireland, are not only wearing the prison garb, but are treated as criminals, and in your name I demand that they be treated as prisoners of war." A wave of cheering swept through the hall when Count Plunkett announced that any offer England had to make short of complete liberty would be treated with contempt by a free-souled nation. He asked his audience to stand up and affirm their adhesion to the following declaration:

1. That we proclaim Ireland to be a separate nation.

2. That we assert Ireland's right to freedom from all foreign control, denying the authority of any foreign Parliament to make laws for Ireland.

3. That we affirm the right of the Irish people to declare their will as law and enforce their decisions in their own land without let or hindrance from any other country.

4. That maintaining the status of Ireland as a distinct nation, we demand representation at the coming Peace Conference.

5. That it is the duty of nations taking part in the Peace Conference to guarantee the liberty of the nations calling for their intervention, releasing the small nations from the control of the greater powers.

6. That our claim for complete independence is founded on human right and the law of nations. We declare Ireland has never yielded to and has ever fought against foreign rule, and we hereby bind ourselves to use every means in our power to obtain complete liberty for our country.

A petition to the Government for absolute home rule was signed by three Irish Protestant Bishops.

Americans on Irish Issue

Expressions were obtained from a number of eminent Americans on the subject for publication in England. Former President Roosevelt wrote as follows:

I most earnestly hope that full home rule will be given to Ireland; home rule relatively to the empire, such as Texas or Maine or Oregon now enjoys relatively to the national Government at Washington. Of course, Ireland should remain part of the empire. I have no more sympathy with the irreconcilable extremists on one side of the question than on the other.

Similar views were expressed by Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, and Judge Alton B. Parker, former Democratic nominee for President. Cardinal Gibbons expressed himself in part as follows:

Supposing that each county were given its

choice as to whether it would come under the Home Rule Parliament in Dublin or not, the counties which voted themselves out would be in a fearfully anomalous position. They would not belong to England. They would not belong to Ireland. They would not be large enough to set up a Home Rule Parliament of their own. If they did they could only construct an artificial State, and such an artificial State cannot endure. * * *

I should like, if possible, to impress upon Irishmen in Ulster the lesson of our own civil war here in America. The minority felt that they were going to be forced, that the institution of domestic slavery, upon which they contended that their prosperity depended, was going to be destroyed by a triumphant majority, and that their rights and liberties would be taken away from them at the bidding of the Northern States. For this reason they set up a confederacy apart from the Union. Leaving apart the whole question of the long and bitter war which ensued, the commerce of the South was ruined simply because they had erected an artificial barrier between themselves and the North which lasted long after the war had ended, and which ruined every great Southern commercial centre. If the South had won its independence it would today be a ruined country. Only because in the end it was not able to leave the Union has it revived commercially, now that it is looked upon as an integral part of the country. * * *

The American civil war ought to teach all men a great lesson. Separate nationalities must be recognized, but no nation can be permanently divided. Since I have been asked, then, the only way I see out of the difficulty is the way of guarantees—a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin, and Ulstermen receiving whatever guarantees seems necessary to them for their protection. * * *

American Advice Resented

Frederic Harrison, the noted British historian and publicist, resented the advice of Americans in these words, in a public communication:

Our American friends, in our almost desperate crisis at home, repeat the unreal, untrue, and malicious taunts of our enemies within and without the United Kingdom when they tell us to give the Irish "nation" autonomy. Where is the Irish nation? Our very dilemma is that there are three sections of Irishmen, each repudiating, contradicting, and, if we let them, eager to fight each other.

"The Home Rule act!" cries one group, though they and all men of sense know that the act of 1914 is impracticable as it stands, and must in any case be revised under the urgent stress of war.

"No Dublin Parliament for us!" cries Ulster—Ulster, far the richest, most civilized, most vigorous element in Ireland, the only element which joins us in the war and is not openly malevolent.

And now a third factor breaks in with the cry: "Away with Redmond and his lot, traitors all! The independent republic! Down with British uniforms, officials, and laws!"

Our difficulty is, and has been for generations, to know which of these three groups we ought to regard as the strongest and most permanent. Which of them is the Irish nation? All three furiously claim to be the real Irish nation. * * *

Ireland has already 103 representatives in the House of Commons—vastly in excess of its due proportion. At Westminster the Nationalist members occupy as much time as all the rest. They complain of, obstruct, and vilify our Government in our sore need. Yet they still cry out for more parliamentary representation, and they use the excessive representation they have got in such treasonable ways as in any other country but ours would have them sent outside or to jail. These are the men whom our American mentors tell us we must "placate." They seem to think that if we only started the act of 1914 all would be smooth in Ireland; that 250,000 Irishmen would enlist the next day. It is far more likely that if we started the act and withdrew the strong hand Ireland in three months would be in a state of chaos, the three groups at open war. And as soon as the Sinn Fein recruits got arms in their hands they would turn them against us and proclaim the republic, as they did a year ago.

How can responsible statesmen abroad repeat that most false of all the Potsdam lies—that Ireland has been treated as Poland was by Russia or as the Czechs are by Austria—Austria, that will not open its Parliament at all, which has hanged 2,000 Bohemian patriots, to say nothing of the hecatombs of Serbians, Bosnians, and Rumanians?

Why, for two generations Britain has sacrificed her men and her own interests to do justice to Irish demands. Her purse, her policy, her Parliament, her Government have all been strained to meet Irish claims, to restore Irish welfare. Ireland has never been so wealthy, so prosperous, so hopeful as she is today.

When the war came Ireland was treated as being outside of it, as if it were a spoiled and unmanageable son who must not be crossed. It was allowed to rest and grow rich in sullen scorn of all that Britons and true Irishmen were bearing in the war—this to the eternal shame of the Irish name, which Britons and which history will never forget or excuse; to the eternal shame also of those besotted politicians who treated Ireland as a timid fool might treat a dangerous lunatic whom he was afraid to touch and hoped to coax.

The Government's Proposal

Premier Lloyd George on May 16 presented the Government's proposals regarding a settlement of the Irish question in the form of a letter to John

Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party. Following are the proposals of the Premier:

Firstly, the immediate application of the Home Rule act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six counties in the north and east of Ulster, such exclusions to be subject to reconsideration by Parliament at the end of five years, unless it is previously terminated by the action of the Council of Ireland, to be set up as hereinafter described.

Secondly, with a view to securing the largest possible measure of common action for the whole of Ireland, the bill would provide for a Council of Ireland, to be composed of two delegations consisting, on the one hand, of all members returning to Westminster from the excluded area, and, on the other, of a delegation equal in numbers from the Irish Parliament, this council to be summoned on the initiative of any six members. It would be empowered by a majority of the votes of each of the delegations to pass private bill legislation affecting both the included and excluded areas; to recommend to the Crown the extension to the included area, by an Order in Council, of any act of the Irish Parliament; to agree to the inclusion under the Home Rule act of the whole of Ireland, subject to the assent of a majority of the voters in the excluded areas, the powers to be vested in the Crown in that case to extend the act to all of Ireland by an Order in Council; to make recommendations on its own initiative upon the Irish question, including the amendment of the Home Rule act as finally passed. The President of this Council of Ireland would be elected by agreement between the delegations, or, in default of agreement, would be nominated by the Crown.

Thirdly, the letter says that the financial proposals of the Home Rule bill are unsatisfactory and should be reconsidered. Important objects, such as the development of Irish industries, improvement in town housing, and the furtherance of education, with increased pay for teachers, owing to the war conditions, it declares, cannot be dealt with under the bill without undue burden on the Irish taxpayers. It continues:

Fourthly, the Government would recommend that after the second reading of the bill embodying the above proposals, together with the Home Rule act, it should forthwith be considered by a conference to be constituted on the lines of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, though not consisting exclusively of members of Parliament, and meeting under the Chairmanship of some one commanding the same general confidence in his impartiality and judgment as Mr. Speaker himself.

The Government feel that a proposal which provides for immediate home rule for the greater part of Ireland, while excluding that part of Ireland which objects to coming under the Home Rule act for a definite period, when Parliament will consider the matter afresh; which recognizes the profound sentiment existing in Ireland for the unity of the country by creating a common council to consider Irish affairs as a whole, and which, finally, sets up a representative conference to attempt to adjust the most difficult questions involved is as far as they can possibly go toward effecting a legislative settlement in the crisis of a great war. They are prepared to introduce a bill on these lines.

An Alternative Plan

In his letter the Premier writes that if the preceding proposition proves unacceptable there remains an alternative plan, which, though it has been sometimes seriously discussed, has never been authoritatively proposed—that of assembling a convention of Irishmen of all parties for the purpose of producing a scheme of Irish self-government.

"As you will remember," he continues, "the Constitution of the Union of South Africa was framed, despite most formidable difficulties and obstacles, by a convention representative of all the interests and parties in the country, and the Government believes that a similar expedient might in the last resort be found effectual in Ireland. Would it be too much to hope that Irishmen of all creeds and parties might meet together in convention for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for their country which would secure a just balance of all the opposing interests and finally compose the unhappy discords which have so long distracted Ireland and impeded its harmonious development? The Government are ready, in default of the adoption of the present proposals for home rule, to take the necessary steps for assembling such a convention."

It was announced by Mr. Redmond on May 17 that the Irish Nationalists rejected the first proposal of the Premier, but accepted the alternative proposition for the immediate calling of a convention to decide on a Government for Ireland.

The Background of Home Rule

THE situation that evoked the agitation for home rule was created by the Act of Union, signed by King George III. on Aug. 1, 1800, and which came into force on Jan. 1, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century. Ireland had had a Parliament since the thirteenth century, but it was the Parliament of the Anglo-Norman colony about Dublin. Twice, the powers of this Irish Parliament had been limited:

In 1494, by Poynings's law, (so-called from Sir Edward Poynings, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who secured its passage,) which enacted that "All acts intended to be passed by the Irish Parliament must first be submitted to the King of England and his Privy Council"; and in 1720, when an English act affirmed the right of the English Parliament to pass laws for Ireland, and deprived the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals.

These limitations were removed in 1782, and from this time until the Act of Union the Irish Parliament had its period of largest activity. This Irish Parliament, often called, from its most distinguished member, "Grattan's Parliament," consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Commons of 300 members, all of whom were Protestants. The laws barring Roman Catholics from Parliament, and from many civil and military activities, dated from the time of the Reformation, from the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. They were not directed against Irishmen, but against all Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland; and, in fact, through acts passed by the exclusively Protestant Irish Parliament, Roman Catholics had larger rights in Ireland than in England, including the franchise. The resolution enlarging these rights declared that "as men and Irishmen, as Christians and Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects."

Pitt, then Prime Minister of England, decided that a legislative union between England and Ireland was expedient, as an earlier Act of Union had united the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707. It was necessary to pass this Act of Union through the Irish Parliament. This was done by means of rewards in cash and preferment, new peers being created to secure a majority in the Irish House of Lords. These were ordinary political expedients of the period; Guizot, by similar methods, governed France from 1840 to 1848.

Ireland Under the Union

In the combined Parliament at Westminster, which met on Jan. 22, 1801, Ireland was represented by 100 members, later increased to 103; 4 Bishops and 28 peers, elected from the body of the Irish peerage, represented Ireland in the House of Lords. No Roman Catholic could at that time sit in Parliament.

This system left at least two-thirds of Ireland unrepresented. A movement for "Catholic emancipation" was begun in Ireland, under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, in 1823; this movement attained complete success in 1829, when a law was carried through Parliament by Sir Robert Peel and signed by George IV., which extended political equality to all Roman Catholics within the British Isles.

In 1785 the population of Ireland was about 2,850,000; by 1845, it had risen to about 8,300,000, this rapidly increasing population pressing dangerously upon the means of subsistence. Ireland relied too largely on the potato, and widespread potato disease caused a series of famines, culminating in 1847, still remembered in Ireland as "the black forty seven." England made extensive efforts to stem the famine, using the same means which have often been employed in India. In March, 1847, 734,000 persons were employed on relief works; later 3,000,000 cooked rations were distributed daily. But large numbers nevertheless died of starvation; much larger numbers emigrated, chiefly to the United States.

Ireland was originally divided into tribal areas, the land being held by mem-

bers of the tribes in communal tenure. But the chieftains gradually made themselves feudal owners, turning the tribesmen into tenants. Under the Stuart Kings numbers of these Irish chieftains were dispossessed; their lands, which were really tribal lands, passed, by purchase from the King, into the hands of English landlords. Further, large areas, chiefly in Ulster, were colonized by English and Scottish tenants, Protestants or Presbyterians; this applied especially to the lands of the O'Donnells and O'Neills, the Earldoms of Tyrconnell and Tyrone.

The tenure under which the Irish tenants held their land was, over large areas, a bad one; their leases ran for one year only. If they made improvements, draining, clearing, or building, these belonged, at the end of the year, to the landlord, who had the power to raise the rent to cover the enhanced value of the land, and generally used it. This system put a premium on improvidence and discouraged all improvements. Largely because of this, Irish tenants generally limited their farming to a single crop—potatoes—and, when this crop failed through disease, they were reduced to starvation.

Therefore "land agitation" in Ireland had two purposes: First, to improve the land tenure and the status of the tenant; second, to undo, as far as possible, the land confiscations of the Stuarts, and to restore the land to Irish owners. This double objective constituted the "land question" in Ireland.

Beginning of Land Purchase

One result of the three years' famine, which stopped the payment of all land rents over large areas, was to ruin many landlords, and so to curtail the resources of others that they were unable to improve their lands. English statesmen devised a plan which they hoped would introduce capital. This plan was embodied in the Encumbered Estates act of 1849, two years after the famine, providing for the establishment of a court to examine the affairs of heavily indebted Irish landlords. The courts were empowered to order the sale of such estates to the value of £20,000,000, ($100,000,000.) The estates thus sold were bought up by Irishmen who had made money in trade, who considered their new land merely as an investment, and tried to get the largest possible profit from it. The tenants were thus worse off than before. The new owners immediately increased all rents, sometimes two and three fold.

This led to the formation of the Tenants' League in the following year, 1850. It drew up a very moderate program, which included the following demands:

1. A fair valuation of the rent.
2. Security from eviction while rents were paid.
3. The right of a tenant to sell his interest in the land, representing the improvements he had made, to the incoming tenant.
4. A settlement of arrears of rent.

But this movement had little practical result. The first real relief was gained as a by-product of the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869. It had until then been the State Church, supported by tithes paid by all Ireland, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike. This palpable injustice Gladstone determined to remove. All tithes were remitted, and a sustentation fund was established to provide the income previously drawn from tithes.

Even more important was the disposal of extensive Church lands. The tenants of these were allowed to become owners of them, by making a series of payments extending over a number of years, on the installment plan. More than six thousand tenants were thus able to buy their farms, and it is noteworthy that failures to pay the installments were practically nonexistent.

This principle of land purchase was destined to have a large and highly beneficent development in the following years.

Parnell and the Land League

The example of tenants thus becoming owners of their holdings, which were scattered throughout Ireland, was a strong stimulus to their neighbors to work for a like happy consummation. This widespread desire made possible the

foundation of the Land League, by Michael Davitt, in 1879. But it owed its success to the organizing genius of Charles Stewart Parnell. Its aims, practically the same as those of the earlier Tenants' League, were embodied in three catchwords: Fair Rent, Fixed Hold, Free Sale, which came to be known as "the three F's."

A fair rent was to be fixed by an impartial court; the tenant was to have security of tenure so long as he paid this rent; he was to have the right to sell to the incoming tenant his interest in the land, represented by the improvements he had made.

Parnell was a well-to-do landlord of English descent, a Protestant; the woes of the tenants therefore formed no part of his own experience. His object was not so much to relieve the tenants as to weaken the power of England and to work for complete independence. Speaking at Cincinnati on Feb. 23, 1880, he declared that the first thing necessary was to undermine England's power in Ireland by destroying the Irish landlords. Ireland might then work for independence. "And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

In this way the purely economic land question was bound up with political aims. And, for Parnell, the land question was merely the lever for his political purpose, which was to make Ireland a separate nation.

Daniel O'Connell had developed a new political instrument, which came to be called "constitutional agitation." He held mass meetings, and in this way brought pressure to bear on the Government, but carefully avoided the slightest infraction of law. He was arrested in October, 1843, and imprisoned, but three months later he was released by a decision of the House of Lords, which declared that his sentence was illegal; that he had broken no law.

Parnell heartily despised the moderate methods of O'Connell. He did not attempt an armed rising, like that of 1798, not from any moral objection to rebellion, but for a purely practical reason: he said that Ireland, having no regular army, would be reduced to guerrilla warfare; but guerrilla warfare was impossible in Ireland, because Ireland has a wide central plain, with mountains along the rims, whereas guerrilla warfare requires a back country of hills. He was firmly convinced that an armed movement in Ireland was an impossibility for this reason.

Creation of the Boycott

With these views, he developed a practical method for the Land League, in which legal and illegal means were combined as expediency dictated. One of the most famous means, not strictly illegal, was the creation of the "boycott." In an attack on a Protestant landlord, a Captain Boycott, which Parnell made at Ennis on Sept. 18, 1880, Parnell urged the people of the neighborhood to punish him "by isolating him from his kind as if he were a leper of old." The boycott created by that phrase instantly became a powerful instrument, which was mercilessly used, both against landlords and against tenants who rented farms from which their former occupants had been evicted for non-payment of rent. By this means, and by agrarian outrages, which generally took the form of maiming cattle, the Land League established a reign of terror. In 1881, there were 4,439 agrarian outrages; in the first half of 1882, there were 2,597. On Jan. 28, 1882, Gladstone told the House of Commons that "with fatal and painful precision the steps of crime dogged the steps of the Land League." In the previous October, Gladstone had imprisoned Parnell and his chief lieutenants in Kilmainham Jail, at Dublin.

Gladstone tried to meet the Land League agitation in two ways—first, by removing real grievances; second, by endeavoring to stop outrages through the operation of a Coercion act, which gave him extraordinary authority to deal with agrarian crimes, such as cattle maiming.

His first object he sought to achieve by passing the Land act of 1881, which gave the Irish tenants "the three F's"—

a fair rent, settled by an impartial court; a fixed hold of the land, so long as this legal rent was paid; free sale, or the right, on leaving a farm, to receive from the incoming tenant the cash value of all improvements made, such as clearings, draining, and buildings.

Parnell opposed this law, refused to vote for it, walking out of the House of Commons with thirty-five of his followers, and did all in his power to keep the tenants from taking advantage of its remedies. But they ignored his advice, flocked to the land courts, and had their rents very generally lowered and fixed by law.

By May, 1882, Gladstone had tired of the task of meeting outrage by coercion. On May 2, 1882, he entered into an agreement with Parnell, then in Kilmainham Jail; this was called the Kilmainham treaty, and marks an important stage in Gladstone's conversion to home rule. As an immediate result of this agreement, agrarian outrages almost ceased; in the second six months of 1882 they were only 836, as against 2,597 in the first six months of that year, thus practically establishing the fact that they had been organized by the Land League, which was able to easily to stop them.

But another event occurred in Ireland, four days after the Kilmainham treaty, which for the time made home rule an impossibility. This was the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, whom Gladstone had sent to Ireland as the agent of his policy of conciliation, and of Thomas Burke, in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, on May 6, 1882. This murder so profoundly shocked England that to bring forward a home rule measure at that time was out of the question. It was postponed for four years.

Advocates of "Physical Force"

O'Connell believed in using means that were completely legal. Parnell used means both legal and illegal, but thought any armed effort to destroy English power in Ireland impracticable, because of the geographical character of the country.

But there have always been, in Ireland, men who have not agreed with either O'Connell or Parnell; who have advocated illegal means, and have believed in the possibility of armed rebellion. These advocates of "physical force" have generally chosen a time when England was at war with one or another Continental power, and have tried not only to organize armed force in Ireland, but also to bring into Ireland the armies of England's Continental enemies.

Early instances are: The bringing of Spanish ships and soldiers to Ireland by James Fitzgerald in 1579, when Queen Elizabeth was at war with Philip II. of Spain; the landing at Kinsale of 4,000 Spaniards, as allies of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, in 1600; the sending of a French contingent by Louis XIV. to Ireland in 1689; a further force of 3,000 Frenchmen being sent in 1691; the landing of General Humbert with 1,000 Frenchmen at Killala, during the Irish rebellion of 1798.

These attempts at armed rebellion were prepared by secret societies, of which there has been a long series in Ireland, such as the "Whiteboys" of 1762, so called because they wore white shirts over their coats like the French Camisards; the "Right Boys" twenty-five years later; the "United Irishmen" who brought about the rebellion of 1798; the "Young Ireland" movement of 1848; the "Fenian" movement, from 1863 to 1868; the Sinn Feiners of 1916. They all had the same purpose, the establishment of a separate Irish nation, by open rebellion, leading to terrorism; they have all openly and frankly expressed their contempt for the advocates of "constitutional agitation," like Daniel O'Connell, or his successors, the Constitutionalist followers of John Redmond—the Irish Parliamentary Nationalists.

One of the gravest difficulties which beset the solution of the Irish problem is the existence of these two rival schools—the Constitutionalists, and the advocates of "physical force," for the reason that the physical force men, open enemies of the Constitutionalists, will flatly refuse to recognize any settlement made with the Constitutionalists, or will use any concessions made to the Constitutionalists simply as a stepping stone to their own

ulterior ends: complete separation and the establishment of "the Irish Republic." In this sense, a settlement of the Irish question made with the Constitutionalists is no settlement, unless the physical force party can in some way be compelled to respect it.

Gladstone's First Bill

Gladstone's impulse toward home rule was cut short by one expression of the "physical force" movement: the Phoenix Park murders. In October he suppressed the Land League, whose place was taken by the National League, which is still in existence. In the Summer of 1885, Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives came into power, and introduced a second and much larger measure of land purchase, devoting $25,000,000 to the work of turning Irish tenants into peasant proprietors. The general election of 1885 gave the following result: Liberals, 331; Conservatives, 249; Irish Nationalists, 86. If the Conservatives joined forces with the Nationalists, they would have 335 against Gladstone's 331. In these circumstances, Gladstone determined to form a working alliance with Parnell, and frame a Home Rule bill.

Gladstone's first "Government of Ireland bill" was launched in April, 1886. It proposed to form an Irish Parliament of two houses; the upper house was to consist of 28 Peers and 75 members elected for ten years; the lower house of 204 members, about double the existing number of Irish Members of Parliament. Irish Members of Parliament were to be excluded from the British Parliament at Westminster. On June 7, 1886, 93 Liberal Unionists joined with the Conservatives in voting against this bill, which was defeated in the House of Commons by 30 votes.

More Land Purchase

Gladstone had previously made a further effort to settle the land question by introducing a bill which further extended the operation of land purchase—the purchase of their farms by tenants, who repaid the Government by installments.

Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives returned to power in August, 1886; Lord Salisbury's nephew, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. He suppressed the National League; and, by his steady administration of the Crimes act, gradually quieted Ireland. In 1891 he carried through Parliament a further Land Purchase act, which applied $150,000,000 to the work of turning tenants into owners. These successive Land Purchase acts, culminating in Wyndham's (Conservative) Land Purchase act of 1903, have gone far to solve the Irish land question; once more it may be put on record that failures to pay the installments are practically unknown. The result of these measures throughout Ireland has been admirable.

Gladstone's Second Bill

Gladstone returned to power in August, 1892. In February, 1893, he introduced a second Home Rule bill, which proposed that eighty Irish members should be retained in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, though they were not to vote on measures expressly confined to Great Britain. Two main objections were made to this second home rule measure. The first, by the Conservatives, was that it not only gave Ireland the right to govern herself, but also the right to govern England and Scotland. The second, by the Irish Nationalists, that the financial provisions of the bill were such as "to keep Ireland in bondage." This meant, in practice, that Ireland might not build a separate tariff wall.

On Sept. 1, the bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 34; but it was thrown out by the House of Lords by a vote of 419 to 41. A few months later Gladstone resigned, his place being taken by Lord Rosebery, who was succeeded by Lord Salisbury in June, 1895. Ten years of Conservative Government followed, which were marked by the establishment of County Councils—small local Parliaments for each of the thirty-two counties of Ireland—in 1898, and by Wyndham's Land Purchase act, already mentioned, in 1903.

Asquith's Home Rule Act

The Liberals returned to power in 1905, Mr. Asquith becoming Prime Minister in 1908. He secured his parliamentary posi-

tion by making a working agreement with the Labor and Nationalist members. The Nationalists were to support his plan to disestablish the Anglican Church in Wales as Gladstone had disestablished it in Ireland in 1869, while he was to bring in a Home Rule bill. To insure its passage, it was necessary to destroy the practical veto power of the House of Lords. Asquith did this by means of the Parliament act of 1911, under which bills (other than money bills or a bill extending the maximum duration of Parliament) if passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and rejected each time (or not passed) by the House of Lords, may become law without their concurrence on the royal assent being signified, provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading in the first session of the House of Commons and the third reading in the third session.

The passage of this act cleared the way for the new Home Rule bill which was introduced in 1912.

Proposed Dublin Parliament

Gladstone's first Home Rule bill proposed to exclude the Irish members from Westminster. His second Home Rule bill proposed to retain 80 Irish members at Westminster, besides establishing a separate Irish Parliament at Dublin. Asquith made a compromise between these two plans, and proposed to retain only 42 Irish members at Westminster, the ground for their retention being that many Irish questions were reserved to be dealt with by the Imperial Parliament. These 42 Irish members at Westminster were to represent Belfast (4), Dublin (3), Cork (1), counties in Ulster (11), in Leinster (8), Munster (9), and Connaught (6).

The Dublin Parliament was to consist of two houses—a Senate of 40 members and a House of Commons of 164 members, who were to represent the following constituencies: Boroughs, Belfast (14), Dublin (11), Cork (4), Londonderry (2), Limerick (2), Waterford (1), and Dublin University (2); counties in Ulster (43), in Leinster (30), in Munster (30), and in Connaught (25).

Senators were to be drawn from the four provinces in the following numbers: Ulster (14), Leinster (11), Munster (9), and Connaught (6).

Under this third Home Rule bill, England would be able to exercise control over Ireland in three ways: First, through the Executive, the Lord Lieutenant being appointed by the Crown, which means in practice the Prime Minister of England, and in his turn selecting the members of the Dublin Cabinet, who must, however, either be members of the Dublin Parliament, or become members; secondly, through financial arrangements, chief of which is the provision that all Irish taxes are to be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, which shall pay to the Irish Exchequer a sum of $2,500,000 yearly, to diminish to $1,000,000 yearly, as an imperial contribution to Irish finances; and a sum equal to the proceeds of Irish taxes laid by the Dublin Parliament. Thirdly, through the reservation of a number of departments or subjects for decision by the Imperial Parliament. For example, the Dublin Parliament is expressly forbidden to transfer to the Roman Catholic Church the Protestant Cathedrals, which were Catholic until the Reformation, such as the cathedral at Armagh, Christchurch Cathedral, (founded by the Danes,) and St. Patrick's Cathedral, (founded by the Anglo-Normans,) in Dublin.

The arrangement proposed by Asquith's Home Rule bill is, therefore, comparable, not so much to the form of government of the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, as to that which exists, let us say, in New York State, which sends 43 members to Congress, (as compared with the 42 Irish members to be sent to Westminster,) with a Legislature at Albany consisting of a Senate of 51 members (compared with the 40 members of the Dublin Senate) and a lower house of 150 members, (compared with the 164 members of the lower house in the Dublin Parliament.) The restrictions as to taxation and reserved federal authority are comparable to those reserved to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

There are three sharply contrasted

parties in Ireland: (1) the Ulster Unionists; (2) the Constitutionalist Nationalists; (3) the successors and heirs of the "physical force" movements. Inevitably Asquith's plans for the government of Ireland make a different impression on each of these three parties.

To begin with, this third Home Rule bill is only moderately satisfactory to the Irish Constitutional Nationalists led by John Redmond, a former lieutenant of Parnell, who would like much larger powers.

It is denounced as wholly inadequate by the extremists, who do not try to conceal the fact that what they want is not this moderate home rule scheme, but complete independence, a separate Irish Republic. This view is strongly represented among Irish-Americans, who have, within the last few weeks, given very clear expression to their views.

The Unionists of Ulster, of whom Sir Edward Carson is the leader, strongly desire to remain in their present relation to the Imperial Parliament and as strongly object to being governed by a Dublin Parliament.

The objections of Protestant and industrial Ulster (including six out of the nine counties of Ulster) to the home rule plan may be summed up as follows:

First, they say openly that this supposed settlement will be no settlement, but will simply be used by the extremists as a basis of further operations against England, in furtherance of their avowed plan to form a completely independent Irish Republic—a plan openly announced even by Parnell when he was leader of the parliamentary party. The people of Ulster say that they will be sacrificed, not to a genuinely loyal plan of Irish Nationalism, but to this strategic outpost of armed rebellion. They say that Irish agitators have always had "two voices," one for England and another, more genuine, for extremists. This is their political objection.

Second, they object to the probable influence of the Vatican in Irish affairs. They have always held this objection; it has been greatly strengthened by the pro-German, anti-French action and attitude of the Vatican in the world war. They assert that, lured by the bribe of "temporal power," which would mean the disruption of free Italy, the Vatican has secretly used its influence through the hierarchy and the religious orders in favor of Germany, for example, in Roman Catholic Canada, which has contributed only a corporal's guard to the allied armies, French Canada being notably priest-ridden. This illustrates the kind of political intrigue which Ulster Protestants have always apprehended.

Third, they object to the progressive Northeast being taxed to supply the deficiencies of the backward South and West. Belfast has a population of 386,947, (as against 304,802 for Dublin,) with large industries; her shipyards employed, even before the war, 22,000 men, with a weekly payroll of $175,194; the same district produces four-fifths of the world's linen. The people of Ulster say that the South and West desire to include Ulster in the home rule plan, in order to be able to tax Ulster.

Fourth, they object on principle. Home rule is based on the principle of "government by consent of the governed." Ulster claims for herself the application of the same principle. Ulster has always been loyal to the Union, loyal to all imperial aims. She has resented, and prepared to resist, one thing only: the attempt to give her over into the hands of a hostile majority, who wish to coerce her. Ulster earnestly protests against all plans to force her out of the Union, which expresses her ideals of government and political justice. As an example of the separate treatment which she claims for herself, she cites such a precedent as that of West Virginia, which, refusing to leave the Union in 1861, separated from Virginia, and, in 1862, was made a separate State loyal to the Union, and has since greatly prospered under this arrangement.

These are, in part, the grounds of the claim that Ulster should be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule act.

The Entente's Greetings to America

Memorable Utterances of European Leaders on Entry of United States Into the War

THE entry of the United States into the war was formally celebrated in England on April 20. For the first time in history a flag other than the union jack was hoisted at the top of Victoria Tower at Westminster, where during the entire day the Stars and Stripes fluttered fraternally with the English flag above the Houses of Parliament. A solemn and stately service took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, attended by the King and Queen, and the most notable representatives of the British realm. Bishop Brent, an American Bishop, delivered the sermon, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction. In his sermon Bishop Brent said:

This, I venture to say, is not merely the beginning of a new era but of a new epoch. At this moment a great nation, well skilled in self-sacrifice, is standing by with deep sympathy and bidding godspeed to another great nation that is making its act of self-dedication to God. * * * This act of America has enabled her to find her soul. America, which stands for democracy, the cause of the plain people, must fight, must champion this cause at all costs.

Hall Caine's Winged Words

Hall Caine, the British novelist, wrote as follows regarding the celebration:

American Day in London was a great and memorable event. It was another sentinel on the hilltop of time, another beacon fire in the history of humanity. The two nations of Great Britain and America can never be divided again. There has been a national marriage between them, which only one judge can dissolve, and the name of that judge is Death. * * *

Two lessons, at least, must be learned from the service of Friday in St. Paul's Cathedral. The first is that the accepted idea of the American Nation as one that weighs and measures all conduct by material values in dollars and cents must henceforth be banished forever. Thrice already in its short history has it put that hoary old slander to shame, and now once again has it given the lie to it. The history of nations has perhaps no parallel to the high humanity, the splendid self-sacrifice, the complete disinterestedness that brought America into this war, with nothing to gain and everything to lose. It has broken forever with the triple monarchies of murder. To live at peace with crime was to be the accomplice of the criminal. Therefore, in the name of justice, of mercy, of religion, of human dignity, of all that makes man's life worth living and distinguishes it from the life of the brute, America, for all she is or ever can be, has drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. God helping her, she could do no other.

The second of the lessons we have to learn from the services of Friday is that, having made war in defense of the right, America will make peace the moment the wrong has been righted. No national bargains will weigh with her, no questions of territory, no problems of the balance of power, no calculations of profit and loss, no ancient treaties, no material covenants, no pledges that are the legacy of past European conflicts. Has justice been done? Is the safety of civilization assured? Has reparation been made, as far as reparation is possible, for the outrages that have disgraced the name of man, and for the sufferings that have knocked at the door of every heart in Christendom? These will be her only questions. Let us take heart and hope from them. They bring peace nearer.

It was not for nothing that the flags of Great Britain and America hung side by side under the chancel arch on Friday morning. At one moment the sun shot through the windows of the dome and lit them up with heavenly radiance. Was it only the exaltation of the moment that made us think invisible powers were giving us a sign that in the union of the nations which those emblems stood for lay the surest hope of the day when men will beat their swords into plowshares and know war no more? The United States of Great Britain and America! God grant the union celebrated in our old sanctuary may never be dissolved until that great day has dawned.

Jubilation in London

One of the unique events of the day was a luncheon for American wounded men who, after attending the services at St. Paul's, were guests of one of the American women's organizations. There were present seventy privates and thirty officers, all Americans, who were convalescent patients of hospitals near Lon-

don. They were accompanied by thirty nurses connected with the British and Canadian forces, all of whom were Americans. Ambassador Page presided. The roll of the men and women present showed that nearly forty States were represented, including every section of the Union.

Celebrations were held in many of the large cities of Great Britain in honor of America, and the Stars and Stripes were generously displayed from public and private buildings. At Manchester a special service was held at the Cathedral at noon. The Lord Mayor, who attended in state, was accompanied by members of the Council.

April 30 was "America Day" in Liverpool. A special town meeting of citizens was held at noon to celebrate the entrance of the United States into the war. It was preceded by a service of thanksgiving at St. Nicholas Church, attended by the Lord Mayor, city officials, the United States Consul, Consular representatives of all the allied powers, and leading citizens. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Liverpool.

Celebration in France

Paris celebrated "United States Day" on April 20 with exercises in the great hall of the Sorbonne, and on April 21 with a reception to Ambassador Sharp, a procession to Lafayette's statue, and exercises in the City Hall. The Stars and Stripes were unfurled from the Eiffel Tower, the City Hall, and other municipal buildings.

The celebration on the 20th was organized by the French Maritime League and was an imposing testimonial in honor of the United States. On the platform were Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine; Alexandre Millerand, President of the league; Mr. Sharp, American Ambassador; J. de Mello Machado, Brazilian Senator; M. Nail, Under Secretary of the French Merchant Marine; Ernest Lavisse, M. Lacour-Gayet, Jean Richepin, Admiral Fournier, and others. Raymond Poincaré, President of France, who presided over the ceremonies, was greeted on his entrance with the "Marseillaise" and the American national hymn. M. Millerand made an address saluting the co-operation of the American fleet. He said in part:

> Washington, Lincoln, Wilson—these are immortal types of the Presidency of a democracy—men who, conscious of their responsibilities, assume the duty of guiding the people at whose head they have the honor to be placed, thus realizing the indispensable harmony in human affairs between the principle of authority and the principle of liberty. Yes, history will assign to Mr. Wilson a place among the great statesmen of all time, for he has been able, in a memorable document, to make clear the ideal reasons why honor condemned neutrality and commanded war in order to assure to humanity the definitive blessing of peace. Near him appear the shadows of the victims whose sacrifice, by arousing the indignation of the civilized world, has rendered inevitable the explosion which we are today witnessing.

A unique feature of the ceremonies was furnished by Jean Richepin, member of the French Academy. Surrounded by armed sailors, the American and French flags were presented, and, in a voice vibrant with emotion, the poet recited "Le Baiser des Drapeaux," ("The Kiss of the Flags,") which he had composed for the occasion. While the audience was applauding the last stanzas the color bearers dipped the starry banner and the tricolor in a movement that stirred deep enthusiasm.

Mr. Sharp, the American Ambassador, presented the formal salute of the great Republic to France and her allies, adding:

> As a man who feels himself to be American to the very roots of his being, who is filled with pride by the magnificent traditions of his country, and who has so often heard the heart of America beating, I know, with a certainty born of profound conviction, that in this great conflict France has been the lodestone that has drawn to itself the complete devotion and unqualified admiration of the American people.

Admiral Lacaze paid a stirring tribute to the sailors of the allied nations, especially to those obscure heroes, the sailors of the merchant fleet, who, exposed daily to the perils of German piracy, bring to their arduous task the highest courage and patriotic devotion.

Previous London Celebration

The first celebration of this kind occurred in London April 12; it was at a luncheon given by the American Club, at which important speeches were made

by Ambassador Walter H. Page and Premier Lloyd George. The keynote of the Ambassador's speech was in these words:

These are great days for the Republic. We have set out to help in an enterprise of saving the earth as a place worth living in. The clear, solemn call of the President and the voice of Congress, which is the voice of the people, are to us the high call of duty.

We come in answer only to the high call of duty, and not for any material reward, not for territory, not for indemnity or conquest, not for anything save the high duty to succor democracy when it is desperately assailed. We come only for the ideal, that is, the republic.

Why else have we drawn into this grim Old World bloody struggle against our traditions and wishes? Why except that our standard of honor and our judgment of safety are the same as yours? Some of our differences are historical and fundamental, but most of them are superficial or manufactured by agitation. None of them need or can separate us in the further development of our national freedom.

The Premier's speech was at considerable length. The full text is given below under a separate subhead.

Lloyd George on America's Entrance Into the War

[The British Premier's Address at the American Club in London, April 12, 1917]

I AM in the happy position of being, I think, the first British Minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American Nation as comrades in arms. I am glad; I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation will bring to the succor of the alliance, but I rejoice as a democrat that the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

That was the note that ran through the great deliverance of President Wilson. It was echoed, Sir, in your resounding words today. The United States of America have the noble tradition, never broken, of having never engaged in war except for liberty. And this is the greatest struggle for liberty that they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recalls the wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandizement and conquest. No wonder when this great war started that there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the people of the United States of America. There were those who thought perhaps that Kings were at their old tricks—and although they saw the gallant Republic of France fighting, they some of them perhaps regarded it as the poor victim of a conspiracy of monarchical swashbucklers. The fact that the United States of America has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty.

The Prussian Menace

They naturally did not know at first what we had endured in Europe for years from this military caste in Prussia. It never has reached the United States of America. Prussia was not a democracy. The Kaiser promises that it will be a democracy after the war. I think he is right. But Prussia not merely was not a democracy. Prussia was not a State; Prussia was an army. It had great industries that had been highly developed; a great educational system; it had its universities, it had developed its science.

All these were subordinate to the one great predominant purpose, the purpose of all—a conquering army which was to intimidate the world. The army was the

spear-point of Prussia; the rest was merely the haft. That was what we had to deal with in these old countries. It got on the nerves of Europe. They knew what it all meant. It was an army that in recent times had waged three wars, all of conquest, and the unceasing tramp of its legions through the streets of Prussia, on the parade grounds of Prussia, had got into the Prussian head. The Kaiser, when he witnessed on a grand scale his reviews, got drunk with the sound of it. He delivered the law to the world as if Potsdam was another Sinai, and he was uttering the law from the thunder clouds.

But make no mistake. Europe was uneasy. Europe was half intimidated. Europe was anxious. Europe was apprehensive. We knew the whole time what it meant. What we did not know was the moment it would come.

This is the menace, this is the apprehension from which Europe has suffered for over fifty years. It paralyzed the beneficent activity of all States, which ought to be devoted to concentrating on the well-being of their peoples. They had to think about this menace, which was there constantly as a cloud ready to burst over the land. No one can tell except Frenchmen what they endured from this tyranny, patiently, gallantly, with dignity, till the hour of deliverance came. The best energies of domestic science had been devoted to defending itself against the impending blow. France was like a nation which put up its right arm to ward off a blow, and could not give the whole of her strength to the great things which she was capable of. That great, bold, imaginative, fertile mind, which would otherwise have been clearing new paths for progress, was paralyzed.

That is the state of things we had to encounter. The most characteristic of Prussian institutions is the Hindenburg line. What is the Hindenburg line? The Hindenburg line is a line drawn in the territories of other people, with a warning that the inhabitants of those territories shall not cross it at the peril of their lives. That line has been drawn in Europe for fifty years.

You recollect what happened some years ago in France, when the French Foreign Minister was practically driven out of office by Prussian interference. Why? What had he done? He had done nothing which a Minister of an independent State had not the most absolute right to do. He had crossed the imaginary line drawn in French territory by Prussian despotism, and he had to leave. Europe, after enduring this for generations, made up its mind at last that the Hindenburg line must be drawn along the legitimate frontiers of Germany herself. There could be no other attitude than that for the emancipation of Europe and the world.

Hindenburg Line at Sea

It was hard at first for the people of America quite to appreciate that Germany had not interfered to the same extent with their freedom, if at all. But at last they endured the same experience as Europe had been subjected to. Americans were told that they were not to be allowed to cross and recross the Atlantic except at their peril. American ships were sunk without warning. American citizens were drowned, hardly with an apology—in fact, as a matter of German right. At first America could hardly believe it. They could not think it possible that any sane people should behave in that manner. And they tolerated it once, and they tolerated it twice, until it became clear that the Germans really meant it. Then America acted, and acted promptly.

The Hindenburg line was drawn along the shores of America, and the Americans were told they must not cross it. America said, "What is this?" Germany said, "This is our line, beyond which you must not go," and America said, "The place for that line is not the Atlantic, but on the Rhine—and we mean to help you to roll it up."

There are two great facts which clinch the argument that this is a great struggle for freedom. The first is the fact that America has come in. She would not have come in otherwise. The second is the Russian revolution. When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers

to America to fight for the freedom and independence of that land, France also was an autocracy in those days. But Frenchmen in America, once they were there—their aim was freedom, their atmosphere was freedom, their inspiration was freedom. They acquired a taste for freedom, and they took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, of Montenegro, of Bulgaria, and has fought for the freedom of Europe. They wanted to make their own country free, and they have done it. The Russian revolution is not merely the outcome of the struggle for freedom. It is a proof of the character of the struggle for liberty, and if the Russian people realize, as there is every evidence they are doing, that national discipline is not incompatible with national freedom—nay, that national discipline is essential to the security of national freedom—they will, indeed, become a free people.

I have been asking myself the question, Why did Germany, deliberately, in the third year of the war, provoke America to this declaration and to this action—deliberately, resolutely? It has been suggested that the reason was that there were certain elements in American life, and they were under the impression that they would make it impossible for the United States to declare war. That I can hardly believe. But the answer has been afforded by Marshal von Hindenburg himself, in the very remarkable interview which appeared in the press, I think, only this morning.

He depended clearly on one of two things. First, that the submarine campaign would have destroyed international shipping to such an extent that England would have been put out of business before America was ready. According to his computation, America cannot be ready for twelve months. He does not know America. In the alternative, that when America is ready, at the end of twelve months, with her army, she will have no ships to transport that army to the field of battle. In von Hindenburg's words, "America carries no weight." I suppose he means she has no ships to carry weight. On that, undoubtedly they are reckoning.

Well, it is not wise always to assume that even when the German General Staff, which has miscalculated so often, makes a calculation it has no ground for it. It therefore behooves the whole of the Allies, Great Britain and America in particular, to see that that reckoning of von Hindenburg is as false as the one he made about his famous line, which we have broken already.

The Road to Victory

The road to victory, the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory is to be found in one word—ships; and a second word—ships; and a third word—ships. And with that quickness of apprehension which characterizes your nation, Mr. Chairman, I see that they fully realize that, and today I observe that they have already made arrangements to build one thousand 3,000-tonners for the Atlantic. I think that the German military advisers must already begin to realize that this is another of the tragic miscalculations which are going to lead them to disaster and to ruin. But you will pardon me for emphasizing that. We are a slow people in these islands—slow and blundering—but we get there. You get there sooner, and that is why I am glad to see you in.

But may I say that we have been in this business for three years? We have, as we generally do, tried every blunder. In golfing phraseology, we have got into every bunker. But we have got a good niblick. We are right out on the course. But may I respectfully suggest that it is worth America's while to study our blunders, so as to begin just where we are now and not where we were three years ago? That is an advantage. In war, time has as tragic a significance as it has in sickness. A step which, taken today, may lead to assured victory, taken tomorrow may barely avert disaster. All the Allies have discovered that. It was a new country for us all. It was trackless, mapless. We had to go by instinct. But we found the way, and I am so glad that you are sending your great naval and military experts

CANADIANS IN A VICTORIOUS CHARGE AT VIMY RIDGE

One of the Most Important Successes in the Great British Offensive East of Arras.

The Unarmed Men Near the Captured Trench Are Germans in the Act of Surrendering

(Photo American Press Association)

MARSHAL JOFFRE REVIEWING THE CADETS AT WEST POINT

The Victor of the Marne Pronounced the West Point Corps One of the Finest Bodies of Young Officers in the World

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

here, just to exchange experiences with men who have been through all the dreary, anxious crises of the last three years.

America has helped us even to win the battle of Arras. Do you know that these guns which destroyed the German trenches, shattered the barbed wire—I remember, with some friends of mine whom I see here, arranging to order the machines to make those guns from America. Not all of them—you got your share, but only a share, a glorious share. So that America has also had her training. She has been making guns, making ammunition, giving us machinery to prepare both; she has supplied us with steel, and she has got all that organization and she has got that wonderful facility, adaptability, and resourcefulness of the great people which inhabits that great continent. Ah! It was a bad day for military autocracy in Prussia when it challenged the great Republic of the West. We know what America can do, and we also know that now she is in it she will do it. She will wage an effective and successful war.

Establishing a Real Peace

There is something more important. She will insure a beneficent peace. I attach great importance—and I am the last man in the world, knowing for three years what our difficulties have been, what our anxieties have been, and what our fears have been—I am the last man to say that the succor which is given to us from America is not something in itself to rejoice in, and to rejoice in greatly. But I don't mind saying that I rejoice even more in the knowledge that America is going to win the right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations—the course of human life—for God knows how many ages. It would have been tragic for mankind if America had not been there, and there with all the influence, all the power, and the right which she has now won by flinging herself into this great struggle.

I can see peace coming now—not a peace which will be the beginning of war; not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed; but a real peace. The world is an old world. It has never had peace. It has been rocking and swaying like an ocean, and Europe—poor Europe!—has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began two-thirds of Europe were under autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. The democracy of France did not want war; the democracy of Italy hesitated long before they entered the war; the democracy of this country shrank from it—shrank and shuddered—and never would have entered the caldron had it not been for the invasion of Belgium. The democracies sought peace; strove for peace. If Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war. Strange things have happened in this war. There are stranger things to come, and they are coming rapidly.

There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill; but there are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. Those are the times we are living in now. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy; she is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. Today we are waging the most devastating war that the world has ever seen; tomorrow—perhaps not a distant tomorrow—war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes. This may be something like the fierce outburst of Winter which we are now witnessing before the complete triumph of the sun. It is written of those gallant men who won that victory on Monday—men from Canada, from Australia, and from this old country, which has proved that in spite of its age it is not decrepit—it is written of those gallant men that they attacked with the dawn—fit work for the dawn!—to drive out of forty miles of French soil those miscreants who had defiled it for three years. "They attacked with the dawn." Significant phrase!

The breaking up of the dark rule of the Turk, which for centuries has clouded the sunniest land in the world, the freeing of Russia from an oppression which

has covered it like a shroud for so long, the great declaration of President Wilson coming with the might of the great nation which he represents into the struggle for liberty are heralds of the dawn. "They attacked with the dawn," and these men are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn, and soon Frenchmen and Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins, will march into the full light of a perfect day.

Eloquent Welcome From Lords and Commons

Lord Curzon's Speech and Others

Both Houses of Parliament passed resolutions on April 18, 1917, expressing profound appreciation of the action of the United States in joining the allied powers "and thus defending the high cause of freedom and the rights of humanity against the gravest menace by which they have ever been imperiled." Earl Curzon, in moving this resolution before the House of Lords, said:

SINCE the beginning of the war one by one the independent nations of the earth have been drawn into its terrific and devastating orbit. The great powers who met the first shock of conflict on one side were France, Russia, and Great Britain, or, rather, I would prefer to substitute the phrase, British Empire, because from the first hour of war it was the whole of that empire that leaped to arms. It is the whole British Empire that on our side has been engaged, and will remain engaged to the end. Alongside of these allied powers were the minor but heroic and suffering States of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. At the other end of the world we received, and we continue to receive, loyal and valuable assistance from Japan. At a later date Italy was driven by considerations partly of honor, partly of political necessity, to enter this struggle. Again, a little later Rumania followed suit. Portugal, the most ancient of our allies, could not stand aloof, and at the present moment her soldiers are fighting alongside of our own in France and Flanders. In Greece many of the most patriotic sons of that country, under the leadership of the brave M. Venizelos, are also engaged in conjunction with our own troops in the trenches outside Saloniki. Elsewhere large parts of Arabia have arisen to throw off the detested yoke of the Turk.

Such has been the accumulation of forces that have gathered since the beginning of the war on the side of the Allies. In the same period I cannot recall any accretion that has been made to the forces of the powers of the German and Austrian Empires, except the inglorious and unnatural partnership of the Bulgarian and the Turk. But in the last fortnight, in the short time that has elapsed since we last met in this House, another and graver portent has occurred. There has entered into the war the greatest democracy in the world, whose twice-elected President, representing 100,000,000 of the most liberty-loving, the most peace-loving, the least aggressive of the peoples of the earth, has summoned his people to arms with a trumpet call that will ring through the ages, and will always be accounted one of the historic declarations of mankind.

The case of America in entering the war is widely differentiated from that of any of the other allied countries. All the other States whom I have mentioned were drawn into the war either at the beginning or at no very long date afterward. The great majority of them certainly have been engaged now for two years, if not for longer. But the case of America was different. For nearly three years that nation and her official head scrupulously and sedulously abstained from entering the war, exhibiting a patience and a forbearance which were perhaps not always quite understood, and which did not even excite universal satisfaction among some sections of her own people. But there are other

differences between the position of America and that of the other allied powers. All of them have had a direct and personal interest. The interest of the United States is secondary and remote. The majority of them were either inured to war by previous experience, or were not indisposed to war by political ambition. America during the last half century has had little experience of war and has no ambitions to gratify in the present case. We know how it has been expressed over and over again by the foremost statesman of America that her people have a constitutional aversion to war, and that they have a rooted dislike to be in any degree involved in the secular ambitions or quarrels of the Government.

Some of the nations who were fighting are, like ourselves, fighting for their continued national existence. No one can say that the national existence of America has been imperiled. Others, again, have entered the struggle, alas! because their territories have been overrun by the brutal foe. Not a single enemy has set foot, or is likely to set foot, on the soil of America. Some of them are fighting either to extend their boundaries or to recover possessions which they have lost or to satisfy claims of nationality. America requires no territory. She has nothing to recover because there is nothing of which she has been deprived. She has no lost tribes to gather again into her fold. If a nation so placed with those hereditary instincts and others that I have described, and after this long period of hesitation to which I have referred, is yet compelled to join the Allies, there must be some great and overwhelming reason for that fact. Yes, my Lords, there is. America has tardily but definitely entered the struggle because she sees that there is at stake a cause greater than the rights or liberty or the honor of any individual people. It is the rights of humanity that have been and are being cruelly outraged from day to day. It is the liberty of the whole world that is threatened. It is the honor of civilization that is at stake.

My Lords, the best part of half a century ago an American poet in circumstances of war thus gave expression to the sentiments of his fellow-countrymen:

> Hark! I hear the tramp of thousands,
> And of armèd men the hum;
> Lo! a nation's hosts have gathered
> Round the quick alarming drum—
> Saying, "Come,
> Freemen, come!
> Ere your heritage be wasted," said the quick alarming drum.

That is the call that has again sounded in the ears of Americans, and the call to which they have responded. It is the voice of freedom calling upon the freest people in the world. The entry of the United States into this war is a great event, not merely in the fortunes of the war or in the annals of the American people, but in the moral history of the human race. Not merely does this act invest the figure of America with a glory that will never fade, but it stamps the character of the struggle in which we are engaged as an uprising of the conscience of the world, as a combined effort to put an end to the rule of Satan on this earth, an effort which cannot be slackened or abated until that peril has been entirely and finally subdued. Each one of us may be proud to have lived in these times and to have witnessed this great landmark in the history of mankind.

As to the consequences of the entry of America into the war it is too early to speak. Its practical concrete effects may not be immediate, but that they must in the long run be tremendous and far-reaching no man can doubt. We may rest assured that, having drawn the sword, America will put the whole of her strength into the struggle. She is a nation that does nothing by halves; there is nothing small about the character and purpose of America, any more than there is about her territories and population. We may rest confident that she will spare nothing, either the splendid resources with which she has been endowed by nature, and which she has developed with the genius of her own people, or the vigorous energies of that people. She will not pause or stay until the peace of the world has again been built up on secure foundations and guarantees have

been secured for its maintenance in future.

There is only one other reflection that must occur to every one of us who has British blood in his veins; it is a great thought to us that at length, whatever there has been of pain in the association of America with ourselves has been finally obliterated and the two great English-speaking nations of the world stand side by side in this historic struggle. We rejoice that America is at last at our side, or shall I put it the other way and say that we rejoice we are at the side of America? We rejoice that the three flags—the Stars and Stripes, the tricolor, and the union jack—will float side by side both on the seas and in the trenches on the Continent. I shall only be expressing the wishes of your Lordships' House if I ask you this afternoon to join the House of Commons in sending to the American Government and the American people this message of congratulation and pride that we are, together with them, united at last in the greatest cause for which nations have ever suffered or individual human beings have willingly laid down their lives.

Lord Crewe's Tribute

Lord Curzon was followed by Lord Crewe, Lord Bryce, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in speeches of similar quality. The most significant portion of Lord Crewe's address is here reproduced:

We ourselves have never doubted from the first the rightness of our cause. If I may be allowed to conceive for a moment what is inconceivable, if it had been the fact that an attack had been made upon the two Central Powers, I am quite certain that no Government here would have involved us against them in war, even though it might have been argued that the most deep-seated cause of such an attack was to be found in the military aims and the general ambitions of Germany. The case of France and of Russia is, as we know, clear. But the origin of the issues of the war could not be, and could not be expected to be, so visible across the Atlantic as they were at home. It must be remembered that there were millions in America whose original prepossessions and sympathy were rather on the side of our enemies than of ourselves. It must be remembered, too, that unlimited money and some ingenuity—although it was in effect sometimes clumsy ingenuity—were exercised in America to distort the facts by enemy agents against us and our cause.

It must be remembered, too, that from quite an early stage in the war much material loss and a great deal more inconvenience was necessarily inflicted upon innocent citizens of the United States by our necessary action in the stoppage of cargoes not only to Germany but also to some neutral countries contiguous to Germany, and I cannot help saying in passing that if at the earlier stages of the war the Government of the day had followed some of the advice which has been given here—I am certain with the utmost feeling of patriotism—those measures that we took would have pressed harder still upon America and the other neutrals. The effect would have been not that America would have joined Germany, because that, I am convinced, she never would have done, but she might have been frozen, so to speak, into a position of permanent neutrality not too friendly to us from which she might never have parted until the close of the war. I say this as a tribute to the action of Lord Grey of Fallodon, Lord Robert Cecil, and Mr. Balfour in their conduct of the diplomatic relations with the United States which have now had so happy a result.

As the noble Earl pointed out, there was evidence both here and in the United States from time to time of some impatience that the merits of our cause were not more fully recognized there. It must be remembered that the right opinion had to permeate the vast masses of the population in no way directly interested; that in America the famous phrase is the government of the people by the people, and that it was necessary that President Wilson must remain silent so far as joining the Allies was concerned until he was able to speak, as he has now spoken, in the name of the whole Union.

I question if there ever has been a com-

munity which has so steadily pursued high ideals, which has so conscientiously been swayed by serious impulses, and which has been so uniformly dependent on moral sanctions as the United States of America. It has therefore been a positive attraction to America in reaching her resolution to join us in the war that she has nothing substantial to gain from the victory which we foresee—nothing to gain in the way of annexation, absorption, the establishment of a protectorate, or even penetration, that finest nuance of national acquisition. As the months went on not only were the horrors of war multiplied and the sacrifice of life became greater and greater, but the slender restraints which humanity and the custom of nations have in the past imposed on the conduct of the war were more and more defied and derided by Germany; and the moment came when America had to decide. Her clear decision has now been given. We can all rejoice with pride in the large measure of common ancestry we share, pride in the great traditions of free government of which we are the joint inheritors, that now the seal has been set of the detached and impartial judgment of America upon our original declaration that we and our allies are in this way obeying the call of honor, and that we stand for that civilization which is bound up with the maintenance and extension of the liberties of the world.

Asquith's Memorable Words

An identical resolution was introduced in the House of Commons by Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer. His speech and others were summarized in the May issue of this magazine. The full text of Mr. Asquith's is as follows:

It is natural and fitting that this House, the chief representative body of the British Empire, should at the earliest possible opportunity give definite and emphatic expression to the feelings which throughout the length and breadth of the empire have grown day by day in volume and in fervor since the memorable decision of the President and Congress of the United States. I doubt whether even now the world realizes the full significance of the step which America has taken. I do not use the language of flattery or of exaggeration when I say that it is one of the most disinterested acts in history. An inveterate tradition of more than 100 years has made it a cardinal principle of American policy to keep clear of European entanglements. A war on such a scale as this must of necessity dislocate international commerce and finance, but on balance it was, I think, doing little appreciable harm to the material fortunes and prosperity of the American people. Nor were distinctively American interests, at home or abroad, and least of all what is the greatest of all interests in a democratic community—the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty—directly imperiled by the ambitions and designs of the Central Powers.

What, then, is it that has enabled the President, after waiting with the patience which Pitt once described as "the first virtue of statesmanship" for the right moment, to carry with him a united nation into the hazards and the horrors of the greatest war in history? It is not, as my right honorable friend [Bonar Law] has well said, a calculation of material gain; it is not in the hope of territorial aggrandizement, it is not even the pricking of one of those so-called points of honor which in days gone by have driven nations, as they used to drive individuals, into the dueling ground. No, it is none of these things. It is the constraining force of conscience and humanity growing in strength and in compulsive authority month by month with the gradual unfolding before the eyes of the world of the real character of German aims and German methods.

It is that force, and that force alone, which has brought home to the judgment of the great democracy over the seas the momentous truth that they were standing at the parting of the ways, and that they had to take one of those decisions which in the lives both of men and of communities determine for good or for evil their whole future. What was it that our kinsmen in America realized was at issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which they and we, if we are

to be worthy of what is noblest in our common history, are bound to indicate as the essential conditions of a free and honorable development of nations of the world—justice, humanity, respect for law, consideration for the weak and the unprotected, chivalry toward enemies, the observance of good faith—these, which we all used to regard as the commonplaces of international decency, have one after another been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were the effete superstitions of some bygone creed.

America has seen that there was here at issue something of wider import than the vicissitudes of battlefields or even the rearrangement of the map of Europe on the basis of nationality. The whole future of civilized government and intercourse, in particular the fortunes and the fate of democracy, are brought into peril.

In such a situation aloofness is seen to be not only a blunder, but a crime. To stand aside with stopped ears, with folded arms, with an averted gaze, when you have the power to intervene is to become not a mere spectator, but an accomplice. There was never in the minds of any of us any fear that the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable the voice of America would utter an uncertain note. She has now dedicated herself, without hesitation or reserve, heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of causes. To that cause, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our own fealty and devotion.

America and the League of Honor

The editor of The London Telegraph published this memorable "leader" two days after President Wilson's historic address of April 2, 1917

THE world is at a new birth. The old order of things is passing away. Less than three weeks ago Russia dealt her heaviest blow at the Central Powers by breaking the shackles that bound her. President Wilson's speech to Congress on Monday carried that revolution a stage further in its dynamic course. It was a proclamation of war by the United States against Germany; but it was much more than that. It constituted a reasoned indictment not of a people, but of a system of government which plunged Europe into war in the Summer of 1914, has now dragged the great American people into the maelstrom, and may yet involve even the remote Republic of China in actual belligerency, as well as, possibly, the other democracies of South and Latin America. "Our object," Mr. Wilson declared in one of his eloquent sentences full of deep significance, "is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish autocratic power, and to set up among really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles." That sentence constitutes a new Declaration of Rights; the Allies will gladly and proudly subscribe to it.

This struggle has been described as a war of nations. In a sense that may be true, for the German people have been hoodwinked and deceived; but deep down it is being revealed more and more as a conflict of principles on which civilization rests. The nations have time and again been drenched in blood by ambitious and vain, if not sometimes insane, despots. President Wilson has now uttered a decree, not against the Germans, for he was at pains to state that "we have not quarreled with the German people," but against the autocracy over them, with its narrow cliques of intriguers and desperadoes who willed this war, and in waging it have endeavored to drag the world into the morass of moral ruin in which they are being buried. Unless we mistake President Wilson's words, they mean that the United States will make war against the Emperor William II., but will conclude peace with the German people, unfet-

tered and vocal, whenever they decide to abandon the inhumanities and illegalities practiced by the present régime.

Several months ago Mr. Wilson urged the formation of a League of Peace; today, in taking up Germany's challenge of war, he stands forth as the prophet of a League of Honor—a confederation of democracies determined, at all cost, to achieve the salvation of the human race from serfdom. His speech is the sequel to the Russian Revolution, it forms the evangel of the transformation which must come in Central Europe before the universe can breathe freely again. There is no hope for the future but in a partnership of the democratic nations; "no autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants." The war has been placed on a new level by this statesmanlike pronouncement from Washington. A new era has dawned. Germany is proclaimed as an outlaw—that and nothing less—by the one great State which has hitherto remained neutral.

Canning once looked to the New World to redress the balance of the Old; his faith was not misplaced, though the footsteps of Time have seemed sometimes to lag. In our own islands we long since, in characteristic fashion, cast off the old shackles; we have gradually built up a Constitution unique in its attributes. The Crown remains, the fountain of national honor, the guardian of the people's liberties, the emblem of a worldwide rule which seeks not dominion but kinship. King George reigns not from an autocratic throne, but in the hearts of a people never more united in loyalty than in these days of storm and crisis. Our allies are one with us in facing the new day. With all sincerity, from the highest to the lowest, the words of President Wilson will be echoed on this side of the Atlantic; the Allies, moving forward in company with the American people, will constitute henceforth a League of Honor, pledged to free civilization from a menace which would otherwise have corroded the foundations on which we and the other democracies of the world have built in faith, courage, and endurance. The war is the same war, but it has gained a fresh significance by the declaration of the President of a Republic remote from the main theatres of conflict, and yet stretching its hands across the waste of waters in token of fealty to the cause of humanity.

In anticipating the action of the United States confronted by a conspiracy threatening its life, we prophesied that the Americans, when they took the decisive step, would be satisfied with no half measures. That anticipation finds its fulfillment in the historic scene enacted in Congress on Monday. Never did the ruler of a State speak with greater dignity. We have been proud of the sacrifices we have made, but this nation, and those associated with it, will be prouder today in the knowledge of this latest noble vindication of the purpose of the Allies. Occasionally some irritation has been exhibited at the hesitation shown at the White House; the scene in Congress was an overwhelming answer to criticism. The Germany which forged a new British Empire in the fiery furnace of her hatred, has created out of the United States one self-conscious, self-respecting nation. President Wilson has watched in magnificent patience the process of cohesion. He has his reward in the enthusiastic reception given to his speech. He needs no apologist as he confronts the world today, encompassed by a great people, drawn from all the nations of the world, and divided by racial and religious differences, but united on a supreme issue which has brought the successor of Washington, Monroe, and Lincoln into the arena of the world war.

What will the United States do when the Presidential policy has been formally approved? More than half a century ago, when Abraham Lincoln was faced by the stern call to action, he declared: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." In that spirit, we confidently apprehend, the Americans will take the decision that must bring them into conflict with a power which for forty years devoted itself to the preparation of force to enable it to impose its unbending and cruel will

on other nations. A hundred million people, virile, courageous, and determined, are entering the furnace to be tested by the great ordeal; they have only a small army, it is true; their navy may not be able to exercise much immediate influence on the course of events; but they have moral force, vast wealth, and splendid industrial resources. They are embarking on a new crusade in intimate, helpful association with the other great democracies in no grudging spirit. The very intensity of their love of peace will decide the extent of their participation in this universal uprising in defense of all that is fairest and brightest in civilization.

President Wilson is the chosen oracle of the people of the United States, and he has proclaimed that "To such a task we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes—everything we are, everything we have—with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth and the happiness and peace which she has treasured." A new page in American history is being turned, but the new chapter to be written in blood will be the fitting sequel to a volume in which the people of the United States take a worthy pride. America joins "the concert of free poeples" which has resolved to "make the world itself free." When Germany willed this war, she willed, unknowingly, the close of one era and the opening of a new and happier phase in human experience.

French Praise for America's Action

Paul Deschanel, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, greeted the entry of the United States into the war with this address:

WITH enthusiasm the French Chamber of Deputies salutes the decision of the President of the United States, which is the very voice of justice, and the energetic declaration of the Federal Senate, accepting the war imposed by Germany. In the "Persae," Aeschylus has said, "Let insolence germinate; that which springs up is the stalk of crime; a harvest of sorrows will be reaped." And we may say, "The stalk of crime bears justice; after the harvest of sorrows, behold the harvest of justice!"

The cry of children and of women, from the depths of the abyss into which they have been hurled by an abominable crime, has echoed to the ends of the earth. The ashes of Washington and Lincoln have stirred; their mighty souls inspire America.

Is it a question only of avenging Americans? Is it a question only of punishing the violation of the treaties to which the United States had put its signature? No; the eternal verities proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, the holy cause which Lafayette and Rochambeau defended, the ideal of the pure spirits from which the great Republic sprang—honor, morality, liberty—these are the supreme treasures which gleam in the folds of the Star-Spangled Banner!

Descendants of the New England Puritans, men fed on the precepts of the Gospel, men who, under the eye of God, will punish the fiendish deeds of the Spirit of Evil, lying, perjury, assassination, desecration, rape, enslavement, martyrdoms, and cataclysms of every kind; Catholics cut to the heart by anathemas against their religion, by outrages against their cathedrals, their statues, culminating in the destruction of Louvain, of Rheims; professors of universities, faithful guardians of the idea of justice; workers of the East and of the Central States, farmers and cattle raisers of the West, workmen and artisans threatened in their toil by the torpedoing of ships, by the stoppage of commerce, outraged by insults to the national flag, behold them all in turn aroused against the mad arrogance which seeks to enslave the world, the sea, the sky, the souls of men!

At the hour when, as in the heroic hours of the war of independence, Americans are getting ready to fight at our

side, let us once more repeat it: we do not seek to keep any one from living, from working, from toiling freely; but the tyranny of Prussia has become a peril for the New World as for the Old, for England, for Russia, for Italy, not less than for Austria, for Germany herself. To free the world, through the common effort of the democratic peoples, from the yoke of the military and feudal caste of Prussia, in order to establish peace on justice, is a work of human liberation and of universal salvation.

In accomplishing, under a Presidency henceforth immortal, the greatest act of her history since the abolition of slavery, the glorious nation whose whole history has been the development of the idea of liberty remains faithful to her origin and is creating for herself yet another title to the gratitude of the human race. The French Republic, across the ruins of her cities and her monuments devastated without motive and without excuse, by disgraceful savagery, sends to her elder sister, the American Republic, the palms of the Marne, of the Yser, of Verdun, and of the Somme, to which new victories will soon be added!

Antonin Dubost, President of the French Senate, expressed the sentiments of that body in these words:

The Senate receives with an intense patriotic and republican emotion the communication in which the Government announces that the United States is henceforth at war in solidarity with ourselves. Thus the initial crime of Germany unrolls one after the other all its fatal consequences. It is unchaining the greatest insurrection of free peoples the world has ever seen against the ultimate tyranny—the militarism of Prussia. It is associating them in succession in a magnificent democratic solidarity, and behold the sword of Washington, answering the sword of Lafayette, in its turn cast into the scales!

The great Republic had already assumed spontaneously a sublime mission to save Belgium from dying of starvation! At the solemn moment, when it yields to a more imperious summons, that of outraged honor, the French Senate addresses to it at once our gratitude and our fraternal greeting!

Honor to the new soldiers of Liberty who, knowing all the frightful power of Germany to work evil, yet resolutely face it! Honor to the new judge who tomorrow will take his place in the High Court of Justice of Humanity, and who will pronounce with us the collective and individual penalties earned by the Germanic coalition, its leaders, its accomplices!

President Wilson's manifesto called forth from Le Temps of Paris a noteworthy editorial article, which said in part:

President Wilson, from the first day, guided his policy as a man of law. His very impassibility, his refusal to judge, his fear of emotion, have sometimes surprised us. But that very attitude gives to his present decision the value of a verdict. Neither greed of territory nor national passion has carried the United States into the war but the systematically established certitude that Germany methodically violates the laws of war and peace and that only the defeat of Germany can assure the peace and dignity of the nations.

The Germans, against all truth, were capable of accusing us, contrary to the evidence of the facts, of desiring a war of "revanche." History showed, in truth, in the side of France a grievous wound, opened by old aggression. The Germans have been able, in spite of documents and certainties of the strongest kind, to impute to Russia, so deeply saturated with their influence, designs which were nonsensical. They have been capable of attributing to England, which was unprepared, which had provided only six divisions for her defense, the absurd plan of crushing their military power, which had been heaped up in a formidable structure during half a century. They have been able to do this, because the cross-fire of European interests aroused hereditary rivalries in which lies had free play. What will they be able to say of America?

M. Gauvain, in Le Journal des Débats, wrote:

The great Republic beyond the Atlantic, peopled by millions of German race and descendants of Germans, refuge of the persecuted of all lands, land of freedom, of science, and of liberty, has denounced the policy of Germany as the scourge of the human race. No newspaper or magazine article, no communiqué, no proclamation will avail against that.

All the Hindenburgs and Ludendorfs will not be able to change it. In measure as the men of Berlin unlock new efforts, imagine new atrocities, bring into operation new and more perfect instruments of destruction, the peoples of the world rise one by one against the New Barbarians. Does Wilhem II. really believe that he will be able to reduce to subjection these new foes? Does he imagine that his chemists and mechanicians will end by putting the world beneath his feet? He has against him something he did not believe in, something he treated as a phantom, and which is stronger than his 16-inch guns—the conscience of the human race. That conscience has taken time to find itself, to liberate itself, for it was enmeshed in a network of lies, of sophistries, and of treacheries. But behold it at last arise, free, resolute, active, on both hemispheres; it will lay low the powers that prey.

Gustave Hervé, in La Victoire:

Hurrah! for the great American Republic!

Hurrah! for the sublime fathers who went thither in the seventeenth century, fleeing tyranny, to found the first republican hearth which was lit in modern times!

Hurrah! for old Washington and his glorious rebels, who would not allow the noble tradition of revolt against oppression and injustice to perish!

Hurrah! for the great Abraham Lincoln, liberator of the slaves, who kept the American Republic in the high road of the ideal and of human brotherhood!

Hurrah! for President Wilson, the founder of the international police, which will, in the future, cure predatory Governments of the wish to begin again the exploits of the grand assassin of Berlin!

Hurrah! for the grand republican idea which, for a century now, has brought low all autocracies, all oppressions, all tyrannies!

Hurrah! for the future United States of the World!

German Opinion on America's Intervention

GERMAN opinion on America's entry into the war was a mixture of defiance and discomfort. On the one hand there was the attitude of those Germans who believed that they could fight the whole world; on the other that of the cooler heads who perceived that both morally and materially America's adhesion to the cause of the Allies was the most damaging thing that had happened to Germany since the war began. Naturally, President Wilson's war message was taken as a text and every line of it subjected to criticism.

Many newspapers attacked the distinction made by the President between the German people and the German Government. The North German Gazette, for example, said:

"President Wilson presumes to present himself as the messiah of true liberty to our people engaged in a severe struggle for their existence. What sort of slavish soul does he suppose that the German people have, to believe that they could permit any outside intervention whatever? The German people see in the President's words of peace only an attempt to loosen the firm bond which unites the people to the German Princes, so that we may become the easy prey of our enemies."

The Cologne Gazette, commenting upon the same passage in the President's message, said: "What President Wilson wanted was only a peace which would put us in the hands of our enemies. The German people indignantly protest

against this subtle distinction between them and their Government, for they stand united behind the Government and know that the declared enemy cannot do it more injury than the hidden adversary, whom the German people feel it a relief to be able at last to treat as an open enemy."

The Munich Nachrichten tried to estimate the situation in a more level-headed manner. "Although we can face our new adversary without too much anxiety," it said, "it would nevertheless be a mistake not to realize fully the worldwide effect of President Wilson's war message. By joining the league of our enemies the United States and perhaps also China complete the ring of powers sworn to our downfall. All round the earth there stretches the chain of countries which English policy has thrown against Germany and her allies. For us it is now really a matter of life or death."

The Frankfort Gazette bewailed the fact that German culture had had little influence in the United States. "It is still more sad," that journal added, "to have to tell ourselves that this war was necessary to cure us of our illusions on this point. The events of the European war have never been approached in the United States in a spirit of true neutrality."

The Berliner Tageblatt, after admitting that rarely had a political document produced such a "depressing" effect as the President's war message, went on to say: "This message is based partly on ignorance of the mistakes which Mr. Wilson has made by becoming responsible for supplying the Entente with war material, partly on accusations without truth. It was through submitting to the American spirit of gain that the President permitted the trade in munitions to continue. When now he speaks of right and humanity, his voice is full of discords and his words are calculated to create the impression that the war psychosis obliterates judgment. * * * We do not think that America's intervention will have an essential effect on the results of the war. The Entente is going to have a momentary advantage, but it will soon be aware that America is like a stick that breaks when one wants to lean on it."

Altogether different was the standpoint of Maximilian Harden, the outspoken editor of Die Zukunft. He boldly denied that America was actuated by any mercenary or material motive whatever, but that the issue everywhere was democracy against despotism. "Our fate depends," he said, "not on bits of territory which European States can no longer take away from one another and can no longer hold to their own permanent advantage, but upon the acquisition of higher spiritual values. Elevate the conscience of mankind and light up the German house also! Then what the enemy demands too loudly, but what we in secret feel to be a necessity, will come to pass. The will of the people will be free and Germany will know for what the dearest children of her bosom are dying and suffering!"

When the Reichstag resumed its session on May 2, the President, Dr. Johannes Kaempf, in his opening address, said that President Wilson had lost his senses in asserting that America was waging war against Germany in the interests of mankind and on the ground of justice. Continuing, Dr. Kaempf said:

"President Wilson represents the German people as without will of their own and as having been driven into the war by a group of ambitious people, but he tells nothing of the long years of encirclement and machinations against them; nothing of the enemies' recently strongly expressed will to destroy Germany.

"The German people rose Aug. 4, 1914, as one man and still fight today to defend their freedom, independence, and life. President Wilson says he has no quarrel with the German people, for whom he entertains only sympathy and friendship.

"President Wilson desired by his message to sow discord in Germany. As President of the German Reichstag, which is elected on the freest franchise in the world, I declare that this effort will come to naught; that it will have no influence on the common sense of our people and that President Wilson will bite granite.

"With our truest heart's blood we established the German Kaiserdom, and with our truest heart's blood we shall fight for the Kaiser and the empire. What our forefathers fought for and longed for, what we have achieved on the battlefield, will not perish, even at President Wilson's word of command.

"We decline all interference by a foreign Government in our internal affairs. If all signs are not misleading the decisive point of the world's war is approaching. We see our death-defying troops withstanding the enemy's assaults. Our U-boats will show England how Germans can avenge her nefarious starvation war. We proved recently our financial strength by a sixth war loan. We adhere to our firm belief in Germany's star and in a peace which will secure for all time the Fatherland's happy development."

The Frankfort Gazette, commenting on May 4 upon the British and French missions to the United States, pointed out that America's entry into the war had already had an effect that even her peace friends would never have dreamed of. It admitted that the effect which America had had on the Russian revolution and on the latest peace desires of the Entente Allies was to be lamented from the German standpoint. Summing up President Wilson's motives in joining the belligerents, the Frankfort Gazette enumerated them as these: First, America's desire to partake actively in the peace conference; second, America's wish to stifle forever the nationality feelings awakened by the war; third, the wish to realize her armament plans in order to be prepared later; fourth, the wish to build up an American merchant fleet.

Americans Who Have Fought for France

By Paul Louis Hervier

French Author and Journalist

M. Hervier, author of a history of "American Volunteers in the Ranks of the Allies," recently contributed to the Bulletin des Armées a brief article telling the French soldiers in the trenches what Americans had done to help them. Portions of it are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE Americans who offered their services to France after the outbreak of war in 1914 were recruited without solicitation in all classes of society: Millionaires, writers, lawyers, engineers, former soldiers and sailors, boxers, butchers, explorers, and especially university students. I have tried to bring together the data and documents regarding these ardent volunteers, and again and again I have been thrilled by simple anecdotes as by those deeds of ancient history which we love to repeat in all our manuals for the lessons they convey.

There is the case of Norman Prince, who, after a period in the Foreign Legion, became an aviator, achieved remarkable exploits, and was killed in action. Will his place remain empty? Not at all! His brother is coming.

Then there is Dr. David D. Wheeler, who left his fine practice in Buffalo to come and care for our wounded. The stories told him by the injured men made such an impression on him that he wished to share their dangers. He abandoned his surgical instruments and took up arms. He was wounded by a dumdum bullet, and, though exhausted by the loss of blood, dragged himself over the battlefield and used his waning strength in comforting other wounded men who lay without aid.

These anecdotes and many others will later be jewels in American history. At this moment they are the sacred heritage of all civilization fighting against aggressive barbarism.

The American volunteers, who wished, in August, 1914, to join their French brothers in defending the ideal represented by the word "liberty," almost all entered the Foreign Legion. One of

them, Paul Rockwell, grievously wounded in Champagne, sent to a New York editor this response, which is sweet to our hearts:

"In the Foreign Legion about 200 Americans are serving or have served. The bitterest regret of my life is that so few Americans have come to aid France. When we Americans were in need of aid, Lafayette and his followers were a hundred times more numerous than we are in this war, and they came from a total French population scarcely larger than that of two cities in America today. But we have one reason to feel a little pride. With the exception of, say, six or eight, all the men who came to pay our debt to France have proved to be good fighters. None came for money. Some came for the simple love of adventure, but I believe that the motive of most of them was an ideal."

A dangerous but attractive arm, that of aviation, especially appealed to the daring of these young Americans, anxious as they were to prove their courage and devotion. Men will long continue to speak of the services rendered to the French Army by the American Escadrille; they will long recount the exploits of Norman Prince, who died for France on Oct. 15, 1916; of Victor Chapman, who died for France in June, 1916; of Kiffin Rockwell, who died for France on Sept. 23, 1916; of Denis Dowd, the skilled pilot, who died in an airplane accident at the Buc airdrome in the beginning of August, 1916; of William Thaw, the Pittsburgh millionaire; of Elliott Christopher Cowdin, of Lufbery, of Bert Hall, of Paul Pavelka, James R. MacConnell, and all the rest.

The American Escadrille gets many new recruits. The American legionaries love danger and have the heart to continue the work begun by audacious predecessors shortly after the beginning of the war. Walter Appleton of New York, after a long stay in the Legion, is at the aviation school, as is Marius Rocle of New York, who was not yet 17 years old when he arrived in France in 1914. Decorated with the Croix de Guerre, wounded at Verdun, he will soon have his brevet as pilot. William Dugan of Rochester, decorated with the Croix de Guerre, wounded at Verdun, likewise is in the aviation school. As for Lincoln Chatkoff of Brooklyn, after twenty-two months in the ranks of the Legion, and after having obtained his brevet as pilot, he chose to return to the Legion.

A brief article such as this cannot give the names of all the brave men who have come to fight for us, but must be devoted rather to the significance of their generous and fruitful service. This is what has stirred and touched us. Young Americans who had careers awaiting them in their own country, who in many cases possessed fortunes that would have given them all the material joys of life, and in other cases felt within themselves the rare forces of talent or creative genius, have by their coming proclaimed the justice of our cause to all the world. It is not a matter, then, of giving here a list of these who have achieved the supreme heights of the moral task which they voluntarily took up; the eulogy deserved by each is swallowed up in one great common glory.

Nevertheless, let us glance at the golden book of American volunteers. We shall find there the names of Edward Mandell Stone, a graduate of Harvard, the first American volunteer killed; of Henry W. Farnsworth, killed in Champagne; of the poet, Alan Seeger, an idealist, dead for France; of John Earle Fike, a former American soldier, killed June 16, 1915; of Russell A. Kelly, killed the same way; of Nelson Larson, a former American sailor, killed on the anniversary day of American independence, 1916; of Frank Clair of Columbus, dead of wounds; of René Phelizot of Chicago, a daring hunter of big game, killed at Craouelle in February, 1915; of Harman Edwin Hall of Chicago, killed June 16, 1916, &c. We shall not forget their acts of devotion.

Here we find also the names of Frank Musgrave of San Antonio, lawyer, today a prisoner in Germany; of John Bowe of Minneapolis, wounded and cited in the Order of the Day; of Charles Sweeney, decorated with the Legion of Honor and promoted Lieutenant; of Edgar Bouligny of New Orleans, four times wounded;

of Brook B. Bonnell of Brooklyn, decorated with the War Cross and the Military Medal; of Andrew Walbron of Peterson, wounded three times; of his brother, Ernest Walbron, who had a leg carried away by a shell on the Somme; of George Delpeuche, decorated with the War Cross for having taken five prisoners alone and unaided; of Frederick Capdeville of New York, Charlie Christopher Charles of Brooklyn, Charles Trinkard, Jack Janz of Kentucky, David King of Providence, Jack Cordonnier, Frederick Mulhauser, (three citations;) Michael Steinfels of Chicago, Eugene Jacobs, Bob Scanlon, the negro boxer; Achille Clinger, Jack Moyet, and the rest.

This is only a short summary of the heroic chapter. A great number of Americans enlisted in the English Army, others in the Canadian Army, and still others came to France to serve in automobile ambulances. They have saved and cared for our wounded with ceaseless zeal, risking their lives, and often losing them. At the end of January, 1917, seventy citations in official orders had been merited and bestowed upon these brave men. A beautiful history!

On March 19 a number of aviators of the Lafayette Escadrille were protecting aerial observers who were watching the movements of the German Army. One of them was attacked by three enemy airplanes. He courageously accepted battle with them, but after prodigies of valor he was killed; his name was James Rogers MacConnell. The Paris Figaro, in announcing his glorious end, gave a sketch of his career. He was 30 years old, a native of Carthage, N. C., and had left a lucrative business position to join the French Army in the first days of the war.

In April, 1916, he had organized the American Escadrille with his brothers in heroism, Victor Chapman, Kiffin Rockwell, Norman Prince, and others, now active or fallen. He fought in Artois, in Alsace, at Verdun, and on the Somme. In moments of the most deadly peril he was always calm and cheerful. He was decorated with the War Cross and was twice cited in terms of highest praise in the military Order of the Day. Mr. MacConnell was an author, having recently published a book entitled "Flying in France," which ended with the words: "The war may kill me, but I have it to thank for much."

Value of Helmets in Saving Life

Discussing the value of the steel helmet in battle, a French medical writer in La Nature says that out of 55 cases of head injury it was found that 42 occurred in soldiers who wore no helmet. Among the 42 there were 23 fractured skulls. The remaining 19 cases suffered from severe scalp wounds. Among the 13 cases which wore helmets there was not a single fracture of the skull; 8 showed some concussion effects and 5 had slight wounds. A considerable number of the unprotected cases died; none of the protected died.

The most significant fact which has emerged since the helmet was introduced was emphasized by Dr. Roussy at the Academy of Medicine. He said that the percentage of cases showing wounds in the head had increased. The reason was, of course, that the number of sudden deaths from the cause had markedly decreased.

A French writer points out that of 479 abdominal wounds 332 were caused by shrapnel and pieces of shell having a low velocity. An abdominal protection would save these cases.

Again, among 15 penetrating wounds of the lung 2 only showed exit orifices for the bullet or piece of shell, i. e., in 13 cases out of 15 the projectile had not enough force behind it to drive it through the body tissues. A breastplate would have saved these wounds.

The mortality from these low-velocity shrapnel wounds is said to be about ten times greater than from bullet wounds which penetrate. The conclusions are arrived at in La Nature that as three-fourths of war wounds which are received for treatment are now due to shrapnel and pieces of shell at low velocity, and as these wounds are very fatal on account of the infection and blood poisoning following them, it will be worth while to consider the question of protection for all those parts.

Factors in the Russian Revolution

By A. J. Sack

[Mr. Sack is American staff correspondent for the official publications of the Russian Ministry of Finance; also American correspondent of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, the Retch, Petrograd; Birjewiya Viedomosti, Petrograd, and Russkiya Viedomosti, Moscow.]

THE great revolution in Russia is only the epilogue to the great drama played in Russia, one act after another, for the last twelve years. The first act of this drama was the revolution of 1905, which came at the conclusion of peace with Japan. As the result of the revolutionary movement which in October, 1905, culminated in a general political strike, when all industrial life and railroad transportation was stopped in Russia, came the famous Czar's manifesto of Oct. 17, (30.)

In this manifesto the Czar promised, in the most categorical form, that the people of Russia would enjoy the highest form of political freedom, that the suffrage law governing election to the Duma would be changed so that voting would become universal, that the legislative power of the empire would be vested from then on in the Imperial Duma, the Imperial Council and the Czar, and that without the consent of the Duma no new law could be introduced nor any existing law be changed.

On April 27 (May 10) the First Duma was convened. The entire country showed its opposition to the old régime by choosing as Deputies people most prominent in the liberal movement. The Socialists did not participate in the campaign for the First Duma, declaring a boycott because of their disapproval of the undemocratic suffrage laws. The majority in the First Duma was held by the Constitutional Democrats. This fact, in view of the undemocratic suffrage system and the refusal of the Socialists to participate in the election, shows that, although the First Duma was in strong opposition to the old régime, the country was even more radically opposed to the Czar's Government than the Duma.

The first act of the First Duma was a demand for general amnesty for all political offenders in Russia. The first Russian Parliament solemnly recognized the revolt against the old Government as a legitimate fight for the rights of the nation, pronouncing every participant a hero. The main political demand of the First Duma was the demand for the responsibility of the Ministers to the legislative bodies. "The executive power should be subordinate to the legislative power"; this was the conclusion of the famous speech made by Deputy V. D. Nabokoff, who gave perfect expression to the fundamental political desires of the first Russian Parliament.

First Duma's Reform Plans

In an address presented to the Czar the First Duma outlined a full program of reforms urgently needed for the country. The Parliament demanded full political freedom, responsibility of the Cabinet of Ministers to the legislative bodies, autonomy for Poland and Finland, democratization of the suffrage law governing election of members to the Imperial Duma, democratization of the local self-governing bodies, (municipalities and zemstvos,) radical changes in the social legislation referring to the workers, increased land holdings for the peasants, &c. If the program of the Furst Duma had been carried out Russia would have become a constitutional monarchy of the English type, with very progressive social legislation.

The First Duma was dismissed, although its demands were quite moderate in view of the spirit of the country. The Second Duma was called, and in this campaign the Socialist factions in Russia participated in full. As a result the country, angered by the opposition of the old régime, sent to Parliament about 120 Socialists. The Constitutional Democrats

came into the Second Duma again as a very strong faction, although this time they did not hold the majority.

The Second Duma, which gathered in the Fall of 1906, was the culminating point in the first Russian revolution. The revolutionary forces of the country seemed to be at their fullest strength at that time, and, nevertheless, certain symptoms of the coming reaction were already visible. The demands of the Socialists had been terrorizing the moderate liberal elements so that these finally gave their support to the Czar's Government, which began to fight the revolution openly.

In the beginning of the Summer of 1907 the Second Duma was dismissed; part of the Socialist Deputies were sentenced to Siberia, and the suffrage laws were changed by the Czar, so that Russian democracy was practically deprived of representation, although in the manifesto of Oct. 17 (30) it had been solemnly promised that no law would be changed or introduced in the empire without the consent of the legislative bodies represented by the Duma and Imperial Council.

Failure of the Movement

The principal revolutionary forces during the first uprising in Russia were the workers, who demanded political freedom, the right to organize, and progressive measures in social legislation; the peasants, whose chief demand was land and equality of rights with all other classes in Russia; the different nationalities, the Polish, Finnish, Jewish, and other elements, who demanded autonomy or equal rights; and the capitalistic class, the bourgeoisie, who had become an influential factor in Russia's economic life with the development of capitalism. None of these groups was satisfied with the results of the revolution. The country did not receive even elementary political rights, the workers did not receive the right to organize, the peasants received no land, Finland was deprived of her Constitution, Poland was as oppressed as before, the sufferings of the Jews daily became more and more unbearable.

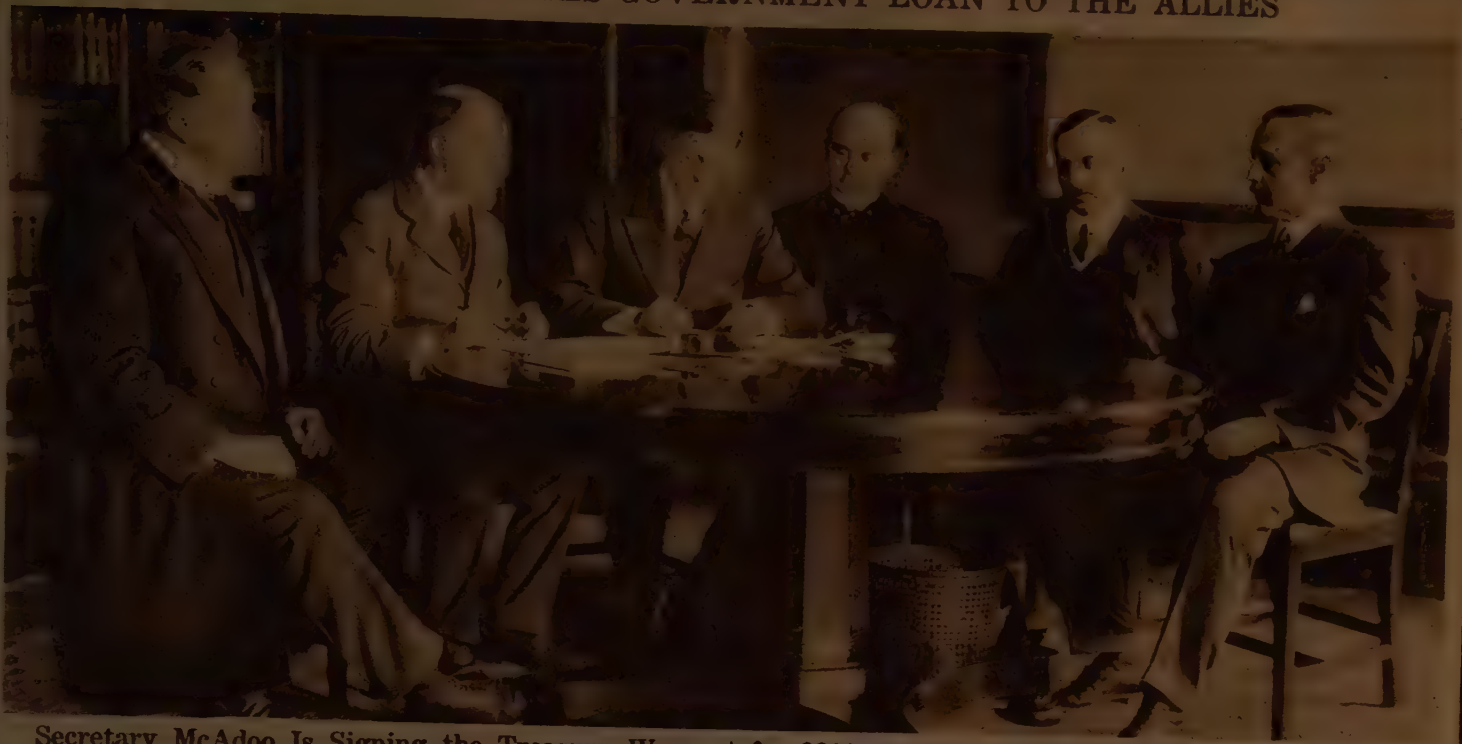
The first Russian revolution brought the country no gains, and the reaction which came at the beginning of 1907 was a reaction more of psychological than of sociological nature. The great country quieted down almost completely, not because the great tasks of the first revolution were accomplished, but because the country was exhausted from the battle with the old régime. The demands made by the First Duma, very much more moderate than the country it represented, showed that the entire nation was opposed to the Czar's Government. But the nobility was still with the Czar, and the Government had at its service the powerful machinery of the police and almost the entire army, officered mostly by Russian noblemen, blindly devoted to the throne.

The reaction, the darkest reaction in Russia's national history, began at the beginning of 1906. It is interesting to observe that the culminating point of this reaction was the Fall of 1907, when, in October, Professor S. A. Mouromtzeff, the President of the First Duma, the most respected citizen of Russia, the symbol of the longing for freedom in Russia, died, and in November, Leo Tolstoy, the greatest genius Russia has contributed to the world's culture. These deaths seemed to awaken the great country. The hundreds of thousands of people on the streets of Moscow at the funeral of Professor Mouromtzeff, the thousands of people and delegates coming from all parts of Russia on special trains to the little village where Tolstoy was to be buried, the public speeches made in these days, significant for Russia's culture—all these showed that the country was awakening from its deep sleep to new political and cultural activities.

The New Reform Movement

The Fall of 1910 may be marked as the beginning of the new movement against the Czar's Government. It had taken four years for the reaction to reach its lowest mark—from the beginning of 1906 to the end of 1910—and it took another four years for the country, awakened to political activities, to reach again the boiling point of revolution. In July,

FIRST UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT LOAN TO THE ALLIES



Secretary McAdoo Is Signing the Treasury Warrant for $200,000,000. Left to Right: Lord Cunliffe, Governor of Bank of England; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Secretary McAdoo, Sir Hardman Lever, British Financial Secretary of Treasury; Sir Richard Crawford of British Embassy, and Oscar T. Crosby, Assistant Secretary of United States Treasury

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

CELEBRATING AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

Premier Lloyd George and Ambassador Page (on the left) at the Banquet of the American Luncheon Club in London, Given to Celebrate the Declaration of War by the United States. The Premier's Address Was One of the Historic Utterances of the Occasion

(Photo from Central News Service)

1914, just before the war, 400,000 Petrograd workers went out on political strike and the streets of Petrograd were covered with barricades.

This time the united country again faced the Government as an enemy. The same elements that had participated in the first revolution faced the Czar's Government, ready to fight, only now they were more educated and the moderate elements among them more determined than during the first revolution. The cruel policy of the Government during the time of reaction and the illuminating speeches in the Duma, from day to day, explaining to the people the dramatic political situation in the country, bore great results. The moderate elements, who, terrified at the Socialists' demands during the first revolution, had given their support to the Government, now abandoned it. In July, 1914, the Government again faced a united front of all the progressive forces of the country, a powerful coalition led, as in 1905, by the fighting vanguard of the revolution, the Petrograd workers.

Policy of Russian Democracy

Then suddenly came the war, which was immediately recognized by all the revolutionary forces in Russia as the war of justice on the side of the Allies, as the war for freedom and civilization in Europe. The revolutionary elements decided temporarily to abandon the internal conflict and to concentrate all the attention of the democratic forces on carrying on the war till German militarism should be broken. This was an invaluable service rendered in this critical moment by Russian radical and Socialist leaders to their country and to all humanity. Such prominent leaders as the old Prince Kropotkin, as George Plechanov, the founder of Russian Social-Democracy, as Vladimir Bourtzeff, indorsed the war on the side of the Allies from the very beginning and helped the Allies' cause with their powerful influence on the democratic masses of Russia. For the same end was that famous Socialist appeal made to the country, the appeal signed by Plechanov, Deutsch, Alexinsky, and Arkseniew.

Russian democracy stopped the revolution in July, 1914, because of the war. Russian democracy again started the revolution and gloriously accomplished it, also for the sake of the war. The Czar's Government showed itself incapable not only of governing but also of defending the country. Inefficiency, grave and in many cases direct treachery, marked the activities of the Czar's Government, which was not very enthusiastic in the war for democracy and justice in Europe. When it became evident that under the old Government the defeat of Russia was inevitable, Russian democracy raised its hands and took into them the fate of the country.

Among the events occurring in Russia immediately after the revolution, one of the most important was the National Conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the leader of which, Professor Paul Milukoff, became Secretary of Foreign Affairs after the revolution. As I have said before, the Constitutional-Democratic Party held the majority in the First Duma, and had strong, influential factions in the Second, Third and Fourth Dumas.

This party, led by such prominent men as the late Professor S. A. Mouromtzeff, Professor Paul Milukoff, A. I. Shingareff, Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff, Prince D. Shakhovskoy, M. M. Vinaver, and others, rendered invaluable service to the cause of Russian liberty. It would surprise no one in Russia if, out of the about 600 proposed seats in the future Constituent Assembly, the Constitutional Democratic Party hold from 300 to 350.

About 1,500 delegates from all parts of Russia came to the National Conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. Prince Paul Dolgoroukoff, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the party, opened the conference, presided over by M. M. Vinaver, the newly appointed Jewish Senator.

Two Important Reports

There were two important events at this conference. The first was the report by Professor F. F. Kokoshkin, member of the First Duma and one of the greatest authorities on constitutional law, who insisted that the party abandon the principle of constitutional monarchy and

proclaim for a republican form of government. Professor Kokoshkin declared himself in favor of Presidential election by direct vote and responsibility of the Cabinet to the Parliament, as in France.

Professor Kokoshkin's report was eagerly supported by Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, one of Russia's leading men, former Professor of the University of Moscow and member of the Imperial Council, who, as a big landowner thoroughly acquainted with conditions in the Russian villages, reflected the spirit of the Russian peasantry toward the revolution. Prince Troubetzkoy reported that under the terrible experiences of the war the peasants had, during the last two and a half years, lost entirely their former almost religious belief in the Czar. According to Prince Troubetzkoy's report, "the Czar is now for the peasants only a symbol of police, graft, and all kinds of vice." The convention accepted unanimously the recommendations of Professor Kokoshkin and Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, proclaiming for a republican form of government.

It may be expected that, aside from the Constitutional-Democrats, with their 300 or 350 seats in the Constituent Assembly, 150 to 200 seats will belong to different Socialist factions. The decision of the Constitutional-Democratic Party practically decides the question of the form of the future Government of Russia. If not unanimously, then by an overwhelming majority the Constituent Assembly will proclaim a republican Government for Russia.

The other significant moment in this National Conference occurred when Professor Paul Milukoff, the leader of the party and Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made his speech. Probably, for the first time in his political career, Professor Milukoff paid tribute to his political adversaries, the Russian Socialists. In a speech enthusiastically greeted by the entire conference, Professor Milukoff pointed out the invaluable service rendered the country by the Socialists during these critical days. The Socialists were the fighting power of the revolution; they bravely faced the police and the troops, and paid with their blood for Russian freedom. In addition, it was Socialist organization that kept order in Russia after the revolution and saved the country from the worst kind of anarchy. In the same spirit as Professor Milukoff's speech was the speech of Mr. Nekrasov, a prominent leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party and the new Secretary of Means of Transportation.

Result of a Coalition

The revolution in Russia was accomplished by a coalition of liberal and Socialist forces. And this coalition will build the new Russia. To understand Russian political life at the present time means to understand the real nature of liberalism and socialism in Russia. Russian liberalism, as represented by the Constitutional-Democratic Party, is quite well known in this country. As for Russian socialism, until now it has been terra incognita for the American public.

First of all, socialism is one of the most powerful factors in Russian political life. In the United States the labor movement and socialism are two distinct forces, whereas in Russia these two forces are united in one. In the United States the Federation of Labor, representing over 2,000,000 workers, has no relation to the socialist movement of the country, whereas in Russia every organized worker is a Socialist and all the labor unions are socialistic.

The Socialist Party of the United States has only one representative in Congress, whereas Russian socialist factions had 120 representatives in the Second Duma and about thirty in the Third and Fourth Dumas, chosen during the time of darkest reaction under the most undemocratic suffrage system.

Hence, we have the difference in the nature of the Russian and American socialism. Socialism in the United States is a small movement, without any real influence on the political life, and therefore I would venture to say without any sense of responsibility for its actions. If it were an influential factor it would probably not have accepted resolutions of the kind passed by the last conference of the American Socialist Party at St. Louis.

Russian socialism is more like Belgian and French socialism. As Belgian and

French Socialists from the very beginning indorsed the war on the side of the Allies, so did the Russian Socialists. As the Belgian and French Socialists, who, understanding their responsibility toward their countries and humanity, delegated Vandervelde, Guede, Semba, and Toma as their representatives in the Cabinets, so did the Russian Socialists, sending as their representative the new Secretary of Justice, Deputy Kerensky.

Authority of Present Cabinet

Several facts in connection with the recent revolution really illumine the present political situation in Russia. The first fact is that the present Russian Cabinet was appointed at a joint session of the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Council of Workingmen and Soldiers. It was at the moment when all Petrograd was in the hands of the revolutionists, and there is no doubt that at that moment the Executive Committee of the Council of Workingmen and Soldiers had sufficient power to take all the political machinery in its own hands. At this critical moment the Russian Socialists showed real statesmanship. They agreed to a Coalition Cabinet and to the appointment of A. I. Gouchkoff as Secretary of War and Navy. This appointment was very significant. Mr. Gouchkoff until the revolution was a very conservative man, very unpopular in Russia for his political views, but everybody in Russia respected his sincere patriotism and his organizing ability.*

Russian Socialists consenting to the appointment of Mr. Gouchkoff indorsed thereby, once more, the war against Germany, and the necessity of strong discipline on the fighting lines. Consenting further to the appointment of Professor Paul Milukoff as Foreign Secretary, Russian Socialists consented to the principle that no separate peace is possible for Russia, that the only peace she will conclude will be a general peace in full accordance with her allies.

The latest events in Petrograd do not contradict this statement. We may disagree with this movement entirely, or we may see certain weak points in it, but it is only fair to recognize that this is a movement not for a separate but for a general peace. One of the leaders of this movement is Prince Tzeretelli, the former leader of the Social-Democratic faction in the Second Duma. Prince Tzeretelli is one of the most noble figures in Russian life. A brilliant speaker, always enthusiastic, always idealistic, he is respected in Russia by all factions.

Career of Tzeretelli

When the Second Duma was dismissed and it became known that the Socialist Deputies would be arrested and tried, some of the influential friends of Prince Tzeretelli prepared everything for his escape abroad, but Tzeretelli flatly refused to go. "I am a representative of the people," he answered his friend in a quiet but determined tone. "I work for the people and do not see why I should escape if the police want me." He was arrested, tried, and sentenced to hard labor. He was sent to Siberia, and then from time to time news came to Petrograd that he was dying of tuberculosis in his prison cell. In spite of many petitions the Czar's Government refused to do anything to ease Tzeretelli's fate, and nobody in Russia expected to see him again leading the democratic masses.

Being liberated after the revolution, Tzeretelli went directly to Petrograd. Knowing from dispatches that the Council of Workingmen and Soldiers in Petrograd was engaged at a special meeting preparing a resolution which would show the council's position toward the Provisional Government and the war, Tzeretelli sent a telegram to the meeting introducing his own resolution. The resolution insisted on support for the Provisional Government and the war until German militarism be entirely broken, and it was enthusiastically accepted by the council.

Tzeretelli's name is almost holy for the Petrograd workers and for the Russian workers in general. He is, together with his friends, Chkheidze and Skobeleff, practically the ruling spirit of the movement in Petrograd. Neither Tzeretelli nor Chkheidze or Skobeleff is for a

*Mr. Gouchkoff, Secretary of War, resigned from the Cabinet on May 14, 1917.

separate peace. According to their views the allied democracy must fight until not a single German soldier is left in Belgium, in the northern provinces of France, in Serbia, or in Russian Poland. Peace is impossible for them without the full restoration of all parts of the Allies' territories occupied by the Central Powers.

The future peace for Russian Socialists is a general peace that will bring peace for all Europe and bring it forever. Their peace program is quite misunderstood in this country, although probably it possesses all the qualities which should make it meet with approval here. The allied countries need not fear. The Russian democracy is not thinking of and would never consider a separate peace. As for a general peace, Russian democracy desires the kind of peace outlined by the President of the United States in his famous address to Congress.

The Critical Situation in Russia

Conflict Between Radicals and the Provisional Government Regarding the Nation's War Policy

EVENTS in Russia in the month ended May 15 followed each other with such startling swiftness, and the reports were so conflicting, that it was difficult to arrive at the truth. The one fact clear at this writing (May 15) is the existence of a wide breach between the Provisional Government set up by the revolution and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This breach seriously menaces stable government, seeming to portend either civil war, with consequent chaos, or the disintegration of the country into fragmentary republics, an easy prey to Germany.

The first intimation given the outside world of the conflict between the Provisional Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was the vigorous protest of the latter against a joint note sent to the Allies by the Provisional Government on May 1, wherein the word of Russia was pledged against a separate peace and for a renewal of cordial co-operation with the Entente Allies. The note was signed by Foreign Secretary Milukoff and instructed the various diplomatic representatives to the allied countries to transmit the following communication:

The Provisional Government of Russia published on April 27 a manifesto to Russian citizens wherein it explained the views of the Government of Russia as regards the objects to be attained in the war. The Minister of Foreign Affairs instructs me to communicate to you the contents of the document referred to and to add the following considerations:

Our enemies have striven lately to sow discord among our allies by propagating absurd reports regarding the alleged intention of Russia to conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers. The text of the document annexed will form the best refutation of such intentions. The general principles therein enunciated by the Provisional Government are in entire agreement with the ideas which have been expressed repeatedly up to quite recently by eminent statesmen of the allied countries.

These principles were expressed lucidly also in the words of the President of our ally, the great overseas Republic. The Russian Government under the old régime certainly was not prepared to appreciate and share these ideas as to the liberating character of the war, the establishment of a stable basis for pacific co-operation of nations, the freedom of oppressed peoples, &c., but emancipated Russia can now use language which will be understood by modern democracies and hasten to add her voice to that of her allies.

The declaration of the Provisional Government, being imbued with the new spirit of free democracy, naturally cannot afford the least pretext for assumption that the demolition of the old structure has entailed any slackening on the part of Russia in the common struggle of all the Allies. On the contrary, the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory has been accentuated, owing to the sense of responsibility which is shared by all in general and each one of us in particular.

This spirit has become still more active by the fact that it is concentrated on the immediate task, which touches everybody so closely, of driving back the enemy who invaded

our territory. It is understood, and the annexed document so expressly states, that the Provisional Government in safeguarding the right acquired for our country will maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the allies of Russia.

Firmly convinced of the victorious issue of the present war, and in perfect agreement with our allies, the Provisional Government is likewise confident that the problems which were created by this war will be solved by the creation on a firm basis of a lasting peace, and that, inspired by identical sentiments, the allied democracies will find means of establishing the guarantees and penalties necessary to prevent any recourse to sanguinary war in the future.

This note was sent in response to a demand of the council that the Government express itself. It followed a series of turbulent outbreaks in Petrograd in consequence of the agitation of Radical Socialists under the leadership of one Nikolai Lenine. In fact, Lenine was suspected of anarchistic tendencies and was assailed as in the pay of Germany. His inflammatory speeches against the Provisional Government and the Allies precipitated one riot in Petrograd, but he was finally suppressed and quiet was restored. The slumbering unrest of the extremists, however, soon was again manifest, and at length forced the Government to express itself in this letter of May 1, which subsequent events have brought into prominence.

The document aroused strong disapproval among members of the council, and serious anti-Government demonstrations occurred in Petrograd on May 3 and 4. The Executive Committee of the council had discussed the note throughout May 2 and 3, holding all-night sessions. It adjourned at daybreak of May 4 without reaching a decision, but every speaker at the meeting emphasized the contention that the power in Russia rested in the hands of the representatives of the workmen and soldiers, and that they were determined to enforce their views upon the temporary Government or immediately dispossess it and construct a Government of their own liking.

Most of the leaders advocated a compromise by the removal of Milukoff, permitting the rest of the Government to remain in power. M. Tcheidse, President of the body, after reading the Government note, declared that he found it quite nullified the effect of the previous declaration of April 9, and added:

The form of this note and its vague allusions to a victorious end of the war are so ambiguous that one can deduce anything he wants to from it, even the ideas of the old Government. Steps must be immediately taken to clarify this so that the country will know that the Government does not intend to agree to annexations, expropriations, and contributions. After this explanation is published and the Allies are informed of its contents the proletariat classes of the allied countries must take similar steps to make their Governments repudiate such intentions.

M. Stankevich, Social Democrat, who followed M. Tcheidse, said:

This note has struck a serious blow to our unity with the Government. The Government today feels the discord which exists and which is so evident in the street demonstrations.

Fear of Allies Expressed

The speaker then hinted that the Entente Allies might not approve of the stand taken by the Russian proletariat, and declared in this connection:

It is necessary to mobilize all the forces of the democracy, because we may be menaced from the outside. We will not allow any one to attack us. If the Government continues to follow their line of conduct we will go further—we can arrest the Government. It must fulfill our program, for we have the power, and we can telephone tonight expressing our distrust of the Government, and it will be compelled to resign.

If the action of the Government was dictated by wrong intentions we will immediately vote our distrust, and the present Cabinet will be replaced by one of our own choosing. I tell this to you to show you the power that is in our hands.

But we must be careful. The finances of the country are in bad condition, the supply question is critical, and we must seriously consider before adopting extreme measures. Only after mature deliberation can we decide that the temporary Government must be removed. Then we can take the power in our hands and bear all the responsibility. On account of the complicated nature of the problems confronting the country we must take the mildest means.

M. Chernoff, who spoke next, said:

The present situation is more serious than when the trouble occurred between the old régime and the revolutionists. In the first days of the revolution it was a fight between two hostile camps; now it is a fight between conquerors. The situation can have dangerous results, and the principal thing we need at the present is quiet and order. But we must cast away the imperialistic influence from

our foreign policy as well as from our internal life. Our program must have brought knowledge to all Governments, and we must request from our allies that they reconsider their aims in the war.

M. Bonin, another speaker, recommended a Coalition Ministry. He reiterated the same warning against extreme measures as had the previous speakers.

Anarchist Members for Action

The opinions ranged through every shade of political belief. The speakers included anarchist members who flatly proposed the overthrowing of the present Government immediately. One of the anarchists said:

> The temporary Government has thrown off its mask, and we see that it is not much better than the old. We are naïve and simple. M. Milukoff is a sly person and can find any way to deceive us. Down with him! Throw off the temporary Government!

Another speaker declared that the note of May 1 showed a policy of world imperialism. He added that it was a mistake to send recruits to fill the gaps in the ranks at the front, because these men were needed in Petrograd. The speaker proposed the formation of a coalition committee to exert the same influence on foreign policy that the present council wields over home politics.

M. Voytinsky, the last speaker, said:

> Every soldier must know he is not fighting for the ideas of Milukoff, or for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but for the new freedom.

Late in the day the committee sat in special session with the council of the Provisional Government for a discussion of the Government's motives in issuing the note. The upshot of it was that the Executive Committee decided that it would be inexpedient to demand the resignation of the Government at the moment, and it persuaded the soldiers engaged in the demonstrations to return to their barracks. It was reported that the Executive Committee's decision was by a vote of 34 to 19.

Hostility to Milukoff

On May 4 the demonstrations were distinctly against Foreign Minister Milukoff. Many soldiers participated in them, but there were also countermanifestations in behalf of the Government. Detachments of soldiers and workmen gathered in front of the headquarters of the Provisional Government, carrying red flags and banners, with inscriptions "Down With Milukoff!" "Down With Guchkoff, Minister of War!" and "Down With the Provisional Government!"

When Milukoff saw the banners he came out on the balcony of the palace, with M. Shingaroff and M. Neckrasoff, and soon had turned the hostility of the crowd into enthusiastic support. He began by saying that he was fearful not for Milukoff but for Russia. If the inscriptions interpreted the feelings of a majority of the citizens, he asked, what must be the condition of Russia? The Entente Allies would say Russia had betrayed her allies, and had struck her name from the list of the allied powers.

"The Provisional Government cannot accept that view of things," continued M. Milukoff. "I declare to you that the Provisional Government and myself, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, will defend a position in which no one will dare to charge Russia with treason. Never shall Russia consent to a separate peace! The Provisional Government is a sailing vessel which can only move with the help of the wind. We look, then, for your trust, which is the wind that is to make our ship go forward. I hope you will supply us with that breeze, and that your confidence will aid us in propelling Russia toward liberty and prosperity and in upholding the dignity of our great, free country."

The words of the Foreign Minister evoked hearty cheering.

A Precarious Truce

A truce was patched up on May 4 when the council gave a vote of confidence in the Government by a narrow margin of 35 in a total of 2,500. In announcing its action the council declared that it had received from the Government the following explanation of the meaning of the note to the Allies:

> The note was subjected to long and detailed examination by the Provisional Government, and was unanimously approved. It was obvious that this note, in speaking of a de-

cisive victory, had in view a solution of the problems which were mentioned in the communication of April 9 and which was thus specified:

"The Government deems it to be its right and duty to declare now that free Russia does not aim at the domination of other nations or at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territores, but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny.

"The Russian Nation does not lust after the strengthening of its power abroad at the expense of other nations. Its aim is not to subjugate or humiliate any one. In the name of the higher principles of equity, the Russian people have broken the chains which fettered the Polish Nation, but it will not suffer that its own country shall emerge from the great struggle humiliated or weakened in its vital forces."

In referring to the "penalties and guarantees" essential to a durable peace the Provisional Government had in view the reduction of armaments, the establishment of international tribunals, &c.

This explanation will be communicated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassadors of the allied powers.

Would Not Modify Note

The Provisional Government, through Premier Lvoff, declined to modify the note sent to the Allies, stating that the Ministers were prepared to resign their posts if necessary. The Premier said:

It is impossible to send another note. The temporary Government will comply with its duty, and leave its post rather than take such a step, which would menace the country with very serious consequences. The Government understands fully the responsibility it has assumed in behalf of the country, and in the view of that responsibility is ready to resign if it becomes necessary.

M. Milukoff, confirming the stand taken by Premier Lvoff, said:

The note expressed the view of the temporary Government. It has no other aim. The recent note repeats and develops the idea expressed in the first note, which was worked out in conjunction with the Council of Deputies. If we compare the notes it is clear that the information they contain constitutes a step forward. The events of yesterday will make the Allies very sad while pleasing our enemies.

The Government's Statement

The lack of harmony between the Govenrment and the council continued, however, notwithstanding the settlement of the May 1 note matter. On May 8 the Government issued an announcement as follows:

The attempts by separate groups of the population to realize their desires by expropriations or launching declarations when made by the less organized classes threaten to ruin interior discipline and unity and create favorable ground, on the one hand, for acts of violence against the new régime, and, on the other hand, for the development of private interests to the detriment of the general welfare.

The temporary Government considers it its duty to declare frankly and definitely that such conditions render the administration of the country extremely difficult and menace it with interior ruin and defeat at the front.

The frightful spectre of civil war and anarchy hovers over Russia, threatening its freedom. There is a dark, sad path leading through civil war and anarchy to the return of despotism. This must not be the path of the Russian people.

Then follows an appeal for unity in support of the Government created by the revolution, and the declaration continues:

The temporary Government will renew with stronger persistence its efforts to attract into the staff of representatives those active protective forces of the country which up to the present have not taken any part in the government of the country.

Simultaneously with the declaration appears a note addressed by M. Kerensky to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in which he says:

I consider the condition of affairs now greatly changed. The situation is much more serious on the one hand, and on the other the power of the organized labor democracy has grown. That power no longer has a right to remain aloof from the participation in responsibility for government when their participation will bring strength to the power born of the revolution. Under these conditions the representatives of the labor democracy must take the burden of power, but only after being formally elected and vested with power by the organizations to which they belong.

The suggestion of a Coalition Government was not accepted by the council. May 10 a celebration of the First Duma occurred, when an extraordinary session of the sitting Duma was held, also attended by ex-members besides the members of the Government.

Addressed by Rodzianko

President Rodzianko on this occasion, in the course of an address, said:

The war which was forced upon us, which

we did not desire, and for which we are in no way responsible, must be brought to a successful termination, in such a manner that the integrity of the country and the national honor of Russia shall be entirely maintained. The innumerable sacrifices we have laid upon the altar of this war demand that the peace should correspond with the immensity of our efforts and that the aim for which we are struggling, the triumph of the ideals of justice and liberty, be assured us.

The Germans oppose to these splendid ideals their own program, which is totally different—the hegemony of the world and the enslavement of the nations. The struggle for principles so mutually contradictory cannot terminate in a draw, but only by a decisive victory by one or the other of the adversaries. Only the complete defeat of German militarism will assure the happiness of the world.

The gulf separating the Germans—the devastators and destroyers of civilization—from the Allies is too deep for the war to be concluded without the realization of the ideals I have mentioned. Peace in the present conditions would only be an armistice of greater or less duration. Do not forget that the working classes of Germany, however socialistic they be, ardently desire victory, for Germany cannot reduce her vast industry, and her defeat by the Allies would be like the blow of a club for the workers of Germany, who naturally support the imperialistic aspirations of their Government.

That is why I declare emphatically that the Russian people must make every sacrifice to bring this war, in concert with their allies, to a complete victory, all the more because such a victory would consolidate forever the liberties we have just won.

Russia cannot betray the allies by whose side she has been fighting for three years, and she will remain faithful to them.

Guchkoff Exposes Conditions

M. Guchkoff, whose speech was received with loud and prolonged applause from all parts of the house, said:

Unfortunately the first feeling of radiant joy evoked by the revolution soon gave place to one of pain and anxiety. The Provisional Government explained the cause of this in its recent declaration, in which it was pointed out that the destruction of the old forms of public life, to which an end had been put by the revolution, had been effected more rapidly than had the creation of new forms to replace them.

It is especially regrettable that the destruction has touched the political and social organization of the country before any life centre has had time to establish itself and to carry out the great creative work of regeneration.

How will the State emerge from this crisis? That is the question for solution and on which will depend not only the consolidation of the liberties won, but the issue of the war and the destinies of the country. In any case the duality of power—and even polyarchy—and the consequent anarchy now prevailing in the country make its normal existence difficult.

Our poor country is fighting at an extraordinary hard conjuncture of an unparalleled war and internal troubles such as we never have seen before, and only a strong Governmental power able to rely on the confidence of the nation can save it.

We received a terrible legacy from the old régime, which was incapable of governing in time of peace and still less was able to do so while waging war.

We all know the conditions in which our valiant army defended every foot of Russian territory and how it still is carrying on a truly heroic but not hopeless struggle. One more effort and an effort by the whole country and the enemy will be beaten, but we have got to know first of all whether we can make this effort.

The coup d'état found echoes in the army and navy which, believing in their creative strength, unanimously adhered to the new régime and set to work on a radical reform of the armed forces of the country.

For the moment we hoped our military powers would emerge from the salutary process regenerated and renewed in strength and that a new reasonable discipline would weld the army together, but that has not been the case, and we must frankly face the fact that our military might is weakened and disintegrated, being affected by the same disease as the country, namely, duality of power, polyarchy, and anarchy, only the malady is more acute.

It is not too late to cure it, but not a moment must be lost. Those who, either deliberately or not realizing what they were doing, have cast into our midst the subversive mot d'ordre "peace at the front and war in the country," those people, I say, are carrying on a propaganda of peace at any price and civil war, cost what it may.

That mot d'ordre must be smothered by another, that being "war at the front and peace within the country."

Gentlemen, some time ago the country realized that our mother land was in danger. Since then we have gone a step further, for our mother land is on the edge of an abyss.

Two Strong Men Resign

The Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided on May 9 to issue an appeal to the peoples of the world in behalf of the calling of a peace conference in a neutral country, to consist of an assemblage of the Socialist Internationale.

Events now moved rapidly. General Korniloff, commander of the Petrograd garrison, resigned on May 13 on account

of the interference by the council with his orders, and in consequence of their demand that all his orders should be subject to their indorsement. This resignation was followed on May 13 by that of Guchkoff, the Minister of War, who sent the following letter to the Premier:

In view of the condition in which the power of the Government has been placed, especially the authority of the Minister of War, in relation to the army and the navy, a condition which I am powerless to alter and which threatens to have consequences fatal to the defense, the liberty, and even the existence of Russia, I can no longer exercise the functions of Minister of War and Marine and share responsibility for the grave sin being committed against the country.

The same day the council issued an appeal to the army, in which it stated that German imperialism was seeking to destroy revolutionary Russia and enslave the Russian people. It appealed to the soldiers to defend Russia with all their power, and asserted that a separate peace was impossible. The appeal said the only solution of the war must be a general peace among all nations by agreement. It said the council was aiming at peace by calling for a revolution among the workmen of the Central Powers, but that peace could not be achieved unless the enemy at the front was checked. The manifesto begged the soldiers not to renounce their offensive and warned against fraternizing with the enemy.

Kerensky's Solemn Warning

The situation was hourly growing more critical. On the 14th the Minister of Justice, Kerensky, who heretofore was regarded as the lukewarm member of the Government and at heart a Socialist leader, expressed himself as follows to a deputation of delegates from the front:

I came to you because my strength is at an end. I no longer feel my former courage, nor have my former conviction that we are conscientious citizens, not slaves in revolt. I am sorry I did not die two months ago, when the dream of a new life was growing in the hearts of the Russian people, when I was sure the country could govern itself without the whip.

As affairs are going now, it will be impossible to save the country. Perhaps the time is near when we will have to tell you that we can no longer give you the amount of bread you expect or other supplies on which you have a right to count. The process of the change from slavery to freedom is not going on properly. We have tasted freedom and are slightly intoxicated. What we need is sobriety and discipline.

You could suffer and be silent for ten years, and obey the orders of a hated Government. You could even fire upon your own people when commanded to do so. Can you now suffer no longer?

We hear it said that we no longer need the front because they are fraternizing there. But are they fraternizing on all the fronts? Are they fraternizing on the French front? No, comrades, if you are going to fraternize, then fraternize everywhere. Are not enemy forces being thrown over on to the Anglo-French front, and is not the Anglo-French advance already stopped? There is no such thing as a "Russian front," there is only one general allied front.

Tremendous applause greeted this, and Kerensky continued:

We are marching toward peace and I should not be in the ranks of the Provisional Government if the ending of the war were not the aim of the whole Provisional Government; but if we are going to propose new war aims we must see we are respected by friend as well as by foe. If the tragedy and desperateness of the situation are not realized by all in our State, if our organization does not work like a machine, then all our dreams of liberty, all our ideals, will be thrown back for decades and maybe will be drowned in blood.

Beware! The time has now come when every one in the depth of his conscience must reflect where he is going and where he is leading others who were held in ignorance by the old régime and still regard every printed word as law. The fate of the country is in your hands, and it is in most extreme danger. History must be able to say of us, "They died, but they were never slaves."

Milukoff Answers Questions

To the same delegation Minister Milukoff answered various questions put to him as follows:

Q.—How do the Allies regard our renunciation of annexation and contribution and the right of all nationalities to determine their own fate?

A.—The latter demand has been acceded to by the Allies, while the question of annexation is so bound up with the question of the right of nations to determine their own fate that nothing definite can be said on this subject. As regards contribution, the Allies hold that the nation which suffered must be rehabilitated by the power which ruined it. Uniting all three Polands in one whole is not annexation, nor is the return of

Alsace-Lorraine to France. As regards the Dardanelles, we have relinquished all claims to conquest, and the fate of Constantinople depends upon the views of the Allies.

Q.—What do the Allies think of the Russian revolution?

A.—At first they were glad, but now they are concerned about the fall of discipline in the army and are beginning to fear the desire for immediate peace may gain the upper hand. I declare that not a single Russian party entertains the idea of a separate peace.

Q.—Is it true Japan is preparing to bring an army into Russia?

A.—No, because Japan's interests lie further to the east than in the region of Baikal.

Q.—What advantage does America bring the Allies?

A.—Russia receives a loan on the very favorable terms of 3 per cent. and also technical aid. America has offered to put the Siberian Railway in order, and is supplying Russia with vast quantities of ammunition.

American Workers' Appeal

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, on May 7 sent the following appeal by cable to the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd:

Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, Petrograd, Russia:

The gravest crisis in the world's history is now hanging in the balance and the course which Russia will pursue may have a determining influence whether democracy or autocracy shall prevail. That democracy and freedom will finally prevail there can be no doubt in the minds of men who know, but the cost, the time lost, and the sacrifices which would ensue from lack of united action may be appalling. It is to avoid this that I address you.

In view of the grave crisis through which the Russian people are passing, we assure you that you can rely absolutely upon the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the American people in the great war against our common enemy, Kaiserism. In the fulfillment of that cause the present American Government has the support of 90 per cent. of the American people, including the working classes of both the cities and the agricultural sections.

In free America, as in free Russia, the agitators for a peace favorable to Prussian militarism have been allowed to express their opinions, so that the conscious and unconscious tools of the Kaiser appear more influential than they really are. You should realize the truth of the situation. There are but few in America willing to allow Kaiserism and its allies to continue their rule over those non-German peoples who wish to be free from their domination. Should we not protest against the pro-Kaiser Socialist interpretation of the demand for no annexation, namely, that all oppressed non-German peoples shall be compelled to remain under the domination of Prussia and her lackeys, Austria and Turkey? Should we not rather accept the better interpretation that there must be no forcible annexations, but that every people must be free to choose any allegiance it desires, as demanded by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates?

Like yourselves, we are opposed to all punitive and improper indemnities. We denounce the onerous punitive indemnities already imposed by the Kaiser upon the people of Serbia, Belgium, and Poland.

America's workers share the view of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates that the only way in which the German people can bring the war to an early end is by imitating the glorious example of the Russian people, compelling the abdication of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs and driving the tyrannous nobility, bureaucracy, and the military caste from power.

Let the German Socialists attend to this, and cease their false pretenses and underground plotting to bring about an abortive peace in the interest of Kaiserism and the ruling class. Let them cease calling pretended "international" conferences at the instigation or connivance of the Kaiser. Let them cease their intrigues to cajole the Russian and American working people to interpret your demand, "no annexation, no indemnities," in a way to leave undiminished the prestige and the power of the German military caste.

Now that Russian autocracy is overthrown, neither the American Government nor the American people apprehend that the wisdom and experience of Russia in the coming Constitutional Assembly will adopt any form of government other than the one best suited to your needs. We feel confident that no message, no individual emissary, and no commission has been sent or will be sent with authority to offer any advice whatever to Russia as to the conduct of her internal affairs. Any commission that may be sent will help Russia in any way that she desires to combat Kaiserism wherever it exists or may manifest itself.

Word has reached us that false reports of an American purpose and of American opinions contrary to the above statement have gained some circulation in Russia. We denounce these reports as the criminal work of

desperate pro-Kaiser propagandists, circulated with the intent to deceive and to arouse hostile feelings between the two great democracies of the world. The Russian people should know that these activities are only additional manifestations of the "dark forces," with which Russia has been only too familiar in the unhappy past.

The American Government, the American people, the American labor movement, are whole-heartedly with the Russian workers, the Russian masses, in the great effort to maintain the freedom you have already achieved, and to solve the grave problems yet before you. We earnestly appeal to you to make common cause with us to abolish all forms of autocracy and despotism and to establish and maintain for generations yet unborn the priceless treasures of justice, freedom, democracy, and humanity.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Manifesto by Labor Council

A sudden change in the entire situation occurred on May 15, when the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates reversed its former action, and by a vote of 41 to 19 decided to participate in the Government and form a coalition with the Provisional Administration. It also declared definitely against a separate peace. The following manifesto was issued by the council:

Soldiers and comrades at the front, we speak to you in the name of the Russian revolutionary democracy. The people did not wish the war, which was begun by the Emperors and capitalists of all countries, and, therefore, after the abdication of the Czar, the people considered it urgent to end the war as rapidly as possible. Do not forget, soldiers and comrades, that the regiments of William are destroying revolutionary Russia. Do not forget that the loss of free Russia would be a catastrophe, not only to us but to the working classes of the entire world. Defend, therefore, revolutionary Russia with all your power.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates leads you toward peace in another way. By calling for a revolution of the workmen and peasants of Germany and Austria-Hungary we will lead you to peace after having obtained from our Government a renunciation of the policy of conquest and after demanding a similar renunciation from the allied powers. But do not forget, soldiers and comrades, that peace cannot be achieved if you do not check the enemy's pressure at the front, if your ranks are pierced and the Russian revolution lies like an inanimate body at William's feet. Do not forget, you in the trenches, that you are defending the liberty of the Russian revolution and your brother workmen and peasants.

Now, how are you to accomplish this defense if you remain inactive in your trenches? Frequently only an offensive can repel or check a hostile offensive, frequently those who await an attack perish. Soldiers and comrades, having sworn to defend Russian liberty, do not renounce the offensive. Fight and struggle for this liberty, and while fighting and struggling fear the enemy's traps. The fraternizing which is taking place at present at the front can easily become a trap. Do not forget that revolutionary troops have only the right to fraternize with troops who are also revolutionary and who are also ready to die for peace and liberty.

The German Army is not a revolutionary army if it is still blindly following William and Charles, Emperors and capitalists. You are fraternizing openly, not with enemy soldiers but with officers of the enemy's General Staff, disguised as common soldiers. Peace will not be obtained by separate treaties or by the fraternizing of isolated regiments and battalions. This will only lead to the loss of the Russian revolution, the safety of which does not lie in a separate peace or armistice.

Reject, therefore, everything which weakens your military power, which distracts the army and lowers its morale. Soldiers, be worthy of the trust that revolutionary Russia puts in you.

Appeal to Socialists

An appeal was also issued by the council to the Socialists of Germany and Austria. This appeal concludes as follows:

The democracy of the revolution of Russia appeals to the Socialists of Austria and Germany. You canot allow your Governments to be the executioners of Russian liberty. You cannot allow your Governments, taking advantage of the joy evoked in the Russian Army by liberty and fraternity, to hurl their troops on to the western front, in the first place in order to crush France, and then to dash on Russia and finally crush you as well as the international proletariat in the grip of imperialism.

The democracy of revolutionary Russia appeals to the Socialists of neutral and belligerent countries not to allow the triumph of imperialism. May the cause of peace proclaimed by the Russian revolution be brought to a happy conclusion by the efforts of the international proletariat.

In order to unite these efforts the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates decided to take the initiative in convoking an international conference of all Socialist parties and factions in all countries. Whatever may have been the dissensions which rent socialism during the three years of war, no section of the proletariat ought to re-

nounce participation in the common struggle for peace by the Russian revolution.

We are convinced that we shall see the representatives of all Socialist groups at the conference we are convoking. A unanimous decision of the international proletariat will be the first victory of the workers over the international imperialists. The proletariat of all countries should unite.

The following are passages from the appeal:

The revolutionary democracy of Russia does not desire a separate peace which would loose the hands of the Austro-German alliance. It is well aware that such a peace would be a betrayal of the cause of democracy and of labor in all countries. This cause would by such an action be paralyzed in the face of a triumphant imperialism. It knows that such a peace may lead to the ruin of other countries and the triumph of the ideals of Chauvinism and revenge in Europe, which would leave the Continent in a state where it would inevitably prepare in the near future for a fresh and sanguinary collision.

The Russian revolutionary democracy addresses itself in the first place to you, Socialists of the allied countries. You must not allow the voice of the Russian Provisional Government to remain isolated from the union of the allied powers. You must force your Governments to proclaim resolutely the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities and the right of the people to settle their destinies.

You will thus afford our revolutionary army, which desires peace between the peoples, the assurance that its bloody sacrifices will not be utilized in an evil manner. You will give it strength to carry out with all its revolutionary enthusiasm the military operations which fall to its lot. You will fortify its mind in the belief that in defending the liberty conquered by the revolution the army also is struggling in the interests of an international democracy.

You will force the Governments of enemy countries to renounce forever their policy of usurpation, pillage, and violence, and openly to recognize their crimes, thus calling upon their heads the just anger of their peoples.

Resignation of Milukoff

Paul N. Milukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs and the most conspicuous leader of the Social Democrats, tendered his resignation and withdrew from the Government altogether on May 16, on account of a difference between himself and the other members of the Provisional Government on the question of the coalition. The Cabinet was entirely reorganized, with M. Tereschtenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replacing Milukoff. It was decided to take into the Cabinet five representatives of different Socialist groups, which, with A. F. Kerensky, who became Minister of War, made a total of six of these groups sharing in the Government. Three of the appointees were Social Democrats and three, including M. Kerensky, Socialist Populists.

Of the former, M. Skobeleff, Vice President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, was appointed Minister of Labor. M. Malantovitch, an Odessa lawyer, also has been chosen. Two of the Socialist Populist Ministers were M. Tchernoff and M. Pechekonoff. Professor Manuiloff, Minister of Public Instruction, and A. I. Shingaroff, Minister of Agriculture, remain in office. It was also decided to be desirable to include in the Government Feodor Kokoshkine, Constitutional Democrat and a professor at the University of Moscow, and M. Tzeretelli, member of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The duty of these men will be to prepare for the Constituent Assembly.

The new Foreign Secretary is thirty-three years old and is regarded as one of the ablest men of Russia. Originally a member of one of the richest families and a so-called "beet sugar king," he came into prominence at the outset of the war as a member of Guchkoff's War Industries Board. Soon he was put in charge of foreign exchange and achieved such success that he was made Minister of Finance by the new Government.

Ex-Minister of Justice Kerensky, the new Minister of War, was at the beginning of the revolution the most popular man in Petrograd, as he was the link between the constructive moderates then in power and the radical Socialists, who were demanding excessive reforms. Kerensky, who is a social revolutionary and about forty years old, realized that the four million Socialists in Russia could dominate a population of 180,000,000 people, and his great aim was so to moderate the Socialist program as to make it immediately practical and acceptable. Throughout he has helped restrain the radical elements by his great personal influence as one of them.

American Mission to Russia

The personnel of a special mission to Russia was announced on May 15 by the State Department at Washington. Mr. Root, the head of the mission, was given the rank of Ambassador, while six of his associates were commissioned as Ministers. The members are as follows:

Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, to be Ambassador Extraordinary of the United States on Special Mission.

John R. Mott, New York, Envoy Extraordinary on Special Mission.

Charles P. Crane, Illinois, Envoy Extraordinary.

Cyrus H. McCormick, Illinois, Envoy Extraordinary.

Samuel R. Bertron, New York, Envoy Extraordinary.

James Duncan, Massachusetts, Envoy Extraordinary.

Charles Edward Russell, New York, Envoy Extraordinary.

Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the Army, to be military representative of the President.

Rear Admiral James H. Glennon, naval representative of the President.

Colonel R. E. L. Michie, Colonel William V. Judson, Lieut. Col. T. Bentley Mott, Surgeon Holton C. Curl, Lieutenant Alva D. Bernhard, Secretary Basil Miles, Major Stanley Washburn, and Interpreter F. Eugene Prince.

It was announced semi-officially on the same day that the mission was for the express purpose of meeting sinister misrepresentations by Germany in Russia, which are calculated to provoke some of the Russian factions into making a separate peace with Germany before the American Commissioners can arrive in Petrograd.

Aid to the new republic from the United States will take other forms than the loaning of money. American ability, business methods, powers of organization, and facility all will be placed at the disposal of the new Government by the commission.

The same day the United States Government gave evidence of its good faith in the new Government of Russia by making its first loan to that country in the sum of $100,000,000. The money was made available for purchases of supplies in this country and was deposited to Russia's credit in the Federal Reserve Banks. By that arrangement Russia will be enabled to draw against the amount as money is needed to meet obligations here.

The President held a conference with the mission May 14 and gave them broad authority to confer with any existing Government in Russia with a view to insuring that Russia shall continue in the Entente Alliance.

The Railroad Commission

A collateral American commission to aid Russia in rehabilitating and developing the railroads of the country left for Petrograd on May 9. The personnel of this commission was as follows:

John F. Stevens of New York, former Chief Engineer of the Panama Canal, Chairman; W. L. Darling of St. Paul, Chief Engineer of the Northern Pacific Railway; Henry Miller of St. Louis, former Operating Vice President of the Wabash Railroad; George Gibbs of Philadelphia, former Chief Mechanical Engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and J. P. Griner of Baltimore, Chief Consulting Engineer of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

Mr. Stevens has been appointed to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary and accredited to the Russian Government as such.

Before leaving Washington the commission made arrangements to furnish the Russian Government with a large amount of material and rolling stock, and will be able to promise that these will be ready at the call of Russia. The fullest and most complete co-operation in furnishing locomotives, cars, and rails will be guaranteed by the commission in the name of the United States Government, which is receiving the hearty co-operation of American railroad interests.

Poland's Share in Russian Freedom

A Noteworthy Proclamation

THE Russian revolution has brought, not only liberation to the Russians themselves, but to all peoples formerly held in bondage under the Czar. If the Poles are not able to participate in the new freedom while their country is still occupied by the Teutonic invaders, the outlook for them is far more hopeful than it has been since the last partition. In contrast to the "made in Germany" plan for Polish autonomy, which was hemmed in by many limitations, the new Russian Government has come out with a proclamation outlining a democratic plan that is free from outside pressure.

A couple of weeks after the revolution had taken place a deputation of Poles, consisting of Count Wielopolski and Messrs. Shebako, Karpinski, Garousevitch, Jaronski, and Goscicki, was received by Prince Lvoff, President of the Russian Provisional Government, and asked him to proclaim the independence and unification of the three Polands—Russian, German, and Austrian—as well as the rights of the Poles to be represented in the Constituent Assembly. Prince Lvoff replied that the standpoint of the Provisional Government was exactly the same as that of the Poles themselves, and that the desired proclamation was about to be published. Almost immediately all the members of the Provisional Government signed the proclamation, which was issued in the following terms:

Poles, the old political order in Russia, the source of your bondage and ours, and the cause of disunion, has been forever overthrown.

Liberated Russia, personified in its Provisional Government, invested with the fullness of power, hastens to address to you its fraternal greetings and to call you to the new life of liberty.

The old order gave you hypocritical promises which it could but would not carry out. The Central Powers have profited by its mistakes to occupy and devastate your country, and, with the object of fighting against Russia and her allies, have given you illusory political rights, which are extended, not to all the Polish people, but only to a part of Poland temporarily occupied by the enemy. This is the price for which the Central Powers wanted to buy the blood of a people who have never fought on the side of despotism. But now no Polish Army is going to fight for the suppression of liberty and the dismemberment of its country under the command of the hereditary foe.

Brother Poles, for you also the hour of the great decision has struck. Free Russia calls you into the ranks of the combatants for the people's liberty. The Russian people, who have borne the yoke, acknowledge that the fraternal Polish people also have the fullest rights as defined of their own free will.

Faithful to the agreement with the Allies and to the common cause against militant Germanism, the Provisional Government considers that the creation of an independent Polish State, the stronghold of all the territories, the greater part of whose populations constitute the Polish people, will be a certain guarantee of lasting peace in the renovated Europe of the future.

Attached to Russia by a free military union, the Polish State will be a solid rampart against the pressure brought to bear by the Central Powers on the Slav nations. The Polish people, freed and united, will of itself determine its system of government by expressing its will through a Constituent Assembly convoked in the ancient capital of Poland. Through a common life the Polish people will thus receive a solid guarantee of its civic and national existence.

The Russian Constituent Assembly will have to consolidate definitely the new fraternal union and give its consent to the territorial changes in the Russian State which are indispensable to the formation of a free Poland from all the three parts into which it was cruelly separated.

Brother Poles, take the fraternal hand which free Russia holds out to you. Faithful guardians of great traditions, move forward from now on to the opening of the new and brilliant era of your history, the era of the resurrection of Poland.

Let the union of our hearts and minds anticipate the future union of our States and let the glorious appeal of ancient days made by the forerunners of your liberation re-echo with renewed force.

Onward in the struggle, side by side, hand in hand, for our liberty and yours!

The Austro-German proclamation in November, 1916, of an independent Poland was received by the people with little enthusiasm. The demonstrations of that time were meagre as compared with

the striking reception accorded to President Wilson's reference to the freedom of Poland in his address to the Senate on Jan. 19, 1917. When the text of the President's address was published in Warsaw, says a dispatch recently received by the State Department at Washington, the students of the University and Technical High School held a meeting at which they passed a resolution of gratitude and admiration of President Wilson's work. The students then marched in a body of several thousand strong to the American Consulate, cheering for the United States and the President. Similar demonstrations were held by the United Sporting Clubs of Warsaw.

Delegations from all the political, social, commercial, scientific, and educational organizations and institutions of Warsaw called at the consulate and presented addresses of thanks to the President, with the request that they be sent to Washington. Thousands of people representing all classes of Polish society also called to express their gratitude and admiration. A special committee undertook to prepare an address with 1,000,000 signatures for presentation to the President, but the German authorities prevented the execution of this plan by ordering the removal of all notices and lists concerning the address, although at that time diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany had not yet been broken off. The German authorities did not conceal their annoyance over the demonstrations, which were in marked contrast to the reception of the Teutonic proclamation in the previous November.

Russian Troops in France Take New Oath of Allegiance

General Palitzine, commanding the Russian troops in France, issued the following Order of the Day—published in the Journal Militaire pour les Troupes Russes en France, April 12, 1917*—directing the soldiers to take a new oath of allegiance to the Russian Provisional Government:*

In accordance with a telegram from the Adjutant to the Chief of Staff at the General Russian Headquarters, received on March 18, 1917, I order that oath be administered to soldiers of every rank now stationed in France, in conformity with a formula which has been addressed to me by telegraph:

"Soldiers, you take oath to your country; you swear to serve it faithfully and honestly, and to execute the orders of the Provisional Government which now rules the Russian State. You are sent here to fight against the common enemy, with the allied armies, to defend the common cause with them.

"The hour is approaching when, under the force of our combined efforts, the enemy will be broken. Remember that a good soldier is brave, obedient, and always faithful to his cause. Be strong in your oath and in your valor, in order that the land of Russia, which has sent you here, may be proud of you. Russia has decided to prosecute this war to a victorious end, and we, her sons, must loyally execute her will. May Almighty God help us in our task.

"This Order of the Day will be read to all the soldiers before they take the oath."

GENERAL PALITZINE.

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

VI.—Naval Lessons of the War

This article is the sixth in a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma—under the sanction of the United States Naval Department—with a special view to the lessons to be derived from past naval events of the war.

THE advancement of naval science, increasing the complexities of ships and guns with a consequent greater perplexity and intricacy of the problems to be solved, both in preparing material and in the development of skill to operate the material, has emphasized the need of wise naval management. The importance of good plans, well understood and well carried out, is a lesson of the war which this country has been quick to grasp and act upon. The nation's naval policy is the fountain head of all naval plans, and it may be mentioned as a step toward the adoption of a wise policy that the recommendations of the Naval General Board on this particular question are now published in full.

The Naval General Board consists at present of five Admirals, three Captains, and two Commanders. Assignments to this duty are for about two years, arranged in overlapping terms so as to permit a changing personnel with a consequent influx of ideas from the active fleet without breaking up the continuity of the work. The duties are deliberative, to draw knowledge from past and current events, to study strategy and tactics as practiced now and in the past, at home and abroad; to advise respecting navy yards, bases, and stations; to make recommendations as to the size, composition, and disposition of fleets; to determine the characteristics of speed, armor, and armament for new ships; in short, to make plans both for naval preparations in time of peace and for employment of the fleets in time of war.

This board was created in 1903 and has established a reputation for painstaking and disinterested service. In determining our naval policy it would seem well to give the General Board's recommendations great weight as expressing the best technical opinion in our country. The following extracts are quoted from the board's report, dated July 30, 1915:

> The navy of the United States should ultimately be equal to the most powerful maintained by any other nation of the world. It should be gradually increased to this point by such a rate of development, year by year, as may be permitted by the facilities of the country, but the limit above defined should be attained not later than 1925.

Strength of American Navy

The present war has taught that an effective navy is the logical defense for a country situated like the United States. And by an effective navy is meant, not an impotent navy like that of Spain in 1898, nor a semi-effective navy like the one now protecting Germany's immediate shores, but one adequate to seek and defeat enemy ships long before they can approach our coasts, thus protecting outlying possessions and the sea-borne trade so necessary to our national life; in other words, by an effective navy is meant one which stands for worldwide respect for legitimate American interests; one which is ready, if need be, to defend these interests in all parts of the world.

To determine what should be the composition of such a fleet is a difficult problem, to understand the details of which requires expert technical knowledge. These technical details are the province of the Naval General Board. The principles, however, from which these details are deduced are not hard to understand, and they are of first importance as the foundation on which the entire fabric of naval defense rests. As these prin-

ciples of sea power become better understood by the general public, wiser legislation to safeguard national interests will follow. The recent three-year building program is a noteworthy step in the right direction.

Three-Year Building Program

The following table shows the vessels authorized in the three-year building program—those for which the first appropriations have already been made, those for which estimates for the fiscal year 1918 have been submitted to cover the first year's work, and those which will remain to be covered in the Naval bill for the fiscal year 1919:

Types.	Authorized in 3-year program.	Appropriated for in Naval bill of 1917.	Recommended to be appropriated for in Naval bill of 1918.	Remaining to be provided for in Naval bill 1919.
Battleships	10	4	3	3
Battle cruisers	6	4	1	1
Scout cruisers	10	4	3	3
Destroyers	50	20	15	15
Fleet submarines	9	..	4	5
Coast submarines	58	30	14	14
Fuel ships	3	1	..	2
Repair ships	1	..	..	1
Transports	1	..	..	1
Hospital ships	1	1	..	..
Destroyer tenders	2	..	1	1
Submarine tenders	1	..	1	..
Ammunition ships	2	1	..	1
Gunboats	2	1	..	1
Total	156	66	42	48

This program is a step toward the adoption of a policy aiming to make good the deficiencies of the past; but it is only a preliminary step, and if an adequate navy is to be provided this program will have to be both pushed and enlarged to the full extent of the nation's facilities.

Best Types of Warships

A fairly definite idea of the work which has to be done in order to make the sea power of the United States an effective guarantor of national security may be arrived at through a discussion of the various types of warships, noting briefly their characteristics, their uses, and the proportionate numerical strength of each class required in building up a well-balanced United States Navy. The estimates which follow have to be made in the light of the best obtainable information. They are approximate and subject to modification from time to time to meet new conditions resulting from unforeseen developments. It is always to be remembered that the struggle for control of the seas is an ever-present spur to invention and progress in the development of the weapons used. Old ships are constantly being replaced by new models. Hence the relative value of the respective units may vary somewhat from year to year.

It is like a race for the largest stakes that the world has to offer. Control of the seas is the objective, and the nation which gains this control is the one that maintains a fleet powerful enough to overcome the strongest enemy fleet that it may encounter, and able to take and keep the seas in all weathers. Although the particular kinds of ships and guns used in answering the demands of naval strength come and go in continual evolution, still, these broad general demands of sea power remain the same. It is better, therefore, to study the abstract requirements of sea power and to note the trend of naval development in meeting these requirements than to rivet attention on the particular types of ships now in use as though they were immutable and incapable of being deposed.

The Question of Guns

The cornerstone of naval power is the gun; and the measure of a nation's sea power is the strength of her battleship fleet. In spite of the development of the mine and torpedo into important factors, the high-power naval gun is still supreme; so it has been in the past; so it is now; and so it probably will continue to be in the future.

As has previously been pointed out the only effective naval defense is a fleet strong enough to keep the enemy at a distance. Germany's fleet, although strong enough to prevent the enemy from landing on German shores, has not been powerful enough to dispute the control of the high seas, and has, therefore, proved non-effective. A navy adequate

to defend must be powerful enough either to defeat the enemy fleet on the high seas or to contain it in enemy home ports. The main reliance of such an effective navy is the long-range gun.

There is general agreement among experts as to this principle, that the gun is the prime consideration in naval warfare; but the different types installed in the newest ships of the various countries indicate somewhat divergent views as to what is the best design of naval gun. It is obvious that the heavier the projectile and the harder it hits the more will be the damage done. In a general way the principal considerations are: First, accuracy; second, high velocity; third, weight of projectile; fourth, durability of the gun to sustain continuous fire, and fifth, rapidity, or volume of fire. It is thus seen that the size of the projectile is limited by the efficiency of the propelling power and by the structural capacities of the gun and mount. In other words, the heavier the shell, consistent with high velocity, long range, and accuracy, the better; but if the structural durability of the gun is threatened, or if velocity and accuracy are sacrificed in order to throw a heavier projectile, a point is soon reached where damaging power is lost instead of gained.

The varying conditions of sea and visibility under which naval actions may be fought also tend to modify the effectiveness of the different sizes and designs of guns according to the circumstances which may exist at the time of any particular engagement. The gun which would win a fight at close range in misty weather might be defeated by the same enemy gun on a clear day at long range. At the shorter ranges the gun of moderate size might dominate a larger and more powerful enemy gun by greater rapidity and volume of fire. Although this is a contingency to be reckoned with, still, the present tendency is to increase the size of the projectile as fast as improvements in the powder and gun structure permit; and this tendency appears to be one likely to continue in the future. We may expect, therefore, that the size of naval guns will increase step by step with scientific improvements in gun construction and powder.

Requirements of Battleships

Since the gun is the prime consideration, the other characteristics of a battleship depend upon what design of ship is considered most serviceable to the purpose of the gun. Some idea of the requirements of a battleship may be had by keeping in mind that it is desirable to mount as many guns in one ship as is consistent with having a homogeneous fleet possessing tactical mobility, moderate speed, long cruising radius, seaworthiness, habitability, and protection from the blows of the enemy whether delivered from above or below the water. It requires careful weighing of proportionate advantages and disadvantages to harmonize these characteristics into the combination which will produce the best possible type of battleship.

The advantages of ships of large tonnage over smaller vessels are many; more heavy guns can be carried, the platform is steadier, the cruising radius is larger, the habitability and seaworthiness are better, and more effective means of protection can be installed. On the other hand, there is a limit of size beyond which the advantages are outweighed by the disadvantages; the question of expense enters, and any very large increase in the size of warships might be argued against on the grounds that it would be like putting "two many eggs in one basket." Manoeuvring abilities are adversely affected by very large displacements, and the depths of the various waterways as well as the accommodations of canals and dry docks impose definite limits to the size of ships.

On the whole it may be expected that the tendency to increase the tonnage of battleships will continue for quite some time. It would also appear an improvident policy for any country to increase the size of its battleships by radical changes of large increments, because this would entail expense and a bad effect upon the homogeneity of the fleet. These objections might easily outweigh the advantages gained. It may be assumed, therefore, that future increase in the size

of warships will be a gradual growth with a very likely decreasing acceleration.

The influence of new inventions and new ideas in the development of the lesser units of the navy have caused the Naval General Board to modify its original recommendations respecting the proportions of these lesser units, but "the fundamental fact that the power of a navy is to be measured by the number and efficiency of its heavy fighting units—battleships—has remained unchanged,"* and since 1903 the board has consistently recommended a program aiming at an adequate navy, with a basic strength of forty-eight battleships by 1919.

Necessary Auxiliary Units

Battleships alone, however, do not constitute a complete and well-balanced navy. In order that the heavy guns may work to their best advantage, the battleships carrying them call for powerful fast scouts to break through and get information, and also to drive back enemy scouts seeking information. Destroyers are needed to attack and confuse the enemy ships, and at the same time guard their own large ships from similar attacks. Submarines are necessary to help defend the coasts and also to operate as a tactical sub-division of the fleet. Mine layers are needed to harass and menace enemy ships, while mine sweepers and patrols are required to search for enemy mines and submarines. In addition to these combatant units, auxiliaries, including transports, repair ships, hospital ships, and supply ships, are essential to the life and vigor of a fighting navy.

The floating instruments of sea power, moreover, must be backed by suitably situated and properly defended permanent bases and navy yards in which ships may seek rest and rehabilitation. Strategically situated island possessions are also needed for naval bases, by which lines of communication may be kept open to such temporary advance bases as the requirements of a particular campaign may demand.

It is thus seen that, while relative naval power is primarily measured by the strength of the respective battleship fleets of the various naval powers, the battleships should be attended by the necessary auxiliaries in order to exert their maximum effectiveness.

Battle Cruisers as Scouts

The battle cruiser is the most powerful type of scout, and in addition to high speed has great offensive powers, together with endurance and a moderate protection of armor. While the chief function of this type is to get information, it has, because of these offensive and defensive characteristics, additional uses. The battle cruiser may fight for information and break through a hostile screen; she may support the lighter craft of her own fleet, beat back enemy scouts and guard the main body from surprise; she may be used to protect national sea routes and attack those of the enemy; and in battle she may operate as a fast wing and take a position favorable for using both guns and torpedoes.

It is thus seen that the battle cruiser can do all that the lighter scout can do and more, but these greater powers entail greater cost. The essential characteristic of a scout is speed in conjunction with a large cruising radius. If heavy guns and armor protection can be added without compromising the speed, so much the better, and all scouts would be battle cruisers were it not for the perplexities in construction and great expense involved.

The information service of a fleet requires a large number of scouts, and in order to produce them without undue cost the light cruiser has been developed, small in size and lightly armored, but with adequate speed and cruising radius for scout duty. The unarmored light cruiser, carrying torpedoes and intermediate guns, may be regarded as a development of the destroyer; it is larger, more habitable, carries larger guns, and is more useful as a scout. The ultimate development of the light cruiser would appear to be a larger unarmored ship

*See report of Naval General Board for 1916 program.

with great speed, carrying torpedoes and a few of the most powerful naval guns. Such a ship could outrun anything it could not fight, and it would take almost an equal number of battle cruisers to deny information sought by a group of these big-gun fast scouts making determined efforts to break through or to go around the opposing battle cruisers. The thin armor of the battle cruiser would afford protection against the small guns of light cruisers, but would be of no avail against the heavy guns of this new type of scout.

Unarmored Battle Scouts

At present there is talk of a ship to be developed by this country which might be called the "battle scout," its characteristics being extreme speed and maximum gun power without armor protection. Those that favor this type hold that just as the armored cruiser fell into discredit so will the battle cruiser fall into discredit upon the advent of the "battle scout." The idea is that the battleship is for the main strength of the fighting line, having extreme gun power and extreme endurance and armor protection; that the logical auxiliary of such a battle fleet is a class of ships having extreme speed and extreme gun power without armor protection; that any compromise between these two, such as a battle cruiser, is unsound from the standpoint of economy—that is, getting best results from money expended.

In the present emergency the lack of suitable scouts is particularly conspicuous. One of the reasons why more scouts have not been built is that the need of battleships and destroyers has been considered more urgent. It has always been argued that scouts could be provided much more easily and quickly than could the more distinctively fighting types of naval vessels. The plan, however, to requisition and buy fast mail and passenger steamers for use in the information service has been somewhat upset by the submarine warfare of Germany, and the present need of scouts is keenly felt. That the Naval General Board is alive to this need may be inferred from the following excerpts taken from the recommendations submitted for the 1916 program:

> In the struggle to build up the purely distinctive fighting ships of the navy—battleships, destroyers, and submarines—the cruising and scouting element of the fleet has been neglected in recent years, and no cruisers or scouts have been provided for since 1904. This leaves the fleet peculiarly lacking in this element so necessary for information in a naval campaign, and of such great value in clearing the sea of torpedo and mining craft, in opening and protecting routes of trade for our commerce, and in closing and prohibiting such routes to the commerce of the enemy. The General Board believes that this branch of the fleet has been too long neglected, and recommends that the construction of this important and necessary type be resumed.

The 1916 program did not provide for any scouts, but since then in the three-year program, beginning in 1917, provision has been made for six battle cruisers and ten scout cruisers.

Value of Destroyers

The destroyer, a familiar and popular fighting ship, the usefulness of which the experience of the present war has clearly demonstrated, displaces about 1,000 tons, has no armor protection, carries torpedoes and small-calibre guns, and possesses high speed, quick manoeuvring qualities, and sufficient radius to permit cruising with the fleet. Destroyers have a wide range of employment, including scouting, patrolling, convoying, and fighting. They are almost indispensable to the battleship fleet. While cruising both during the day and at night the destroyers help screen the capital ships and are ready for any kind of emergency duty.

When the time of battle comes it would be hard to overestimate the value of dstroyers in making attack on the enemy capital ships, in breaking up the projected attacks of enemy destroyers, in delivering the deathblow to crippled enemy ships, and making smoke screens for tactical purposes, either to confuse the enemy or to envelop and protect any of their own ships which may happen to be hard pressed.

An excerpt from the report of the Naval General Board dated Nov. 17, 1914, reads as follows: "After mature con-

sideration of all the elements involved the General Board concluded that a well-balanced fighting fleet for all purposes of offense or defense calls for a relative proportion of four destroyers to one battleship."

Submarines of Limited Value

The outstanding characteristic of the submarine, as the name indicates, is its ability to navigate below the surface of the water. This enables it to evade the enemy, to make a surprise attack, and to escape by hiding. These faculties are manifestly suitable for the weaker belligerent to use against the stronger enemy. Navies that dominate, that have power to seek and destroy in the open, are not dependent upon abilities to evade and to hide.

In making a brief survey of the naval activities of the war, it is seen that the submarine has been of no great value to the superior navies controlling the seas, but has been practically the only effective naval weapon of the inferior fleets. When used against the enemy battle squadrons it has influenced strategy and tactics and scored a few minor successes in sinking some of the older men-of-war, but generally speaking has produced no very important results. When used against merchant ships the submarine has been unable to attain effectiveness while complying with the rules and usages of international law, but by resorting to unscrupulous methods it has become a dangerous commerce destroyer.

The war has shown that the chief tactical value of the submarine is for defense, to hold the enemy at a distance. The fleet submarine has also demonstrated an offensive value which may be useful in attaining a tactical advantage. It may be inferred, therefore, that the United States needs submarines both to help defend her coasts and to operate as a tactical subdivision of the fleet.

The General Board recommends that, in addition to the submarines for guarding our coasts, a division of larger fleet submarines be built as the beginning of a powerful underwater contingent capable of cruising with a fleet in distant operations.

The United States Navy is also deficient in the types of auxiliaries less distinctively combative, but still necessary to the maintenance of a fighting navy. These include colliers, oil-fuel ships, repair ships, mother ships for submarines and aircraft, transports, and hospital ships. The characteristics and uses of these vessels are obvious, and the respective number needed may be determined by logistical calculations. Lesser naval units, including mine layers, mine sweepers, patrol ships, and submarine chasers, also have work to do in modern warfare and must be provided for in adequate numbers.

American Navy's Present Role

In the present war, since the combined allied fleets are overwhelmingly superior to the battle fleets of our enemies, the immediate mission of the American Navy is to combat the submarine menace. In giving priority to building the lesser units employed in this phase of naval warfare, and in urging the shipyards to greater effort in building traders to replace the merchant tonnage sunk by mine and torpedo, there is grave danger that the people may lose sight of the fact that the battleship fleet still remains the chief guarantor of national security. Battleships cannot be improvised; it takes years to construct them; hence, prudence demands that our capital ships receive continual attention in order that national security in future years may not be jeopardized.

For the first time in the history of the United States Navy a building program covering a period of years has been adopted; though it falls short of the recommendations of the General Board, it indicates an awakening to our naval shortcomings and a desire on the part of the people to correct them. The fleet we already have, though behind the British and German Navies in size, still affords cause for gratification as to quality. It may be fairly claimed in no boastful temper that our individual first-line ships, in construction, in guns, in ammunition, and in gunnery, acknowledge no superior. This is encouraging, but not satisfying. So much remains to be done that more cannot be said than that a fair start has been made.

Dramatic Naval Fight Off Dover

Night of April 20, 1917

A FLOTILLA of six German destroyers, under Captain Gautier, crept out from the German naval base at Zeebrugge, Belgium, early in the evening of April 20, 1917, and crossed the English Channel, with the object of attacking Dover. After firing 650 shots at the Dover fortifications—said by the British report to have landed harmlessly in a plowed field—they cruised about with the object of encountering enemy merchantmen, or possibly of intercepting Premier Lloyd George, who was expected to cross the Channel that night.

The night was intensely dark but calm. Suddenly the raiders sighted two British destroyers on patrol duty, and instantly fired upon them at a range of 600 yards. The British responded by closing in swiftly upon them and trying to ram the leading German destroyer. In the eventful five minutes that followed there was a boarding encounter with cutlasses and bayonets, recalling the days of wooden warships, and it ended with the sinking of two of Germany's newest and largest destroyers, the G-85 and G-42, and the damaging of two others, as the raiders disappeared at full speed in the darkness.

"Our vessels," said the British Admiralty report the next morning, "suffered no material damage, and our casualties were exceedingly slight in comparison with the result obtained. Our patrol vessels were handled with remarkable gallantry and dash, and the tactics pursued were a very fine example of destroyer work. We were fortunate in being able to save the lives of ten German officers and 108 men from the vessels sunk."

The day after the battle twenty-eight German bodies were washed ashore at Dover, and these, with twenty-two British dead, were buried there with full military honors. The German dead each bore a floral wreath from the Vice Admiral at Dover, inscribed "To a Brave and Gallant Enemy."

The story of this engagement, compiled by the British Admiralty from accounts of officers and men who participated, is one of the most stirring in the naval annals of the war. The British destroyers Swift and Broke, on patrol duty, were steaming on a westerly course in the darkness when they sighted the Germans, who instantly opened fire. The Swift replied and tried to ram the leading enemy destroyer. She missed ramming, but shot through the German line unscathed, and, in turning, neatly torpedoed another boat in the enemy line. Again the Swift dashed at the leader, which again eluded her and fled, with the Swift in pursuit.

In the meantime the Broke had launched a torpedo at the second boat in the line, which hit the mark, and then opened fire with every possible gun. The remaining German boats were stoking furiously for full speed.

The Broke's commander swung around to port and rammed the third boat fair and square abreast the after funnel. Locked together thus, the two boats fought a desperate hand-to-hand conflict. The Broke swept the enemy's decks at pointblank range with every gun, from main armament to pompom, maxim, rifle, and pistol.

Two other German destroyers attacked and poured a devastating fire on the Broke, whose foremost gun crews were reduced from eighteen to six men. Midshipman Donald Gyles, although wounded in the eye, kept all the foremost guns in action, he himself assisting the depleted crews to load. While he was thus employed, a number of frenzied Germans swarmed up over the Broke's forecastle out of the rammed destroyer and, finding themselves amid the blinding flashes of the forecastle guns, swept aft in a shouting mob.

The midshipman, amid the dead and wounded of his own gun crews, and half blinded himself by blood, met the onset single-handed with an automatic revolver. He was grappled by a German, who tried to wrest the revolver away.

Cutlasses and bayonets being among the British equipment in anticipation of such an event, the German was promptly bayonetted by Seaman Ingleson. The remainder of the invaders, except two who feigned death, were driven over the side, the two being taken prisoner.

Meanwhile, the Swift continued her pursuit, but slight injuries which she received earlier in the action prevented her from maintaining full speed, so she abandoned the chase and sought fresh quarry. Sighting the outline of a stationary destroyer, from which shouts were heard, the Swift approached warily, with her guns trained, to find that it was the destroyer which had already been rammed by the Broke. The Germans were bellowing: "We surrender."

Fearing treachery, the Swift waited, and presently the destroyer keeled over and sank stern first, the crew jumping into the water.

As no other enemy was visible, and the action, which had lasted approximately five minutes, appeared to be over, the Swift switched on her searchlights and lowered boats to rescue the swimmers. Those who remained of the crews of the Swift and the Broke, after exchanging details of the action, cheered each other until they were hoarse.

The British casualties are set down as comparatively slight, and the spirit of the wounded is illustrated by the conduct of the Broke's helmsman, Seaman William Rowles, who, though hit four times by shell fragments, remained at the wheel throughout the action, and finally only betrayed the fact that he was wounded by reporting to his Captain, "I am going off now, Sir," and fainted.

Two minutes after ramming, the Broke wrenched herself free from her sinking adversary and turned to ram the last of the three remaining German boats. She failed in this object, but in swinging around succeeded in hitting the boat's consort on the stem with a torpedo. Hotly engaged with these two fleeing destroyers, the Broke attempted to follow the Swift in the direction she was last seen, but a shell struck the Broke's boiler room, disabling her main engines.

The enemy then disappeared in the darkness. The Broke, altering her course, headed in the direction of a destroyer, which a few minutes later was seen to be heavily afire, and whose crew, on sighting the British destroyer, sent up shouts for mercy. The Broke steered slowly toward the German, regardless of the danger from a possible explosion of the magazines, and the German seamen redoubled their shouts of "Save! Save!" and then unexpectedly opened fire.

The Broke, being out of control, was unable to manoeuvre or extricate herself, but silenced the treachery with four rounds; then, to insure her own safety, torpedoed the German amidships.

A number of the wounded only presented themselves in the sick bay the following day, one stoker giving the surgeon the ingenious excuse: "I was too busy, Sir, clearing up the rubbish on the stokers' mess deck."

Captain Evans, commander of the destroyer Broke, is the well-known antarctic explorer and was the last man to see Scott when they parted 145 miles from the south pole.

The German Government reported the sinking of a British destroyer in this fight, asserting that it was hit by a torpedo amidships and was seen to sink stern foremost within five minutes. It also stated that a heavy explosion was heard in another British destroyer, while a third was seen to have a large hole in the side. The British Admiralty twice issued formal denials, asserting flatly, "There was no loss on our side."

Dunkirk, on the French side of the Channel, was the scene of a similar German destroyer raid on the night of April 24-25. The coast batteries replied to the gunfire, and British and French patrol ships engaged the enemy, who retreated in the direction of Ostend. One French torpedo boat was sunk in the brief action.

The Death Agony of a Submarine

Story of a Survivor

THE Monge, a French submarine, was rammed by an Austrian warship and sunk in the Adriatic on Dec. 29, 1915, and as its crew was taken prisoner the details of its destruction remained unknown for more than a year. Then the following vivid letter from one of the imprisoned members of the crew found its way into print. After describing the impact of the surface ship, the writer continues:

"The water enters in torrents. The safety hatch is closed, but the Monge descends very swiftly; it reaches a depth of 200 feet, and the plates crack under the pressure of the water. We give ourselves up as forever lost. Our vessel is being crushed; we feel it flattening in upon us. No one says a word, but everybody works. Orders are executed as in ordinary times; no panic, not a cry.

"We are facing the most certain and perhaps the most hideous death, yet our commander is superb in his coolness, and he has a crew that is worthy of him. The steel braces supporting the hull—bars as thick as my fist—are twisted like so many wires. The accumulators fall down on each other; the electric current is intensified, the fuses burn out, the acid decomposes—it is the second phase; after the crushing comes asphyxiation.

"'Courage! Courage! We are rising!' That is the cry of the second torpedo master, for to him belongs the most delicate and certain of all our remedies. In fact, we feel that we are rising, and in a minute or two we have gone from a depth of 200 feet to the surface. We are saved!

"Alas! A third ordeal. The Austrians have seen us and begin shelling us at short range. A single shell pierces our hull. The commandant orders for the third time: 'To your posts for the dive!' This time all is indeed ended; the motors no longer act, none of the machinery runs, and the water keeps pouring in. Everybody goes to his post without a murmur, and yet we all know that this time death awaits us—and what a death! The commandant changes his mind. Our vessel is lost; why sacrifice the crew? He lets his arms drop, and two big tears roll down his cheeks, tears of pride and of impotence.

In a calm voice, however, he tells us to save ourselves. The impossible had been attempted; we could give up with a light heart.

"Before rising to the surface the commandant asks us to cry three times, 'Vive la France!' and to sing the 'Marseillaise.' Such were the last words and orders of the man who was and remained the commandant of the Monge, for he chose not to leave his beloved boat. As soon as we reached the deck we complied with his request and thrice shouted 'Vive la France!' and sang the refrain of the 'Marseillaise.' When the water rose to our waists we had only time to throw ourselves into the sea. The Monge sank on Dec. 29, 1915, at 2:30 in the morning. There were three deaths—the commandant and two mechanician quartermasters."

The French Government has honored the memory of Lieutenant Morillot, commandant of the Monge, by giving his name to a ship captured from the enemy.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. The article here presented is the fourth in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great European conflict.

IV.—The Tragic Story of the Dardanelles

AS the year 1915 opened, the long intrenched western front presented the condition which it soon became the fashion to describe as a "stalemate." Indeed, on this front the contest did resemble a chessboard contest in which master players had fought each other to a standstill. The Germans held practically all of Belgium and a very valuable slice of Northern France, but, although their defense of the invaded territories seemed well-nigh impregnable, it was evident that they could not hope to renew the effort of the past Summer to reach either Paris or the Channel ports.

On the other hand, England's small professional army had been almost annihilated in the hard battles in Northern France, and Lord Kitchener's optimistic prediction that huge new armies would be ready for service by May, 1915, suggested that a great allied offensive would not be possible before that time. France held by far the larger part of the long battle line, and Joffre was busy eliminating the unfit from high commands and installing in their places soldiers whose virtues had been discovered under fire. Both France and England began to realize what was needful in artillery and munitions, and in addition to enormous orders placed in America the home production of shells and guns was multiplied many times over.

In the comparative pause which distinguished the early part of the year the whole administrative system tried to tone itself up to the strenuous requirements of the time—much confusion had been caused by accepting for service on the firing line skilled mechanics whose services were more needed in the munition works. While these errors were being corrected both London and Paris began to smoke out the host of slackers who had found safe berths at home. On the eastern front all the world felt that, aside from the crushing defeat at Tannenberg, the Russians had done remarkably well. Their problem would never be a lack of men, but the scarcity of munitions was serious. The northern seaport at Archangel was sealed by the arctic ice, and the Japanese shipments had a long journey across Asia by the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Situation of Central Powers

Germany had failed to make the war a short one by overwhelming and eliminating either of her opponents in the first rush of the fighting. The prodigal use of artillery necessitated economy for the Winter months while new supplies were manufactured. Much, too, was needful to help Austria to build up a more efficient fighting force. The armies of the Dual Monarchy had crumbled utterly in Poland, Galicia, and Serbia. It seemed at that time as though Austria might even prove an easy road for an allied army aiming at the heart of Germany from the south. Serbia's triumph on the ridges had fired Italy with an ambition to win Trent in the Alps and Trieste on the Adriatic.

The astonishing failure of the Austrian armies in the first six months of the war not only embarrassed the German General Staff by compelling the dispatch of reinforcements to the south-

east, but added materially to political difficulties. Italy, benevolently neutral and remembering the ties of the late alliance, could be a great help in reaching the markets of the outside world—Italy joined to the Allies would be a new and serious danger along the weak Austrian frontier. Rumania, too, was likely to be dangerously influenced by the apparent impotence of Austrian arms.

It is by no means impossible that the real historians who write of this war a generation hence may see that the best time for the war to have ended was in the beginning of 1915. The combatants as yet included only the original groups. The savage fighting and enormous destruction of property, while already serious, had nowhere reached the deadly development of the later periods. It then began to be evident that the war could not be a short one, and that its cost in blood and treasure would impose heavy burdens on mankind for many generations. Really determined action on the part of the leading powers not then involved in the war might possibly have halted the carnage. It was nearly two years later when Germany suggested peace, and the suggestion fell on ears deafened by what happened in 1915 and 1916.

What had been done in 1914 could never be forgotten, nor perhaps forgiven, but this period was one in which the dark future began to be correctly estimated. England still shuddered at the prospect of compulsory service, and the best blood of France was being drained. Germany must have been aware that succeeding years would be certain to roll up a great preponderance of man power on the allied side. Possibly it was the Prussian system which closed the mouths of those who might wisely have proposed to end the war then on the best terms possible.

British in Mesopotamia

England had declared war on Turkey in November, and on the 7th of that month a brigade of regular infantry from India (mostly native troops) captured a Turkish fort at Fao, a little town at the head of the Persian Gulf. The British troops sailed on up the Schatt-el-Arab, which receives above Basra the combined waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris. An intrenched camp was established at Sanijeh, and here presently two more brigades arrived from India. After winning a battle at Sahil the combined military and naval forces advanced upon the important city of Basra, which was easily captured on Nov. 23. Early in December the fortified town of Kurna, fifty miles above Basra, was captured, and since then the British have remained in undisputed control of the whole delta. Bagdad, Turkey's main military station in Mesopotamia, is more than 300 miles to the north on the Tigris. This short and successful campaign gave Britain control of the region from which a Turkish force under German direction might have threatened India.

Defeat of Enver Pasha

In January, 1915, both Turkey and Russia had armies in Northern Persia, where on the 30th of the month, after a severe defeat, the Turks lost Tabriz, which they had occupied some time before. Several small Russian columns invaded Kurdistan, but were held close to the frontier by the vigorous resistance of Turkish regulars moved up from the interior.

Meanwhile a Russian army numbering about 100,000 under General Woronzov began an advance toward Erzerum, the strongly fortified Turkish base in Armenia. Enver Pasha, with a Turkish army considerably stronger, defeated the Russians between Kaprikeui and Khorasan just before Christmas. Enver attempted an elaborate enveloping manoeuvre, which involved well-nigh impossible marches by separate corps through high mountain passes choked with snow and impassable for either artillery or supply trains. One after the other the separated Turkish corps were defeated, although they all fought well, and by the middle of January the remains of Enver's army were in full retreat upon Erzerum, having lost probably one-third of their strength.

This dlisaster denied to Austria the

help that a successful Turkish diversion against Southeastern Russia would have provided. A successful Turkish campaign would certainly have diverted some of the Russian forces which were then threatening to pierce the Carpathians and invade the Plains of Hungary.

Egypt and the Suez Canal

On Dec. 17, 1915, England proclaimed Egypt to be a British protectorate, and a strong British force was organized under Major Gen. Sir John Maxwell to meet the attack which it was expected would be made upon the Suez Canal. Late in November there was a skirmish on the east side of the canal, at Katiyeh, between Bedouins and the British Camel Corps, and late in January skirmishing was renewed with small Turkish detachments which had crossed the 130 miles of desert east of the canal. In the first week of February a Turkish force of somewhat under a division attempted to cross the canal. The British troops were greatly helped by the gunfire of a number of British and French warships in the Canal, and by the end of the week the Turks were in full retreat across the desert. The lack of water had made it impossible for the Turks to move over the desert an army strong enough to cross the canal and invade Egypt, and the difficulty of the terrain kept the victorious British from pursuing the defeated enemy, who were able to carry off their guns and transport.

Attack on the Dardanelles

Gallipoli Peninsula is a hilly, irregular tongue of land something more than fifty miles in length and varying from three to ten miles in width. On the west the Aegean Sea breaks on a rugged shore, with a few stretches of sandy beach where boats may land. The eastern side of the peninsula guards the strait of the Dardanelles, through which all sea traffic must pass to Constantinople and the Black Sea beyond. This strait, from three-quarters of a mile to five miles in width, but averaging between two and three miles, is the most important waterway in the world, because it forms the only outlet by water for the whole vast region of Southern Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Syria, and Turkey, which have coasts touching the Black Sea.

The military importance of this sea channel in the present war was tremendous, for if the Allies could sieze the Dardanelles they would cut off the

ADMIRAL DE ROBECK,
Naval Commander at Dardanelles

Asiatic Turks and miminize the danger of German attacks upon Egypt or India. Even more important would be the opening of an all-the-year route by which Russian grain could come out to England and France in ships which should carry back guns and munitions so greatly needed in Russia. In addition, and perhaps paramount to all other incentives for a campaign against Constantinople, was the fact that the ancient city on the Golden Horn was the one great prize in Europe that might enrich the spoils of the victors. Berlin and Vienna would remain German and Austrian, after the final treaty should be signed, but the Turk's capital might be expected to change hands and fly a new flag.

Russia seemed likely to force a way through the Balkans from the north. England determined with French help to reach the goal first—by naval means if

possible, but by a combined military and naval force in case the strait should prove too strong for the marine attack alone. There was a precedent in British naval annals for the belief that a fleet might force its way through, for in February, 1807, seven ships of the line under Sir John Duckworth forced the

SIR IAN HAMILTON,
British Commander at Gallipoli

passage, silencing forts and sinking Turkish ships. The Turks then fired stone shot two feet in diameter, but when the Italians attempted to rush a fleet of torpedo boats through in a night attack in 1910 they were defeated by modern guns and searchlights installed by German engineers. The fortifications were greatly strengthened and the artillery increased after the outbreak of the war in August, 1914. The Turkish coasts were difficult for attack, and the swift current of the strait made the use of floating mines a dangerous adjunct to the shore line defenses. The forts on both sides of the Dardanelles were strongly garrisoned, and a large mobile force of Turkish infantry was intrenched in the very difficult hill country of the peninsula. A number of German officers were on duty with these Turkish forces.

Operations at Gallipoli

England seized the excellent harbor of Mudros in the Greek Island of Lemnos and made that the base of the naval forces operating against Gallipoli. On Feb. 18 the British and French fleets attacked and soon silenced the old-fashioned stone forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, but beyond these antiquated forts lay a series of mine fields blocking the channel. Mine sweepers under cover of a heavy fire from the fleet endeavored to clear the channel and open a way for the fighting units of the fleets. The operations of the mine sweepers were made very difficult by the fire of field batteries and heavy howitzers concealed among the hills and shifted cleverly whenever located by the attacking forces. In the middle of March, in the midst of a heavy gun fire, the Turks skillfully directed some large mines, which sank three battleships, two British and one French.

After a month of fruitless and costly fighting it was decided that the strait could not be forced by naval attack alone, and a combined British and French army was mobilized to land and attack the Turks in co-operation with the fleets. The French Division of Territorials and Senegalese was commanded by General d'Amade. General Ian Hamilton had the Twenty-ninth Division of British regulars with the Royal Naval Division and the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. These forces were concentrated in Mudros Harbor and held until the Spring gales had blown themselves out and there was promise of a quiet sea for the very difficult operation of landing the expeditions through the surf.

On April 25, at daybreak, the French and British fleets bombarded all the Turkish positions and the transports sent their human freight ashore. The French landed on the Asiatic side of the strait to attack the powerful fortifications on that side. The British effected a number of landings on the southern end of Gallipoli, but the main attacks were intended to be those near Gaba Tepe and Cape Helles.

The forces attacking in the Cape Helles region landed at three small

beaches, where great difficulties were overcome by extreme bravery, but the losses involved in these landing operations were appalling. The Turkish artillery and machine gunners were firing at ranges from 100 to 300 yards. Barbed wire entanglements had been set in the surf off shore, and the little beaches were mined. Strong detachments of Turkish infantry were well concealed on the rough, scrub-covered hillside, and were dislodged in savage bayonet fighting by the survivors of the landing parties. Large numbers of British soldiers were killed in the boats by machine gun and rifle fire.

Christening of the "Anzacs"

The Australians won imperishable fame at the beach about fifteen miles north of Cape Helles, near Gaba Tepe, where they fought all day and all night singing their song, "Australia Will Be There." The Turks attacked constantly with heavy infantry detachments, but the fleet moved in and rained projectiles upon them. Finally, after a terrific ninety-six-hour battle, the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps won and fortified their position. In commemoration of their heroism this hitherto unnamed beach became famous under the name A-N-Z-A-C.

The British won a footing along the southwestern shores of Gallipoli at a cost to the battalions engaged of from one-third to one-half of their strength. The survivors were too exhausted to drive the attack into the hills, and the Turks were given a breathing spell in which they brought up reinforcements of men and munitions.

The French Corps landed on April 26, at V. Beach, below Sedd-el-Bahr, and, not encountering very great opposition, fought their way inland for a mile on the following day and joined hands with the British on their left. The united forces attacked the Turkish town of Krithia on April 28, but when within about 1,300 yards of the objective were forced back by powerful Turkish attacks. They dug themselves in finally and held their lines until the Turks delivered terrific new attacks on May 1. The first lines of the Turkish infantry had been deprived of cartridges and attacked with the bayonet only. They carried the front of the position, broke through to the second line and in the darkness of a moonless night cut their way through both French and British until stopped by the British supports. This battle lasted five days, and night after night the Turks attacked with the bayonet.

By May 5 the British Twenty-ninth Division had lost one-half its men and nearly 70 per cent. of its officers. Nevertheless, on May 6 the Allied forces mustered strength and courage to attack the hill of Achi Baba, which dominated the lower ground toward the water held by the French and British. After an all-day battle, in which the losses were extreme, the line had won an advance of 200 yards. This battle continued for days and culminated in a further advance of some 600 to 700 yards on the evening of May 8, when some of the brave Australians and New Zealanders had been brought down from Anzac to help. There were no other great battles, but there was constant fighting through the remaining weeks of May.

Achi Baba Almost Taken

On June 4 the Allies made another grand attack, having meanwhile been reinforced by the newly arrived Forty-second Division. After a prolonged bombardment an advance of 600 to 700 yards was won and the summit of Achi Baba almost taken. The Turks rallied, and in a brave counterattack recaptured a field work called the Haricot, which the French infantry had stormed and garrisoned with Senegalese troops. From this position the Turks enfiladed the British lines and forced both the British Royal Naval Division and the Manchester Brigade to abandon the lines which they had won at a terrible cost.

On June 21 the French won again the Haricot work, and on the 28th the British, in a brilliant attack, advanced a thousand yards. This success was especially notable because the 10,000 British soldiers were all new men of not over six months' training, who charged up hill in an attack perfectly co-ordi-

nated and carried fortified lines with the bayonet. When the first attacking line had settled into the captured position another 10,000 fresh troops charged and captured three more Turkish lines. These 20,000 men were not enough, however, to push the attack further. At midnight, June 29-30, a Turkish attack by a force of 30,000 men at Anzac was repulsed with great loss.

While the allied forces awaited the arrival of heavy reinforcements promised for midsummer a plan was matured for a great attack. This intended that the troops near Cape Helles should fight a holding battle while a powerful attack to the north at Anzac should aim to win the dominating heights midway of the peninsula from which infantry might gain control of the highway to Constantinople and artillery could shell by direct fire the Turkish fortifications along the strait. In addition the new forces were to be landed still further north at Suvla Bay, three miles above Anzac, and attempt to turn the Turkish right flank. While these attacks were to be concerted, the actions must necessarily be separate battles fought by armies separated from each other. The plan was for the attack at Anzac to be made on Aug. 6 and on the night of the 6th-7th (moonless) the new army was to be landed at Suvla.

The splendid Australian troops at Anzac in July dug and hid under cover twenty-five miles of dugouts for the concealment of the 30,000 men who were to reinforce them preparatory to the great attack. The new troops were landed with great caution at night to hide the arrangements from the watchful Turks, always ready to hurry reinforcements to any threatened part of the line. In addition to providing a hiding place for the 30,000 newcomers the Australians carried ashore and hid hundreds of draft animals and hundreds of tons of supplies. The navy brought over a distance of 500 miles the eighty tons of fresh water required by this army daily, and this, too, was stored in hidden tanks ashore.

Battle of Suvla Bay

The battle in the Cape Helles sector opened promptly and raged with great ferocity from Aug. 6 to Aug. 13. Its object was achieved, for not only was the large original force of Turks held there, but strong reinforcements were brought down from the north.

For several days the warships bombarded the Turkish positions on the Lonesome Pine plateau, which was the immediate objective in the Anzac sector. Late in the afternoon of Aug. 6, after a whirlwind of shells had brought the bombardment to its culmination, the Australians leaped from their trenches and charged the Turkish lines. They won the covered trenches and in five days and nights of constant counterattacks succeeded in holding them. This long struggle was almost all the time a hand-to-hand duel with bayonets and bombs.

As the battle at Lonesome Pine developed, the troops destined for the attack to the north left Anzac and marched along shore to the scene of their effort. Several strong outposts were rushed most gallantly, but the Turks held the main hill crests valiantly, and all efforts to dislodge them failed. As this night battle was in progress transports crowded into Suvla Bay and the new 30,000 men were landed. The beach was mined, and defended by riflemen as well, so that the new army began to lose men as it stepped ashore. The mission of this army was to seize the high hills inclosing the low-lying basin back of the bay, but they suffered vital hours to slip through their fingers for one reason or another, and meanwhile the Turks, at midnight on the 8th-9th, got strong forces into the critical positions and thereby wrote failure at the bottom of this gory page in English military history.

On the morning of Aug. 8 the British and Australian regiments renewed the battle north of Anzac and gained some promising successes, although at appalling cost. The delayed advance on their left from Suvla nullified these successes and made the battle a useless waste of life. British regiments which had won one of the most vital hill crests were shelled and decimated by their own war-

ships, after which a huge force of Turkish infantry counterattacked and practically annihilated several British regiments.

The great battle of Aug. 6-10 was a British defeat and practically ended the fighting on Gallipoli, although some minor successes were achieved later in August among the hills back of Anzac. In November a violent blizzard raged for several days and hundreds of British soldiers were frozen to death, while many thousands were invalided home as the result of extreme exposure. In December the Anzac and Suvla positions were evacuated, and early in January, 1916, the last British soldiers left Gallipoli from the Cape Helles sector.

The failure of the Turks to attack the British while evacuating their positions remains one of the unsolved riddles of the war. The British losses in the Gallipoli campaign were 115,000 men killed, wounded, and missing, with about 100,000 more sick. While the attempt toward Constantinople persisted it kept a large army of several hundred thousand Turks away from other fields. Meanwhile, the German successes in 1915 against Russia relieved the Turk from the threat of a Russian attack from the north.

When the allied forces were withdrawn from the peninsula practically all the veteran Turkish troops were freed for use in Rumania or Asia Minor. Throughout the terrific fighting in April, June, and August the Turks fought with magnificent courage and proved themselves equally valiant in both attack and defense. They treated captured and wounded prisoners with real kindness. The British Twenty-ninth Division (regulars) and the Australian and New Zealand Corps won imperishable fame.

Russian Front in 1915

In January, 1915, the Russian armies were making a determined stand on a long front running from the Masurian Lakes south inside the Prussian frontier until above the Narev it curved out into Russia and continued west of Mlawa, east of Plock, and over the Vistula, near the mouth of the Bzura. Thence running southeast to Bukowina, below Czernowitz, this long battle line reached the Rumanian frontier, having attained a total length of nearly 900 miles, the greatest embattled line in the world's history.

The Germans faced the Czar's troops down as far as the Nida, where they joined the left flank of the Austrian armies, which had been stiffened by the introduction of several complete German corps. Przemysl was still resisting the Russians, but was surrounded and closely invested.

In January the Grand Duke Nicholas undertook several advances on the flanks —Russian cavalry cut the railway in East Prussia, and in the Carpathians the Pass of Kirlibaba was stormed. Early in February von Mackensen launched another attack upon Warsaw, having concentrated nearly 150,000 men along the Rawka for a new frontal attack upon the great Polish city. Under cover of a heavy bombardment and a blinding snowstorm the battle began, and the Germans pushed a wide wedge some five miles into the Russian line before they were checked by Feb. 4. The German losses are estimated to have been in the neighborhood of 20,000 men, and much of the ground was readily yielded to Russian counterattacks.

Following this reverse the great German strategist launched two major operations directed against the Russian right and left flanks. In the first week of February the Russian thrust in East Prussia had very nearly reached Tilsit, with the left flank of the expedition at Johannisburg. Then Hindenburg struck, and with a much superior force succeeded in enveloping the Russian right at Pilkallen and Gumbinnen. This part of the Russian Army was driven into the forest region above Suwalki and completely broken up. Such units as escaped back into Russia made their way separately, and quite without further tactical connection with their comrades heavily engaged between Lötzen and Johannisburg. The Russians here fought a stubborn rear guard action with much success, and although defeated they succeeded in retreating over their own frontier without suffering very great loss. The Germans

captured 80 guns and something over 30,000 prisoners, besides carrying the war out of Prussian and into Russian territory, where it has remained ever since.

Von Hindenburg undoubtedly planned to renew the attack upon Warsaw by a flank movement which should cut the railway communications to the north, but the Russians resisted successfully efforts aimed at Grodno and Ossowietz, and by the middle of March vigorous counter-attacks drove the Germans back to within ten miles of the frontier. Meanwhile another German army on a front of twenty-five miles between Mlawa and Chorzele struck hard toward the south, and on Feb. 24 captured Przasnysz, taking a number of guns and half a brigade. Strong Russian reinforcements came up, and although many of the men were armed only with bayonets and bombs, Przasnysz was recaptured on Feb. 26.

Winter in the Carpathians

In the south General Brusiloff renewed his efforts to win the Carpathian passes and open a door for the Russian invasion of Hungary. While he attacked from Dukla to the Uzsok another column struck close along the Rumanian frontier, and on Jan. 6 took Kimpolung and on the 17th captured the Pass of Kirlibaba. About this time the Austrians began to show a greater determination to drive the menace of invasion out of the Carpathians, and General von Linsingen, having taken the passes east of the Lupkow, began to invade Galicia.

At the ridge of Koziowa Brusiloff withstood the Austrian rush and stopped the advance of the Austrian left wing. The right wing, however, pushed up through Bukowina and took both Czernowitz and Kolomea. On March 3 Stanislau was taken, which brought the Austrians within seventy miles of Lemberg. Soon Russian reinforcements arrived, and Stanislau was retaken. The latter part of March saw the Russians still holding the Dukla, while the passes east of the Uzsok were firmly held by Austria.

On March 22, after a siege of almost seven months, the fortified city of Przemysl was taken by the Russians. Accounts of the military conditions prevalent among the large forces which had been shut up in this strongly fortified position for so long a time indicated quite clearly what was the matter with the Austrian army. While the soldiers were reduced to almost starvation rations, general officers and their staffs continued to live openly a life of luxurious extravagance. The selfishness and incompetence of the superiors were naturally destructive of that morale among the troops without which no amount of training will secure the best results.

Attrition in the West

As 1915 dawned the battle lines in Belgium and France were about 500 miles long, and of that long line little more than 10 per cent. was held by the British and Belgians—the French defended nearly 90 per cent., and in addition to the battle casualties they lost many men from sickness caused by exposure in the trenches. Toward the north there was constant rain and sleet, while the positions in the Vosges and Argonne were buried deep in heavy snows. The fighting in the Winter and early Spring was confined to local attacks and counterattacks, usually favorable to the Allies.

The German artillery was decidedly less effective than it had been in the early months of the war. Large numbers of guns had been returned to German armories for repair, and it was said that more than 60 per cent. of the German shells fired at this time failed to explode. The German troops on the western front probably numbered 2,000,000 men.

Late in January the Allies made a spirited attack upon German positions east of Nieuport, among the sandy dunes of the Belgian coast, where they won part of an intrenched position, which enabled them to threaten the German trenches on the east side of the Yser. After this local success that part of the line lapsed into a dormant state for months.

In February the Germans blew up a British trench near Ypres, and there was

RASPUTIN AMONG HIS ADMIRERS IN THE RUSSIAN COURT

Gregory Rasputin, the Peasant Monk and Adventurer, Gained a Mysterious Power Over the Czarina and Was One Cause of the Czar's Downfall. His pro-German Intrigues Led to His Assassination

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

CZAR'S PORTRAIT TORN FROM ITS FRAME IN THE DUMA

First Meeting of the Russian Parliament After the Revolution. A General of the Army Is Addressing the Duma. The Great Portrait of the Czar Back of the Rostrum Has Been Torn From Its Frame

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

a seesaw battle near St. Eloi. The Princess Patricia's Regiment of Canadian Light Infantry in a sortie captured a German trench and many prisoners.

A severe battle raged near La Bassée on Jan. 25-26, when the Germans broke through part of the British lines and inflicted heavy losses upon the brigade of Guards regiments holding that part of the intrenchments. The Black Watch lost a great many officers and men, and the regiments engaged included such famous units as the First Scots Guards, First Coldstreams, First Cameron Highlanders, King's Royal Rifles, Second Sussex and London Scottish. The driving back of the British line caused the French left under Maud'huy to be dangerously exposed, but the Germans failed to seize their opportunity to turn this flank. On the same day the Germans fought their way into Givenchy, but were ejected after a hard hand-to-hand struggle.

In the last days of January and the first of February a severe battle raged about the brickfield west of La Bassée, and it was here that Lance Corporal Michael O'Leary of the Irish Guards won the Victoria Cross by killing eight Germans and capturing two. In January and February there were local battles at Lens, Arras, and Roye, and an important battle followed a French attack above Soissons. At first considerable success attended this effort, but heavy German reinforcements were brought up and the French were driven back across the Aisne with the loss of several thousand men and about twenty guns. General von Kluck, the German commander, made a great effort to capture Soissons, but Maunoury blocked the effort by the skillful use of French artillery and infantry reserves.

In February and March the French carried on an almost constant series of attacks in Champagne, which compelled the Germans to bring heavy reinforcements from the north. Not a great deal of ground was won, but nearly 10,000 German dead were buried by the French and 2,000 prisoners were captured. Meanwhile in the Verdun region further toward the south fierce battles were fought near Les Eparges and Pont-à-Mousson. In the Vosges the French and then the Germans won successes in the region of Mülhousen, Cernay, and Hartmanns-Weilerkopf.

Neuve Chapelle

In March, 1915, the British forces in France numbered half a million men, with General Sir John French the Commander in Chief and Sir Douglas Haig commanding the First Army, from La Bassée to Estaires. General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien commanded the Second Army, which held the lines up to the Ypres salient. On March 10 at 7:30 A. M. the British guns began to hurl a hurricane of shells upon the German trenches about Neuve Chapelle. Field guns, field howitzers, sixty-pounders, coast-defense guns, and fifteen-inch howitzers had all been crowded together for this bombardment, which flung four shells to every yard in the sector attacked during the thirty-five minutes before the range was increased and the storm of explosives broke over the town itself. When the British infantry advanced they readily won the positions, which had been pounded into dust heaps by the artillery, and the town fell into their hands.

The moment appeared ripe for the capture of the ridge east of the town, which dominates the great highway from Lille to the south, but in certain places some of the units had failed to carry out their part of the great plan. The battle continued with the utmost intensity through the 11th and 12th, but the Germans prevented any further advance, and the net result of the great effort was the capture of Neuve Chapelle. On the 14th and 15th the Germans developed a great offensive at St. Eloi, a village fifteen miles north of Neuve Chapelle. They won the village, but lost it later when General Haig's men attacked in great force.

The battle at Neuve Chapelle was a bitter disappointment to the British. The casualties were very heavy and were in part caused by the faulty ranging of their own artillery. The staff plans were in part imperfect, and altogether this effort was looked upon as a costly failure, with much of the fault in high places.

Final Official Reports on Gallipoli

Vice Admirals de Robeck and Wemyss Tell of the Navy's Part in the Withdrawal of Troops

THE British Admiralty published, on April 11, 1917, the dispatches from Vice Admiral Sir John M. de Robeck, late Vice Admiral Commanding the Eastern Mediterranean Squadron, and Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn E. Wemyss, late Senior Naval Officer, Mudros, describing the naval operations in connection with the withdrawal of the army from the Gallipoli Peninsula in December, 1915, and January, 1916. These communications furnish details of the all-important part played by the British Navy in what was one of the most difficult operations of the war.

Vice Admiral Wemyss, whose dispatch is dated Dec. 22, 1915, deals with the withdrawal from Suvla Bay and Anzac, which occurred eighteen days before the final evacuation of the peninsula. This preliminary operation was carried out in three stages. The principle decided upon for all three stages was secrecy and the attempt to take the enemy entirely by surprise. Every effort was therefore made during the whole of the operations to maintain the beaches, offing, &c., in their usual appearance, and all embarkations were carried out during the dark hours. The increase in the number of motor lighters, boats, &c., in use at the beaches was hidden as far as possible during the daytime. The preliminary stage was completed satisfactorily by Dec. 10, when the definite orders to evacuate were received.

It had been computed that ten nights would be required for the intermediate stage, on each of which 3,000 personnel and a proportion of guns and animals would be embarked from each beach. The estimate was eventually reduced, special efforts being made in order to take advantage of the fine weather. The intermediate stage was completed on the night of Dec. 17-18, and from the absence of any unusual shelling of the beaches during these nights it was apparent that the enemy had no idea of the movement in progress. Some 44,000 personnel, nearly 200 guns, numerous wagons, and 3,000 animals were evacuated during this period, together with a large amount of stores and ammunition.

A Risky Operation

The final stage commenced on the night of Dec. 18-19, and was completed on the night of Dec. 19-20. The weather conditions, however, proved to be ideal. On each of the two nights it was necessary to evacuate rather more than 10,000 personnel from each beach, and for this special arrangements were necessary. The chief possible difficulties to contend with were two—first, the bad weather to be expected at this season, second, interference by the enemy.

After some heavy winds, fine weather set in with December, and, except for a strong northeasterly wind on the 15th, continued until twenty-four hours after the completion of the evacuation. This prolonged period of fine weather alone made possible the success which attended the operation.

The final concentration of the ships and craft required at Kephalo was completed on Dec. 17, and in order to prevent enemy's aircraft observing the unusual quantity of shipping a constant air patrol was maintained to keep these at a distance. Reports of the presence of enemy submarines were also received during these two days; patrols were strengthened, but no attacks by these craft were made. The evacuation was carried out in accordance with orders. No delays occurred, and there were no accidents to ships or boats.

Destruction of Stores

On the night of Dec. 18-19 the embarkation was finished at Suvla by 3 A. M., and at Anzac by 5:30 A. M., and by daylight the beaches and anchorages at

these places had resumed their normal aspect. The second night's operation, so far as the navy was concerned, differed in no wise from the first, precisely the same routine being adhered to. The last troops left the front trenches at 1:30 A. M., and the signal that the evacuation was complete was received at 4:15 A. M. at Anzac and 5:39 A. M. at Suvla.

A large mine was exploded at about 3:15 A. M. by the Australians, and at Suvla all perishable stores which had not been taken off and which were heaped up in large mounds with petrol poured over them were fired at 4 A. M., making a vast bonfire, which lighted everything round for a very long distance. In spite of all this, the enemy seemed perfectly unaware of what had taken place. As day dawned, soon after 6:30, the anchorages of both places were clear of all craft, except the covering squadrons, which had been ordered up during the night, and when the sun had sufficiently risen for objects to be made out, the bombardment of the beaches commenced with the object of destroying everything that remained. At Suvla this consisted only of some water tanks and four motor lighters, which had been washed ashore in the gale of Nov. 28 and never recovered, owing principally to lack of time. At Anzac it had been deemed inadvisable to set a light to the stores which it had been found impossible to embark, so that here the bombardment was more severe, and large fires were started by the bursting shell. Admiral Wemyss continues:

A curious spectacle now presented itself, certain areas absolutely clear of troops being subjected to a heavy shell fire from our own and the enemy's guns. It seems incredible that all this work had taken place without the enemy becoming aware of our object, for, although the utmost care was taken to preserve the beaches and offing as near as possible normal, yet it proved quite impracticable to get up boats and troop carriers in sufficient time to carry out the night's work, and yet for them not to have been visible from some parts of the peninsula. At 7:25 A. M. I ordered the squadron to return to Kephalo, leaving two specially protected cruisers to watch the area. These subsequently reported that they had caused a good deal of damage among the enemy when they eventually swarmed down to take possession of the loot, the realization of which, I trust, was a great disappointment to them. All the arrangements were most admirably carried out, and the time table previously laid down was adhered to exactly. * * *

Before closing this dispatch I would like to emphasize the fact that what made this operation so successful, apart from the kindness of the weather and of the enemy, was the hearty co-operation of both services. The evacuation forms an excellent example of the cordial manner in which the navy and army have worked together during these last eight months. Nothing could have exceeded the courtesy of Generals Sir William Birdwood, Sir Julian Byng, and Sir Alexander Godley, and their respective staffs, and this attitude was typical of the whole army. The traditions of the navy were fully maintained, the seamanship and resource displayed reaching a very high standard. From the commanding officers of men-of-war, transports, and large supply ships to the midshipmen in charge of steamboats and pulling boats off the beaches, all did well.

Admiral de Robeck's Report

In the final operations, described by Vice Admiral de Robeck, the weather was not so uniformly favorable. Moreover, the difficulties were increased by the attentions of the enemy, who, however, thanks to the care and skill of our commanders, remained in entire ignorance of what was afoot.

Forty-eight hours before the evacuation was completed the number of men remaining on the peninsula was to be cut down to 22,000. Of these 7,000 were to embark on the last night but one, leaving 15,000 for the final night. At the request of the military the latter number was increased to 17,000. As few guns as possible were to be left to the final night, and arrangements were made to destroy any of these which it might be found impossible to remove, or which, by reason of their condition, were considered not worth removing.

The preliminary stage commenced on the night of Dec. 30-31, and terminated on the night of Jan. 7-8. During this stage all personnel except 17,000 were removed, as well as the majority of the guns and a great quantity of animals, stores, &c. The amount of stores remaining on shore after the preliminary stage was greater than was anticipated or intended; this was almost entirely due to the unfavorable weather conditions, and, as men were evacuated, to a shortage in working parties.

On Jan. 2 and 3 strong northeasterly winds blew all day; the morning of the 4th was calm, but the weather broke at 7 P. M., and by 11 P. M. it was blowing a gale. The transfer of guns, animals, and stores, &c., from motor lighters to transports and supply ships lying off the beaches was a matter of great difficulty under such conditions of weather.

Working Under Heavy Fire

During the whole of this period "V" and "W" beaches were subjected to a heavy and accurate shell fire from the enemy's batteries mounted on the Asiatic shore, and also from guns firing from positions to north of Achi Baba. All these guns were accurately registered on to the beaches, and the shelling continued day and night at frequent and uncertain intervals; that the actual loss of life from this fire was very small borders on the miraculous; the beach parties were completely exposed, and piers and foreshore constantly hit by shells while officers and men were working on them; even when resting in the dugouts security from enemy's fire could not be assured, and several casualties occurred under these conditions. The work on the beaches was practically continuous; during the daytime motor lighters, &c., were loaded up with stores, &c., to be transferred to storeships at night; by night the work was most strenuous.

During the whole time there remained the paramount necessity of preventing the enemy gaining intelligence of what was in progress; this added greatly to the difficulties of work during daylight. Enemy aircraft paid frequent visits to the peninsula; on these occasions, while the "Taube" was in evidence, animals and transports approaching the beaches were turned and marched in the opposite direction, and stores and horses already in lighters were even unloaded on to the beaches to give the appearance of a disembarkation.

On the afternoon of the 7th the enemy delivered a very heavy artillery attack against certain portions of our advanced position, probably the most intense bombardment our trenches in the Helles area have ever been subjected to. Attempts were made by the enemy to follow up this bombardment by an infantry attack, but the few Turks who could be persuaded to quit their trenches were instantly shot down, and the infantry advance was a complete failure. This bombardment and attack most fortunately took place at a time when our forward position was fully manned, and when there were still about sixty guns in position on the peninsula, with a very large supply of ammunition.

Embarkation Difficulties

The enemy was certainly deceived as to the date of our final departure from his shores, and his artillery fore on the final night of the evacuation was negligible.

The decision arrived at on Jan. 6 to evacuate practically all the personnel of the final night from "W" and "V" beaches necessitated some rearrangement of plans, as some 5,000 additional troops had to be embarked from these beaches. To use motor lighters from the already crowded piers would have lengthened the operation very considerably, and it was therefore decided to employ destroyers to embark 5,200 men from the blockships, which were fitted with stagings and connected to the shore; thus existing arrangements would be interfered with as little as possible. The result was excellent. The destroyers, which were laid alongside the blockships, in spite of a nasty sea, being handled with great skill by their commanding officers, once more showing their powers of adaptability.

The necessary amendments to orders were issued on the morning of the 7th, and, in spite of the short notice given, the naval operations on the night of Jan. 8-9 were carried out without confusion or delay, a fact which reflects great credit on all concerned, especially on the beach personnel, who were chiefly affected by the change of plan. On the 8th the weather was favorable, except that the wind was from the south; this showed no signs of freshening at 5 P. M., and orders were given to carry out the final stage. The actual embarkation on the 8th commenced at 8 P. M., and the last section were to commence embarking at 6:30 A. M. By 9 P. M. the wind had fresh-

ened considerably, still blowing from the south; a slight sea got up, and caused much inconvenience on the beaches.

A floating bridge at "W" beach commenced to break up, necessitating arrangements being made to ferry the last section of the personnel to the waiting destroyers. At Gully beach matters were worse, and, after a portion of the 700 troops had been embarked in motor lighters and sent off to his Majesty's ship Talbot, it was found impossible to continue using this beach, (one motor lighter was already badly on shore—she was subsequently destroyed by gunfire,) and orders were given for the remainder of the Gully beach party to embark from "W" beach; this was done without confusion, special steps having been taken by the beachmaster to cope with such an eventuality. After a temporary lull the wind again increased, and by 3 A. M. a very nasty sea was running into "W" beach.

It was only by the great skill and determination displayed by the beach personnel that the embarkation was brought to a successful conclusion and all the small craft except one steamboat (damaged in collision) got away in safety. The last troops were leaving at 3:45 A. M., after which the beach personnel embarked. Great difficulty was experienced in getting the last motor lighters away, owing to the heavy seas running into the harbor.

This was unfortunate, as the piles of stores which it had been found impossible to take off, and which were prepared for burning, were lit perhaps rather sooner than was necessary, as were also the fuses leading to the magazine. The latter blew up before all the boats were clear, and I regret to report caused the death of one of the crew of the hospital barge, which was among the last boats to leave. It was fortunate that more casualties were not caused by the explosion, débris from which fell over and around a great many boats.

Operations a Complete Success

Admiral de Robeck attributes the success of the operations principally to:

(a) Excellent staff work.

(b) The untiring energy and skill displayed by officers and men, both army and navy, comprising the beach parties.

(c) The good seamanship and zeal of the officers and crews of the various craft employed in the evacuation of the troops.

(d) The excellent punctuality of the army in the arrival of the troops for embarkation at the different beaches.

The navy [he continues] has especially to thank Generals Sir William Birdwood and Sir Francis Davies for their forethought and hearty co-operation in all matters. The staff work was above reproach and I hope I may be permitted to mention some of those military officers who rendered special assistance to the navy. They are: Major Gen. the Hon. H. A. Lawrence, Brig. Gen. H. E. Street, and Colonel A. B. Carey, R. E., the latter of whom performed work of inestimable value in the last few days by improving piers and preparing means of rapid embarkation from the blockships.

The program and plans as regards the naval portion of the operations were due to the work of my chief of staff, Commodore Roger J. B. Keyes, to whom too great credit cannot be given; to Captain Francis H. Mitchell, R. N., attached to General Headquarters; Major William W. Godfrey, R. M. L. I., of my staff; Captain Cecil M. Staveley, (principal beach master at Cape Helles;) Captain F. G. Talbot, in charge of the vessels taking part, and Acting Commander George F. A. Mulock, chief assistant to Captain Staveley.) The organization of the communications, on which so much depended, was very ably carried out by my fleet wireless officer (Commander James F. Somerville) and my signal officer, (Lieutenant Hugh S. Bowlby.)

The naval covering squadron was under the command of Rear Admiral Sydney R. Fremantle in his Majesty's ship Hibernia, who had a most able colleague in Captain Douglas L. Dent of his Majesty's ship Edgar, whose ability had done so much to improve the naval gun support to the Helles army. The work of this squadron was conducted with great energy and was in every way satisfactory. It controlled to a great extent the enemy's guns firing on to the beaches. Whenever the enemy opened fire, whether by day or night, there were always ships in position to reply, a result which reflects much credit on the officer named. The Army Headquarters gave us again the invaluable assistance and experience of Lieut. Col. C. F. Aspinall in arranging details, and I cannot help laying special stress on this officer's excellent cooperation with my staff on all occasions..

A Wonderful French War Museum

The Val-de-Grâce and Its Record of What Science Has Done to the Soldiers of France

J. Ernest Charles, writing for Les Annales, Paris, has told this interesting story of the Musée du Val-de-Grâce, founded at the suggestion of Justin Godart, French Under Secretary of State, and established under the direction of Dr. Jacob, Professor in Val-de-Grâce College, with the co-operation of Drs. Pascal, Perret, Lefort, Latarget, André, and Rothschild. The article is specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

MONUMENTS also have their destiny. The Val-de-Grâce, founded or developed by Anne of Austria as a thank offering to God for the tardy birth of the young Prince who was to become one of the most bellicose Kings of Europe, has long been the structure in Paris devoted especially to curing the ills caused by war. A hospital for soldiers, an advanced school for doctors and military surgeons, the Val-de-Grâce is now the museum where all the most wonderful achievements of science against the murderous weapons of war are exhibited.

Go to the Val-de-Grâce Museum of the Military Health Service, which Justin Godart, Under Secretary of State, took the lead in founding for the instruction of future generations. It will be a visit both stirring and sad, and yet comforting withal. You will be able there to follow the whole history of the war by the sufferings it inflicts and by the remedies, daily growing more efficient, which men of heart and of genius are creating to cure them. Science is fighting desperately to diminish the wickedness of men, and science is often victorious—especially French science. By its extraordinary activity and generosity it has done marvels.

Professor Fernand Widal, speaking of the vast strides of preventive medicine, the results of vaccination against smallpox, typhoid, cholera, which have abolished in this war those terrible epidemics of other wars, said: "Jenner's vaccination: English! Pasteur's vaccination: French!" The great life protecting discoveries have been made on this side of the trench line. Others have tried to dishonor science. Our learned men have saved its good name. They have persuaded us that, despite all this methodical carnage, one could and should still have faith in a truly humanitarian science. And it is here, in these grave and somewhat melancholy rooms, that the elements of the story have been assembled.

Let it no longer be said that history is only for the entertainment of curious men. These archives gathered here, these reports of Health Service Directors, which intrepid seekers for truth will some day read; these memoirs of army surgeons imprisoned in Germany, these scientific announcements, these photographic documents, in short, this history of the war as seen from within, of war as it really is—in all these we have the materials for volumes yet to be written, and for many future discoveries. Scientists and students, standing before the varied wealth of this anatomical-pathological museum, which exhibits the infinite diversity of lesions produced in the human body by modern engines of war, will hold fruitful discussions.

Marvels of Surgery

But the great masses of the people themselves will be overwhelmed with admiration in the presence of the results already achieved, whether by surgical operations of prodigious daring, or by other still bolder operations through which the surgeons not only repair the broken body, but seem to rebuild it entirely, making of a ruined man a new being, sound, solid, a man with the desire and possibility of action, filled afresh with the love of life. For these savants recreate youth, force, almost happiness. They accomplish resurrections—physical and moral resurrections.

Consider these plaster casts that record the successive stages of the plastic reparations made especially by Professor Morestin. Young men are brought in with faces mutilated, plowed open, ravaged; they no longer look like human beings. They have become objects of horror. They feel themselves consigned to solitude, to distress, to daily martyrdom. This one has the jaw torn away, the chin gone, and the upper lip hangs in shreds over a bloody abyss. That one no longer has a nose. A third has a chin and cheek that look as if they had been gnawed away. They are all hideous to look at, spectacles to frighten children and make even compassionate women turn from them forever.

Now, the surgeons take these ruined faces and rebuild them—actually reconstruct them. Professor Morestin removes a bit of rib from the unfortunate who has lost a nose, inserts it under the skin of the forehead, lets it gradually regain vitality, slips it down to the position of the nose, covers it with skin—and of that frightful wound there remain scarcely perceptible traces. Another cartilaginous graft makes a new chin for the soldier whose lower jaw was shattered, and there remain only light ridges and the regular lines of a scar to tell of what had been a terrible mutilation.

Sculptors in Living Flesh

What shall be done with this soldier whose eye socket and cheek bone have been crushed deep into the face? Is it possible to lessen the horror of such a wound? The surgeon, little by little, fills in and carpets the excavation for the eye with shreds of skin which grow together; and in like manner he treats the bared surface of the maxillary bone. An artificial eye is inserted, absolutely like the one that is intact, and it seems to look with the same look, to live with the same life. The wounded man now can return to a useful place in society.

And the wonderful modelings of these sculptors in human flesh have names hard to retain: Engraftment, rhinoplasty, cheiloplasty, refection of the lips, oculo-pulperial prothesia, refection of the eye and eyelid. And this strange yet simple vocabulary is growing every day, for names must be given to the meticulous and patient miracles of surgical science, and these miracles are multiplying incessantly. The plaster casts and photographs of the Val-de-Grâce show the phases of each. Surgeons are prestidigitators who do not desire to keep their secrets to themselves. * * *

In the Val-de-Grâce Museum a manikin that seems almost alive has undergone all the wounds, the fractures, the perforations, the mutilations developed by the war in such abominable variety; and this manikin bears all the apparatus invented to remedy them. Here is an artificial leg, supple and easily controlled; there is an apparatus with springs and metallic rings which enables a man to move the fingers of a hand which a wounded radial nerve has paralyzed. And here is the apparatus that supplies the place of a paralyzed muscle for shoulder articulation—the deltoid muscle, to call it by its name. Yonder is a similar apparatus to supply the loss of the bony substance of the humerus. If the wounded man has paralysis of the sciatic nerve his foot is inert; a shoe sole mounted on springs and articulated with steel rods enables him to use it. Gloves with springs in the back give a man the use of his hand when wounded nerves paralyze the fingers. Other contrivances permit him to dress himself without aid. Still others act as substitutes for stiffened, wasted, or absent members, so that the mutilated man can be a mechanic, a farmer, or can perform the most diverse professional tasks; in short, can again live in the workaday world of men and women.

Engines of Destruction

In this museum also are grouped all the engines of destruction created by the perverse imagination of those who champion the unlimited spread of sorrow and death: Zeppelin bombs, airplane bombs, incendiary shells, shrapnel, asphyxiating gas or explosive shells, aerial torpedoes, grenades, simple balls, little projectiles almost denuded yet whose in-

crèdible swiftness multiplies their murderous force. Here they are, these bullets, twisted, flattened, shattered, themselves mutilated; they seem to bear witness that evil canont be done with impunity.

Near this destructive paraphernalia is the protective apparatus. Against the lachrymal, suffocating, asphyxiating gas we have the original hyposulphite plug, modest but useful; then the different improvements on this, each marking a step of progress, until we reach the present mask, which guarantees safety. But it may be thought that warriors with heads muffled in steel furnish blind targets for projectiles. It is true, alas! that defensive arms are not as perfect as the offensive. But at least some of them reduce the destructive power of modern weapons. Especially is this true of the steel helmet, that masterpiece invented by Adrian; and when one examines all these helmets, which have been dented, scarred, smashed, pierced, and which yet have resisted, one begins to glimpse still further improvements. One wishes our soldiers might have fine armor like that of mediaeval times, yet lightened and adapted. From looking at these helmets, battered, yet sound after so many battles, may not some inventor get the inspiration for an effective protection that will shield our fighters?

The Fight Against Disease

If there is no absolute protection against wounds, there is such against epidemic disease, and this is something new. In former wars epidemics were more fatal than battles. Typhoid fever spread inevitable death, and cholera was always present. "Not all died of it, but all were stricken." Marshal St. Arnaud owed his death—and his glory—to cholera. Was it not this disease which, raging in its deadly way during the recent Balkan wars, stopped the Bulgarian Army in its march on Constantinople?

History of recent wars in this regard has become merely history of evils definitively abolished. Science there is truly victorious. Let inventors of rival serums prove each other's methods without virtue if not actually pernicious; we must, nevertheless, look with respect upon the exhibit of vaccines furnished by army laboratories, these graphic charts which bear irrefutable witness to the progressive disappearance of contagious diseases from our armies, and must perceive that one of the most dreaded causes of death has disappeared.

Medicine has shown as great genius as surgery in diminishing the ill-effects of wounds. No one can stand indifferent before the molds and models that depict the irrigation and disinfection of wounds by the Carrel process and the Dakin fluid. Carrel's method has aroused almost universal enthusiasm; only a few remain unconvinced. The Carrel method for the treatment of infected wounds has furnished its own proofs, and what proofs! It regenerates the tissues, it makes the flesh live again, it saves men, it makes physicians and surgeons cry in professional exaltation, "Wounds treated by the Carrel method are splendid to see!"

Work of the Ambulances

But the creative activities of physicians and surgeons recorded in this museum would be in vain if the wounded reached the hospital too late. Now the dressing stations have been brought close to the wounded, and the transport of the wounded to these stations has been accelerated. Herein lies the secret of the wonderful improvement brought about in the last eighteen months by a Military Health Service that is truly active, bold, methodical, vigilant, foreseeing, practical —modern!

The singularly expressive bas-reliefs of the sculptor Larrivé here represent these profoundly tragic scenes in their utmost simplicity. First we see men mount guard in the embrasure of a trench. One of them is wounded. On the spot immediately he receives first aid. Then another soldier, grievously wounded, is carried on a litter along the trenches and boyaux, the stretcher-bearers negotiating the difficult turnings with practiced skill. Now it is a first-line aid post. Near the door are ranged the guns and sacks of the wounded, and you see the protected shelter, with the

surgeons working calmly under a roof reinforced with sacks of earth and logs of wood. At length we are in the interior of the "poste de secours" itself. There is a bed of straw, a table for giving the wounded immediate treatment. Stretched on the table, under the brutal light of an acetylene lamp, lies a wounded man whom the busy Major is examining. Already a stretcher bearer is crossing the threshold with another victim. And to think that many of these posts, where the very speed of the operation assures the recovery of the patient, are situated 200 yards from the German lines, forty yards from the French lines—six yards underground!

Many of the wounded can be transported without delay to the ambulances at the front and the hospitals at the rear. Everything has been done to perfect this service. Mark the documentary collections of the Val-de-Grâce—ambulance models, tents, sanitary barracks, wagons, automobiles, &c.; one is soon convinced that the past has bequeathed scarcely anything to the present sanitary service. There are celebrated names—Larrey, Percy—but only names. The Health Service up to our time remained subordinate, rudimentary, insufficient—criminally insufficient. The soldier counted only as long as he could fight; after he had become useless as a warrior he ceased to be "interesting." Little attention was paid to him. Now everything is organized to preserve the sons of France.

A Great Hospital System

At Val-de-Grâce there is a relief plan of a vast evacuation station. Thither are gathered the wounded from all directions, at high speed, with care and order. In immense barracks they are sorted and classified. The empty spaces are adorned with gardens. And the hospital trains follow each other, carrying the wounded more and more swiftly toward the distant distributing stations, whence they are sent promptly to the various hospitals of the district. A great silence, solemn and calm, rests upon this vast evacuating station. It is no longer the silence of death. One feels that the wounded are going away toward health, recovery, life.

Another stroll through the pensive quiet of these instructive halls will give you still other impressions, for here each document marks the moments of the struggle of nature against the hostile powers of wounds and disease, the mysteries of advancing science reveal themselves one by one, and the whole is one large, clear synthesis of efforts and results. The Museum of the Val-de-Grâce will be useful not only to historians but to those who are destined to make new discoveries.

Frenchmen originated the idea and set the example, but the Germans did not let it go to waste. They imitated it, and established a museum like ours almost immediately. We at least have the certitude that the Museum of the Val-de-Grâce will be in no danger of perishing. The whole world will come here later to pay homage to the disciplined ardor of the French scientific spirit. In a minute study devoted to the health service, Professor Pierre Delbet records the astonishment and delight of French physicians who had long been held prisoners in Germany. They had seen nothing like our new methods, nothing comparable to the progress achieved in France in the art of curing the wounded of this war. The Museum of the Val-de-Grâce preserves that astonishment in tangible form. In the midst of catastrophes French science has kept all its virtue, and, when peace returns, will spread its benefits abroad through the world more widely than ever.

Germany's Form of Government

The Constitutional Fabric Which President Wilson Says Must Be Altered

By Walter S. Smoot

The war message of President Wilson indicated that the United States would make no peace with Germany until its present system of autocracy was overthrown. What constitutes that system is explained herewith by Mr. Smoot in an analysis of the German Constitution prepared for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE present German Empire dates its existence from the proclamation of King William I. of Prussia as German Emperor (Deutscher Kaiser) at Versailles, Jan. 18, 1871, near the close of the Franco-Prussian war. Its Constitution is little changed, however, from that adopted in 1866 after the Prussian victory of Königgratz had expelled Austrian dominance from Germany and replaced it by Prussian guidance in so far as the German States of the north were concerned, but had failed to so affect the southern States—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and South Hesse. Bismarck, with masterly foresight, made this Constitution of the North German Federation flexible enough to admit the South German States when the time came, but rigid enough to secure the union's complete domination by Prussia.

As in the federation, the imperial sovereignty of Germany is not vested, theoretically, in the person of the ruler, but in the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, whose members are German lords sent as representatives of the twenty-two monarchies and three free city republics, whose union forms the empire. Actually, however, despite the Kaiser's being, strictly speaking, mere President of the German Federation, and forbidden to veto laws passed by the Imperial Parliament, his will is law in every root and branch of the German Government. The imperial dignity is hereditary in the line of Hohenzollern; he possesses 17 votes out of 61 in the Bundesrat and 236 out of 397 in the Reichstag, and so can order the passage or killing of any measure he wishes; he appoints and dismisses without regard to the political complexion of the legislative bodies the Imperial Chancellor, who stands second only to himself in the Government; lastly, while he may not declare an offensive war without the consent of the Bundesrat, he is Commander in Chief of the navy and actively so of the army, in both of which fighting arms he appoints the chief officers and exacts the fullest and blindest obedience and allegiance.

Power of the Bundesrat

The Bundesrat, or Federal Council, representative of the imperial sovereignty vested in the whole body of German rulers, in complexion is like that of the British House of Lords, being the stronghold of the Junkers or conservative militarists of Germany, and in representative character is like the Senate of the United States, representing the various States of the Union. Unlike the situation in the American upper house, however, the German States are not equally represented in the Council. Prussia, comprising nearly two-thirds of the empire both in area and population, is officially given seventeen votes and actually controls one more, that of the principality of Waldeck; Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Brunswick, and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine send delegations varying from six to two members each; all the other States, including the free cities of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, have one representative—sixty-one lords in all.

The Bundesrat is a non-deliberative body, the members voting immediately by States upon the measures called up, in

strict accordance with instructions received from their home Governments; consequently, only the results, not the proceedings, of its sessions are published, leaving free consideration and discussion of German legislation to the Reichstag. The functions of the Bundesrat are legislative, executive, and judicial. First, bills must have its approval before they may become laws; second, it supervises, subject to the Emperor's will, the imperial administration; third, it acts as a Supreme Court of Appeals in case any one of the State courts is accused of a denial of justice.

The Reichstag a Forum

The great German forum for the discussion of public questions and the hope of the democratic element in Germany today is the Reichstag, or Imperial Parliament, corresponding to our House of Representatives. The membership numbers 397 Delegates, chosen today throughout the empire, exactly as in 1867, on the basis of one member to each 100,000 of the population. The elective system for the Reichstag is rigidly uniform throughout Germany, though Prussia and many other States have different systems for the election of the members of their State Legislatures. Every German citizen over 25 years of age, not mentally deficient or a criminal and not in active service with the colors, may vote in the general elections for the Reichstag; the Delegates are chosen for a term of five years—unless the House is sooner dissolved by the Emperor—and are paid for their services. The Reichstag enjoys neither executive nor judicial powers, but acts as the great deliberative body of the empire, the only forum in Germany where public opinion may be heard upon current legislation with any semblance whatever of fullness and freedom.

The Imperial Chancellor

The Kaiser selects and appoints from among the Prussian Delegates to the Bundesrat his Imperial Chancellor, who is the chief Minister of the empire and may be dismissed at the imperial pleasure without the slightest regard to the attitude of the parties in either the Bundesrat or Reichstag. The Chancellor, therefore, is responsible solely to the Emperor, from whose favor he derives his authority, and is not in the least affected by legislative praise or censure. He is the Emperor's closest confidant and adviser, and as such acts as intermediary between the Kaiser and the Parliament, particularly the Reichstag. He is the presiding officer of the Bundesrat; must countersign all newly approved laws with his signature; appoints the German officers in the Emperor's name, and oversees the discharge of their duties.

The control which the Emperor exercises over the Chancellor extends also to the other Imperial Ministers, who are consulted by the Kaiser individually as their advice or aid is especially required. We have, therefore, in Germany no cabinet system, the executive powers vested in a group of popular leaders who retain their portfolios only so long as their every important act is approved by Parliament, as in England and the other European countries. Instead, we have the German Kaiser, his functions and authority as Emperor supplemented by those as King of Prussia, enjoying an incalculable range of power, and the popular legislative body, the Reichstag, subjecting the Government to criticism and check rather than to direction.

The Social-Democratic Party

We may date the rise of the German workingman from the mid-Napoleonic period, when Prussia, as a war measure, extended liberty to her serfs, men bound for life to toil for their lords on the great rural estates. However, we do not find him asserting himself until the introduction of machinery and the formation of great factory communities in Germany, well along in the nineteenth century, had divided the population into two distinct classes—capital and labor.

In 1873 there was a great panic; the Government gave little or no relief to the want and misery which followed, and the workingmen by thousands joined a new political organization, the Social-Democratic Party, formed to secure recognition of the rights and needs of German workingmen. In 1876 the first

detailed party program of the Social-Democrats was published; since all the suffering endured by the working classes was attributable to the concentration of the country's wealth in the hands of a few, the gradual abolition of private ownership of sources and means of production, like railways, canals, and mines, was proposed, and in its place was to be substituted the establishment, by the aid of the State, of co-operative productive associations owned, worked, and controlled by and in the interests of the people themselves.

So much the party as a socialistic organization proposed. For the interest of democracy it urged that the ballot be made secret and obligatory upon all Germans over twenty years old of both sexes; that legislation and trial be by citizens chosen directly by the people themselves; that decision of war or peace be left in the hands of the people; that a system of militia be substituted for a paid standing army; that no abridgement whatever be made of freedom of the press, of assembly, and of conscience; that the period of daily toil be restricted and enforced work on Sunday be prohibited; that the labor of children be prohibited and that of women protected; that the formation of labor unions be allowed, and a graduated income tax established.

Bismarck's Harsh Law

The Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, who had made a united Germany "not through fine speeches and majority votes, but by Blood and Iron," was then at the height of his power as active head of the German Government; to him many of the demands of the Social-Democrats seemed just and reasonable, but more he classed as red revolution. In 1878, after two attempts had been made upon the life of the Emperor by fanatics who happened to hold Social-Democratic beliefs, he put through the Reichstag the "Law of Exceptions," designed to suppress popular agitation altogether and providing that all meetings, publications, and societies purposing "the subversion of the social order" and promoting socialistic tenets and ideals were to be forcibly suppressed, and that martial law was to be proclaimed in any city threatened with riot or other labor disturbance.

Under this harsh law, which remained in effect twelve years, scores of agitators were expelled from the country, over 200 labor unions were disbanded, and hundreds of publications were suppressed, but its lasting result was to throw the whole number of Social-Democrats into a compact body, whose representation in the Reichstag doubled from 1877 to 1884. Bismarck, having incurred the enmity of nearly every political party in Germany except the National Liberals, was by this time in great straits for popular support; therefore, to conciliate and enlist the aid of the Social-Democrats he advocated a number of reforms for the benefit of the working classes and carried out a few of them.

In 1883 the Government enacted a law insuring the workingman against sickness, and the next year a supplementary one insuring him against accident. By 1887 child and female labor had been limited by legislative enactment and Sunday set apart as a day of rest. In 1889 the final measure was passed, insuring workingmen against poverty from permanent disablement or old age. The Social-Democratic Party in the Reichstag opposed these laws as an attempt to steal their thunder, and the party lost ground in consequence, but gradually more than recovered it. The party leaders pointed out that the provision directing the workingman to pay an appreciable portion of his wages into the several workingmen's insurance funds for emergencies which oftentimes never arose robbed him of his independence and freedom of choice in disposing of his wages.

The Crown and the People

The only hope for free government in Germany, therefore, lies in the success of the above-detailed program of the Social-Democratic Party; for as it stands the Government, though it is founded on a written Constitution and the Reichstag is elected by popular vote, is the least democratic in Western

Europe. In the first place, the Constitution makes essential the approval of each and every law by the Military Imperialists who compose the Bundesrat, which may thus veto a law passed by the popular assembly, the Reichstag. In the second place, the representatives of the people in the Reichstag have absolutely no voice or control in the inner councils of the Government. The Emperor rules by right of birth and is subject to none—"I take my crown from God alone!" His Ministers, far from bearing the mandate of the dominant party in Parliament, are responsible to the Emperor alone, since it is he who at will appoints and dismisses them. His immense bloc of votes in both houses of Parliament, combined with the additional support he usually receives, is sufficient for him to pass or block any measure he wishes; and, furthermore, he may vote down any constitutional measure to which he is opposed, since fourteen votes in the Bundesrat are sufficient to defeat any proposed amendment to the Constitution.

German Liberal Movement

Public criticism of the Government is liable to cause the arrest and imprisonment of the offender. The complete subjection of the popular will to the dictates of the Government is seen in the fact that four times in the past the Reichstag has been dissolved for presuming to use its only weapon against the Government—rejection of the Ministry's measures—and in all four cases a new election has provided an assembly which passed the measure upon which its predecessor was wrecked.

So it is that in Germany the will of the people is directed by the masterful, all-powerful few, who compose the Government, along the path which has been prescribed and marked out for it; and the Hohenzollern dynasty has succeeded in preserving to a remarkable degree its ideal of a Government imposed from above and being of and for the people only to a limited degree.

Under the influence of liberal movements coming to a head in other States of Europe and in America, the Social-Democratic Party came less and less to radically condemn the existing order and more and more to appear as the champion of reform confronting the intolerably despotic imperial system. German politics possesses no large liberal party advocating the democratic principles of responsible Ministers, equal electoral districts, and retrenchment in military expenditures; consequently it has devolved upon the Social-Democrats to be the chief promoters of German democracy, resisting sturdily the ambitious and warlike projects of Kaiser Wilhelm II., advocating a decrease in expenditures for colonial purposes, striving for the promotion of international peace, and scorning the divine right theories of the Emperor.

In their efforts toward reform the Social-Democrats have been supported by the other parties of the democratic Left in the Reichstag, and by many adherents from the Catholic Centre and the Conservative Right, showing that the liberal movement, though subject to suppressive measures, has been rising in Germany, as well as in other countries.

German exponents of this liberal movement see the first step in its success in the projected redivision of the empire into new and more equitable electoral districts.

In 1867, under the Confederation, a law was passed dividing the country roughly into electoral districts of 100,000 voters each and assigning one member in the Reichstag to each electoral district. Since then the population of Germany has increased from 40,000,000 to 65,000,000, hundreds of thousands have removed from the country to the city, rural districts of formerly 100,000 inhabitants have dwindled, while great manufacturing centres have increased three and four fold in population, and still this law has never been changed.

As a result, Berlin, for instance, although its population would entitle it to twenty representatives in the Reichstag, actually possesses only six. Then, too, this condition has been responsible for the dominance of the relatively small Socialist minority in the Reichstag by the large Conservative majority; in 1907

the Socialists, though polling over 3,250,000 votes, elected only forty-three members to the Reichstag, while the Conservative Junkers, militarists living on great country estates, cast only 1,500,000 votes and returned eighty-three delegates to the Reichstag. Despite these disadvantages at the polls, the Socialists made large gains in the elections of 1912.

The Imperial German Government has always opposed both a redivision of electoral districts and the institution of parliamentary government by two parties—the "party in power" and the opposition—which such a change would inevitably bring about. It knows that increase of representation would mean such an increase in the number of delegates from the towns and their industrial elements as to shift the dominant power in the Government from the Conservative Right to the Liberal Left. It knows that the rise of a great Liberal Party in the Reichstag would put an end to its present independence of the various small parties which divide the lower house against itself. It still holds that the Ministry should be held responsible only to one man, the Emperor, and subject to no let or hindrance on the part of the people. This stand it will adhere to and maintain as long as it can.

The Kaiser a Reactionary

Conspicuous among the opponents of German liberalism and reform is the figure of the present Kaiser, William II. His ideal of a reigning Prince, which he has constantly striven to realize, is that of one who watches over and guards and regulates with beneficient paternalism every interest in his people's life. William I. had no more devout belief in monarchy and the mission of the Hohenzollerns; Frederick the Great had no smaller belief in government of the people by the people, than William II. Throughout history the Hohenzollerns have been remarkable for their adherence to the theory of the divine right of Kings, for the maintenance of a peerless army, and for the swift addition of more territory to their dominions. Emperor William has followed in the footsteps of his fathers in fulfilling the first of these two, and it is not his fault that he will not be able to fulfill the third.

In his speeches he has endeavored to secure blind acceptance by the people of the god-like character of the Hohenzollern rule by repeatedly exalting the memory of his ancestors and admonishing his auditors to follow him cheerfully and unquestioningly as their divinely appointed ruler:

"It is a tradition in our House to consider ourselves as designed by God to govern the peoples over which it is given us to reign. My grandfather placed, by his own right, the crown of the Kings of Prussia on his head, once more laying stress upon the fact that it was conferred upon him by the Grace of God alone, not by Parliament, by meetings of the people, or by popular decision; and that he considered himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven, and as such performed his duties as regent and ruler. Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views or opinions of the day, I go my way, which is devoted solely and alone to the prosperity and peaceful development of our Fatherland."

Standing on False Ideals

The worldwide democratic movement of recent years has awakened only enmity in the Emperor's breast, and he does not seem to be able to realize that a new era of democracy has at last dawned in the German Empire in which the people are to control their own political life. Rather, he has tried to force the old despotic order upon an age of far better and different ideals. One speech of his in particular, made to recruits at Potsdam, Nov. 23, 1891, at a time of disorder and reform agitation, the world will never forgive or forget: "*More than ever, unbelief and discontent raise their head. It may happen, though God forbid, that you may have to fire on your own parents and brothers. Prove your fidelity, then, by your sacrifice.*"

In the light of the conditions in German politics outlined in this article, and of recent events, this paragraph from Dr. John Clark Ridpath's "History of the World" (1911 edition) sounds almost

like a prophecy and shines like a beacon of hope for the future:

"It is the misfortune of the Germany of today that her greatness still rests upon the foundations of military force. To the extent that this is so, her strength is weakness and the imperial system endangered. It remains for the present and the future to demonstrate whether Germany shall be able, with her powerful intellect and splendid moods of mental action, to eliminate from her political and social system the elements of force, of personal will, of feudal antecedence, of remaining absolutism, and to leave behind in her tremendous crucible only the beauty of her genius and the liquid gold of liberty."

Painful Charges of Brutality to Prisoners

THE London Times of April 11 printed a dispatch from a special correspondent at Berne, Switzerland, which contained a distressing indictment of the cruelty practiced by German women toward English prisoners. The correspondent says that the accounts from 1,500 English soldiers released from German prison camps now in Switzerland give testimony which "will make a monument of German shame that will stand as a warning to the world for generations." He continues:

"One has heard before how German women refused to give British wounded any food or drink on their long journey through Germany, so that they suffered unutterable anguish for days together; but it is only when one hears the stories in mass—a hundred, one after another—that one gets any idea of the universality and the horror of it all. There are in Switzerland today scores and scores of men of all ranks who had the same experiences. Food and drink were denied them, (by women wearing the Red Cross,) and the denial was accompanied with the filthiest abuse.

"It was the common amusement of these Red Cross women to tempt our men, who were in the last extremity of hunger and thirst, by holding food and drink out to them to try to make them snatch at it, and then drawing it away. Many scores of our men, begging for a drink, had coffee, or water, or soup tendered to them; and then at the last moment the gentle nurse would spit in the cup or glass. Not seldom our men, in their suffering, had to drink the defiled stuff, while the women looked on and laughed. An equally common entertainment with these women was to offer a wounded man a glass, perhaps, of water; then, standing just outside his reach, pour it slowly on to the ground or down between the station platform and the railway carriage.

"The French prisoners, we know, were not regarded with the same hatred as the British. One of our officers was wearing a pair of blue French trousers. Putting off his tunic, he appealed to a Red Cross nurse for food, and she, taking him to be French, gave it him. In his excitement he inadvertently said, 'Oh, thank you!' Thereupon, seeing his nationality, she snatched the food away again. Sometimes French officers were able to get food, which they generously shared in secret with British comrades. In at least one case the behavior of the Red Cross women was too much even for the German soldiers.

"Two of our officers were in a railway carriage with nine wounded German privates. The latter at every station were plied with food and drink and cigarettes, but the British officers were merely called 'English swine,' and given nothing. This went on for over twenty-four hours, until the German soldiers could stand it no longer. Then two of them pretended to have finished their own portions hurriedly, and asked for more. Keeping what they then received out of sight till the train was in motion, they gave it to the British officers.

"Cases of physical maltreatment of our wounded by the German nurses were just as common, as systematic, as was the refusal to give them nourishment."

The Hand of God in Prussianism

A Study of the German War Spirit

DR. J. P. BANG, Professor of Theology at the University of Copenhagen, has written a book, entitled "Hurrah and Hallelujah," which consists largely of excerpts from the works of Pan-German poets and from the sermons of clergymen who see in Germanism the hand of God. The title is taken from a collection of poems published by a German pastor, Konsistorialrat Dietrich Vorwerk, under the title, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," which Dr. Bang considers so significant that he has adopted it for this "documentation" of the teachings of Germany's religious and intellectual leaders. A translation has just been published by the George H. Doran Company.

"The Allies," says Dr. Bang, "have denounced the Germans as barbarians. If this were meant to imply that Germany was not a civilized nation such an accusation would, of course, be absurd. Germany is unquestionably a civilized nation and none of the spokesmen of the allied powers would think of denying that she has produced rich treasures of 'kultur.' Wherever the German mind has labored, wonderful riches have been the outcome.

"But the charge of barbarism points in an entirely different direction. It points to a development within Germany which has been going on with headlong rapidity, especially during the past fifty years. Even the highest kultur can turn to barbarism when it becomes subservient to utterly false and immoral ideas.

"In Germany such a craving for power, such a worship for mere strength, has taken root and grown, that the claim of right to be a determining factor in international relations has been entirely pushed aside. A colossal and ever-increasing self-admiration, a belief in the glory of all things German, the surpassing merits of the German nature, which alone has the right to rule the world, a cynical, brutal assertion that in relation to this claim all existing treaties, all appeals to international law, all consideration for weaker peoples, are of no signficance whatever—all this we have witnessed with shuddering astonishment.

"The greatest and most popular of all the new German prophets is the poet Emanuel Geibel, whose centenary has recently been celebrated, (born 1815, died 1884,)" says Dr. Bang. "It is he who has given the classic expression to the new German hope of Germany's victorious march through the world. This has been achieved in the lines which are quoted times without number in the newest German war literature:

> "Und es mag am deutschen Wesen
> Einmal noch die Welt genesen!

"'The world may yet again be healed by Germanism.' The hope here expressed has become a certainty for modern Germany, and the Germans see in this the moral basis for all their demands. Why must Germany be victorious, why must she have her place in the sun, why must her frontiers be extended, why is all opposition to Germany shameful, not to say devilish, why must Germany become a world empire, why ought Germany, and not England, to become the great colonial power? Why, because it is through the medium of Germanism that the world is to be healed; it is upon Germanism that the salvation of the world depends. That is why all attacks upon Germanism are an offense against God's plans, and opposition to His designs for the world; in short, a sin against God.

"In the first edition of Pastor Vorwerk's poems there occurred a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, of which I will cite the last three petitions and the close:

> "Though the warrior's bread be scanty, do Thou work daily death and tenfold woe unto the enemy. Forgive in merciful long-suffering each bullet and each blow which misses its mark! Lead us not into the temptation of letting our wrath be too tame in carrying out Thy divine judgment! Deliver us and our ally from the infernal enemy and his servants

COUCY-LE-CHATEAU BEFORE THE GERMAN INVASION

This Fine Mediaeval Castle, the Best Preserved in France, Dating from the Thirteenth Century, Was Blown to Fragments by the Germans When They Had to Retire

(Photo from Wildman Service)

COUCY-LE-CHATEAU AFTER THE GERMAN RETREAT

All That Is Left of the Massive Donjon Tower
Shown on Preceding Page

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

View of the Devastated Park of the Castle
As the Invaders Left It

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

on earth. Thine is the kingdom, the German land; may we, by aid of Thy steel-clad hand, achieve the power and the glory.

"Here, however, the Germans themselves thought the poet had gone too far; the poem was denounced as blasphemous in a religious paper, and it did not appear in later editions of the book.

"Another poet, Fritz Philippi, has written the following poem, entitled 'World-Germany':

"In the midst of the world war Germany lies like a peaceful garden of God behind the wall of her armies. Then the poet hears the giant strides of the new armor-clad Germany; the earth trembles, the nations shriek, the old era sinks into ruin. Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity.

"We have become a nation of wrath; we think only of the war. We execute God's almighty will and the edicts of his justice we will fulfill, imbued with holy rage."

Dr. Bang quotes long passages from published war sermons, most of which proclaim the identity of Germanism and Christianity. This is from a volume of sermons published by Pastor H. Francke, Liegnitz:

They envy us our freedom, our power to do our work in peace, to excel in virtue of ability, to fulfill our appointed task for the good of the world and humanity, to heal the world by the German nature, to become a blessing to the people of the earth. Wherever the German spirit obtains supremacy, there freedom also prevails. * * *

Here we come upon the old, intimate kinship between the essence of Christianity and of Germanism. Because of their close spiritual relationship, therefore, Christianity must find its fairest flower in the German mind. Therefore, we have a right to say: "Our German Christianity—the most perfect, the most pure." * * *

German craving for truth and German strength of faith, working along Biblical paths, have attained to the true faith, the pure religiousness, whose first and greatest spokesman is Jesus Christ. Thus the Germans are the very nearest to the Lord, and may claim for themselves that they have "continued in His Word." * * *

We fight, then, not only for our land and our people; no, for humanity in its most mature form of development; in a word, for Christianity as against degeneration and barbarism. Therefore, as surely as the history of mankind moves onward and not backward, and truth is higher than lies and hypocrisy, God must be with us, and victory ours.

"*The German God*"

In the report of an address by a German theological professor, in the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger for Nov. 13, 1914, we read as follows:

But the deepest and most thought-inspiring result of the war is "the German God." Not the national God, such as the lower nations worship, but "our God," who is not ashamed of belonging to us, the peculiar acquirement of our heart. Max Lenz has already testified to the revelation of the "German God," and Luther's hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," merely expresses the same idea in other words.

In a sermon preached Sept. 6, 1914, Pastor Karl Koenig said:

Not fear, but strength! Since the days of the Morocco affair, the most painful thing for us who hold Germany's strength and greatness to be a neccessity for the history of mankind, was the fact that the inevitable weakening in our policy at that time—inevitable because our fleet was not yet ready, because the Kaiser Wilhelm canal was not yet completed, because Heligoland was not yet fully fortified, and because the whole Morocco business was not a matter for the sake of which the conscience of our people would have approved a war—the fact that this weakness of our policy, to which necessity compelled us, led foreign nations to suspect our Kaiser of timidity. William the Timid! Thus they mocked in France, thus they hissed in England, and the Muscovites rubbed their hands in glee. * * *

Must we not, even now, be thankful that Russian thirst for power, and French ambition, fostered and encouraged by English egoism, did not let the shots fired at Serajevo lead to a stern chastisement of Serbia, as moral earnestness demanded, but allowed them to swell into the thunder rolling through this, the greatest war which has ever shaken the world. Two years too early for our enemies, but an act of grace from God for ourselves and our allies! For now we have the lead in the iron game of war; and though England may lurk in the background, waiting for her turn in the game—so be it, England—we know exactly what trumps you hold, but whether you know ours, coming days will show. * * *

Our German power shows its nature precisely in this, that it can wait until God, through its conscience, commands: "Now is the time to strike and defend thyself." The time had not come in the days of the Morocco episode. But it has come now, and German power, deliberate and calm, now faces a world of foes. Conscience commands, and then there is neither wavering nor political wrangling, no ambiguous Anglicizing, no ambiguous Muscovitizing, but one thing only: Yes or no, and "German blows, German power."

In a pamphlet entitled "War Devotions," which has run through several editions, Pastor J. Rump, Berlin, thus outlines Germany's mission:

We stand facing the decisive hour for Europe; nay, we must even say, for Asia and Africa. On Germany, which, contrary to all human calculation, has in this war been guided to victory, the Lord will confer the duty of heralding the progress of His Kingdom throughout humanity. On the paths of commerce and intercourse we shall go forth to all nations, and, after the fierce fight is over, carry Jesus to them, in the quiet, peaceful work of a true Kultur. England, in these paths, has lowered herself to become a nation of hucksters, who have long abandoned the service of God for that of Mammon. Let England's doings be a warning to us, Christians!

Pastor Goesch of Bustrow delivered a discourse on war and Kultur, which concludes with these words:

We Germans, reviled as Huns and barbarians, having through the war been taught the value and benignant power of our Christian-German Kultur, will become the missionaries of Kultur to the people of the earth. As a nation which knows and wills, which strives and achieves, we will conquer that place in the sun which is due to us, and will become bearers of light to the other nations, so that their eyes may be opened to the deed of infamy, the Kultur-murder, to which they have stooped, blinded by hatred and envy. This German war against the whole world shall break the way for German Kultur to the whole world!

Dr. Bang, in conclusion, points out that a systematic campaign of chauvinism and incitement to war had long been carried on in Germany. He quotes from "a remarkable book," published in 1913 by a German-American, Professor O. Nippold:

Chauvinism has grown enormously in Germany during the last decade. This fact makes the strongest impression on those who have returned to Germany after living a long time abroad. I, myself, can say from experience how astonished I was, on returning to Germany after a long absence, to see this psychological transformation. * * * Hand in hand with this outspoken hostility to foreign countries there goes a one-sided war enthusiasm and war mania such as would have been thought impossible a few years ago. One can only deplore the fact that today there is so much irresponsible agitation against other States and so much frivolous incitement to war. It cannot be doubted that this agitation is part of a deliberate scheme, the object of which is gradually to win over the population, and if possible the Government, no matter by what means—even by the distortion of fact and malicious slander—to the program of the chauvinists.

These people not only incite the nation to war, but systematically stimulate the desire for war. War is pictured not as a possibility that may occur, but as a necessity that must come, and the sooner the better. The sum and substance of the teaching of the chauvinistic organizations, such as the Pan-German League and the German Defense Association, is always the same; a European war is not merely an eventuality for which we must be prepared, but a necessity at which, in the interest of the German Nation, we should rejoice.

One of the leaders of the association known as Young Germany wrote in its official organ for October, 1913, according to Dr. Bang:

War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel or revolting. No, war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men of action—the Great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms, and the faithful dead ascend to heaven—a Potsdam Lance Corporal will call the guard to the door, and "Old Fritz," springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of Young Germany.

Under German Rule in France and Belgium

A Young Englishman's Experience

J. P. Whitaker, a young Englishman, was at Roubaix in Northern France on business when the Germans unexpectedly invaded that region in September, 1914. After passing two and a half years there under German military rule, he escaped in March, 1917, by way of Belgium and Holland, and wrote an interesting account of his experiences for The London Times. His observations regarding the changed policy of the Germans in Belgium revealed some things hitherto unknown to the outside world. Mr. Whitaker found the rule of the invaders in Roubaix and Lille comparatively humane at first, but he continues:

TOWARD the end of March, 1915, a distinct change became noticeable in the policy of the German military authorities, and for the first time the people of Roubaix began to feel the iron heel. The allied Governments had formally declared their intention of blockading Germany, and the German Army had been given a sharp lesson at Neuve Chapelle. Whether these two events had anything to do with the change, or whether it was merely a coincidence, I do not know; the fact remains that our German governors who had hitherto treated us with tolerable leniency chose about this time to initiate a régime of stringent regulation and repression.

The first sign of the new policy was the issue of posters calling on all men, women, and children over the age of 14 to go to the Town Hall and take out identification papers, while all men between 17 and 50 were required also to obtain a control card.

Up to this time I had escaped any interference from the Germans, perhaps because I scarcely ventured into the streets for the first two months of the German occupation, and possibly also because, from a previous long residence in Roubaix, I spoke French fluently. Strangely enough, though I went to the Town Hall with the rest and supplied true particulars of my age and nationality, papers were issued to me as a matter of course, and never during the whole two years and more of my presence in their midst did the enemy molest me in any way.

Methods of the Invaders

The only incident which throws any light on this curious immunity occurred about the middle of 1915. Like all other men of military age, I was required to present myself once a month at a public hall, in order to have my control card, which was divided into squares for the months of the year, marked in the proper space with an official stamp "Kontrol, July," or "August," or whatever the month might be. We were summoned for this process by groups, first those from 17 to 25, then those from 25 to 35, and so on. Hundreds of young fellows would gather in a room, and one by one, as their names were called, would take their cards to be stamped by a noncommissioned officer sitting at a table on the far side of the room. On the occasion I have in mind the noncommissioned officer said to me, "You are French, aren't you?" I answered, "No." "Are you Belgian?" "No," again. "You are Dutch, then?" A third time I replied "No."

At this stage an officer who had been sauntering up and down the room smoking a cigarette came to the table, took up my card, and turning to the man behind the table remarked, "It's all right. He's an American." I did not trouble to enlighten him. That is probably why I enjoyed comparative liberty.

Enslavement is part of the deliberate policy of the Germans in France. It

began by the taking of hostages at the very outset of their possession of Roubaix. A number of the leading men in the civic and business life of the town were marked out and compelled to attend by turns at the Town Hall, to be shot on the spot at the least sign of revolt among the townspeople.

Not a few of the mill owners were ordered to weave cloth for the invaders, and on their refusal were sent to Germany and held to ransom. Many of the mill operatives, quite young girls, were directed to sew sandbags for the German trenches. They, too, refused, but the Germans had their own ways of dealing with what they regarded as juvenile obstinacy. They dragged the girls to a disused cinema hall, and kept them there without food or water until their will was broken.

Barbarity reached its climax in the so-called "deportations." They were just slave raids, brutal and undisguised.

The procedure was this: The town was divided into districts. At 3 o'clock in the morning a cordon of troops would be drawn round a district—the Prussian Guard and especially, I believe, the Sixty-ninth Regiment, played a great part in this diabolical crime—and officers and noncommissioned officers would knock at every door until the household was roused. A handbill, about octavo size, was handed in, and the officer passed on to the next house. The handbill contained printed orders that every member of the household must rise and dress immediately, pack up a couple of blankets, a change of linen, a pair of stout boots, a spoon and fork, and a few other small articles, and be ready for the second visit in half an hour. When the officer returned, the family were marshaled before him, and he picked out those whom he wanted with a curt "You will come," "And you," "And you." Without even time for leave-taking, the selected victims were paraded in the street and marched to a mill on the outskirts of the town. There they were imprisoned for three days, without any means of communication with friends or relatives, all herded together indiscriminately and given but the barest modicum of food. Then, like so many cattle, they were sent away to an unknown fate.

Months afterward some of them came back, emaciated and utterly worn out, ragged and verminous, broken in all but spirit. I spoke with numbers of the men. They had been told by the Germans, they said, that they were going to work on the land. They found that only the women and girls were put to farm labor.

The men were taken to the French Ardennes and compelled to mend roads, man sawmills and forges, build masonry, and toil at other manual tasks. Rough hutments formed their barracks. They were under constant guard both there and at their work, and they were marched under escort from the huts to work and from work to the huts. For food each man was given a two-pound loaf of German bread every five days, a little boiled rice, and a pint of coffee a day. At 8 o'clock in the morning, after a breakfast consisting of a slice of bread and a cup of coffee, they went to work. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon they returned for the night and took their second meal—dinner, tea, and supper all in one. Often they were buffeted and generally ill-used by their taskmasters. If they fell ill, cold water, internally or externally, was the invariable remedy. Once a commission came to see them at work, but they had been warned beforehand that any man who complained of his treatment would suffer for it. One of them was bold enough to protest to the visitors against a particularly flagrant case of ill-usage. That man disappeared a few days later.

Saved by American Food

Long before this the food problem had become acute in Roubaix. Simultaneously with the establishment of the system of personal control over the inhabitants the Germans closed the frontier between France and Belgium and forbade us to approach within half a mile of the border line. The immediate effect of this isolation was to reduce to an insignificant trickle the copious stream of foodstuffs which until then poured in from Belgium—not the starv-

ing Belgium of fiction, but the well supplied Belgium of fact.

Butchers and bakers and provision dealers had to shut their shops, and the town became almost wholly dependent on supplies brought in by the American Relief Commission. Fresh meat was soon unobtainable, except by those few people who could afford to pay fabulous prices for joints smuggled across the frontier. Months ago meat cost 32 francs a kilogram (about 13 shillings a pound) and an egg cost 1 franc 25, (a shilling.) Obviously such things were beyond the reach of the bulk of the people, and had it not been for the efforts of the Relief Commission we should all have starved.

The commission opened a food depot, a local committee issued tickets for the various articles, and rich and poor alike had to wait their turn at the depot to procure the allotted rations. The chief foodstuffs supplied were: Rice, flaked maize, bacon, lard, coffee, bread, condensed milk, (occasionally,) haricot beans, lentils, and a very small allowance of sugar. Potatoes could not be bought at any price.

Hungry German Soldiers

Unfortunately, though I regret that I should have to record it, there is evidence that by some means or other the German Army contrived to intercept for itself a part of the food sent by the American Commission. One who had good reason to know told me that more than once trainloads which, according to a notification sent to him, had left Brussels for Roubaix failed to arrive. I know also that analysis of the bread showed that in some cases German rye flour, including 30 per cent. of sawdust, had been substituted for the white American flour, producing an indigestible putty-like substance which brought illness and death to many. Indeed, the mortality from this cause was so heavy at one period that all the grave diggers in the town could not keep pace with it.

One could easily understand how great must have been the temptation to the Germans to tap for themselves the food which friends abroad had sent for their victims. It is a significant fact that soldiers in Roubaix were eager to buy rice from those who had obtained it at the depot at four francs (3s 4d) the pound in order, as they said, "to send it home." I shall describe later how utterly different were the conditions in Belgium as I saw them.

Meagre as were the food supplies for the civilians in Roubaix, those issued to the German soldiers toward the end of my stay were little better.

At first the householders, on whom the soldiers were billeted, were required to feed them and to recover the cost from the municipal authorities.

Collection of Metals

In passing, I may mention that all ordinary money, gold, silver, and bronze, disappeared from circulation long ago. Some of it possibly was hidden by the townsfolk, but much more was collected by the Germans and sent out of the country. It was replaced by paper money of all denominations, even to cardboard sous. After some months the billeting system was altered, and the German military authorities undertook the feeding of their men. From that time onward there was a progressive fall in the quantity and deterioration in the quality of the soldiers' daily rations. To the end they seemed to have no lack of jam, not plum and apple, but something red, which looked rather like raspberry. Often I have seen them walking along the street munching a thick slice of rye bread covered with a generous layer of this jam.

Just before I left, I was shown one day's menu provided for the troops. Breakfast consisted of dry bread and coffee, dinner of boiled barley, and supper of cooked beet root. It was some comfort to us to know that, while we could barely subsist, the Germans were evidently not much better off.

Conditions in Germany were reflected also in the systematic plundering of workshops and houses of everything made of brass, copper, pewter, or German silver. The Germans began by taking all stocks of raw and combed wool, raw cotton, and raw silk from the warehouses, and followed this up by appropriating

all woolen piece goods. They next requisitioned all oil. Late last year they issued a proclamation calling upon the residents to declare to the military authorities what brass was in their possession. Of course, nobody paid any attention to the order.

A few days later parties of German soldiers went through the town, street by street, and seized every article of brass, bronze, or copper on which they could set eyes. Without ceremony they entered private houses, helped themselves to stair rods, brass or copper kettles and other cooking utensils, gas fittings, fittings from fireplaces, door plates, clothes hooks, and knickknacks of every kind. Nothing was overlooked. They took up brass-headed carpet pins; they even tore the candlesticks from pianos. The things were bundled into a cart, on the tail of which were scales, like those carried on coalmen's trolleys. Everything was weighed, and a receipt was given at the rate of 2 francs per kilogram, or 10 pence per pound. Bronze statuettes worth at least 500 francs were taken at the intrinsic cost of the metal.

The process was not confined to private houses or workshops. One day the Germans made a tour of the cafés and ripped off the pewter tops of the counters. They also went from shop to shop and carried away the brass trays from the scales. I saw one cart go along the street piled high with gramophone horns.

Hope of Conquest Gone

Of all the things I saw and heard in Roubaix and Lille none impressed me more than the wonderful change which came over the outlook and demeanor of the German soldiery between October, 1914, and October, 1915.

I had many opportunities of mingling with them, more, in fact, than I cared to have, for now and again during this period two or three of them were actually billeted on the good folk with whom I lodged.

I knew just sufficient of the German language to be able to chat with them, and they made no attempt to conceal from me their real feelings. I am merely repeating the statement made to me over and over again by many German soldiers when I say that the men in the ranks are thoroughly tired of the war, that they have abandoned all thought of conquest, and that they fight on only because they believe that their homes and families are at stake.

On that Autumn morning when the first German troops came into Roubaix they came flushed with victory, full of confidence in their strength, marching with their eyes fixed on Paris and London. They sang aloud as they swung through our streets. They sing no more. Instead, as I saw with my own eyes, many of them show in their faces the abject misery which is in their hearts.

Last year scores of them told me, quite independently, that the war would come to an end on Nov. 17, 1916. How that date came to be fixed by the prophets nobody knew, but the belief in the prophecy was universal among the soldiers.

The Guns on the Somme

That was before the battle of the Somme. For days we in Roubaix heard the distant roaring of the guns in that great encounter. Night and day without ceasing their rumble sounded. We had grown accustomed to the sound of the guns about Ypres and Armentières; we had sat at our windows in the evening and watched the flashes in the darkness; we had even heard at night-time the rattle of machine guns. But we had never heard so continuous or so heavy a thunder as that which came to us from the Somme.

We were used, too, to the sight of wounded Germans brought in from the front; but Roubaix, and, still more, Lille, never witnessed such a constant stream of broken men as that which poured in last July and August.

In Roubaix alone, in addition to the town hospitals, the Germans had suddenly to improvise hospitals in the workhouse, the boys' college, and the girls' college. Every bed was filled, and to the rest of the wounded the doctors in Roubaix could give only such attention as is possible in a dressing station, pending their conveyance into Belgium.

I found among the soldiers a general agreement that they would infinitely rather face the French troops than the British. They attributed their greater fear of our men to the idea, probably mistaken, that our men were less ready than the French to make them prisoners as soon as they raised their hands and cried "Kamerad." I suspect, however, that the unnerving effect on the Germans of the Sir Douglas Haig system of trench raiding is the real explanation.

This is how a German soldier gave me his impression of the British raids: "They are the worst horror we have to contend with. The English seem to do it for sport, not for war. A bombardment is bad enough; but you know it is coming. You do not know when or where a raid is coming. These Englishmen daub their faces with clay, come along the ground on all fours, smother our advance posts, and are in our trenches before we know where we are. They come not with rifles and revolvers, but with knives and sledge-hammers and bombs. We cannot use our rifles against them. They are too near, and perhaps we have not fixed our bayonets. We must either run or be killed. The English will clear a trench on a stretch of 150 yards and get away again without losing a man."

It would be difficult to exaggerate the genuine terror with which the raids have filled the German soldiers of all ranks and regiments.

Lawless Acts of Officers

As a rule, the soldiers did not maltreat the civilians in Roubaix, except when they were acting under the orders of their officers; when, for example, they were tearing people from their homes to work as slaves. They had, however, the right of traveling without payment on the tramcars, and they frequently exercised this right to such an extent as to preclude the townsfolk from the use of the cars.

Apart from that annoyance, there was little ground for complaint of the general behavior of the soldiers. The conduct of the officers was very different. For a long time they made a habit of requisitioning from shopkeepers and others supplies of food for which they had no intention of paying. One day an officer drove up in a trap to a shop kept by an acquaintance of mine and "bought" sardines, chocolate, bread, and fancy cakes to the value of about 200 francs, (about $40.) He produced a piece of paper and borrowed a pair of scissors with which to cut off a slip. On this slip he wrote a few words in German, and then, handing it to the shopkeeper, he went off with his purchases. The shopkeeper, on presenting the paper at the Kommandantur, was informed that the inscription ran, "For the loan of scissors, 200 francs," and that the signature was unknown. Payment was therefore refused. This case, I believe, was by no means an isolated one.

Brutal Methods of Officers

When an officer was billeted on a house, he would insist on turning the family out of the dining room and drawing room and sleeping in the best bedroom; sometimes he would eject people entirely from their home.

By contrast the docile private soldier was almost a welcome guest. I remember well one quite friendly fellow who was lodged for some time in the same house as myself and some English over military age in the suburb of Croix. He came to me in great glee one day with a letter from his wife in which she warned him to beware of "the English cutthroats." She went on to give him a long series of instructions for his safety. He was to barricade his bedroom door every night, to sleep always with his knife under his pillow, and never to take anything we offered him to eat or drink.

Despite the temptations to crime and insubordination which naturally attend an idle manufacturing population of some 125,000 people, there were very few civilian offenses against the law, German or French, among the inhabitants of Roubaix.

Time hung heavily on our hands. Cut off from the outer world except by the occasional arrival of smuggled French and English newspapers, we spent our

time reading and playing cards, and at the last I hoped I might never be reduced to this form of amusement again. In the two and a half years cut out of my life and completely wasted I played as many games of cards as will satisfy me for the rest of my existence.

But even if the inhabitants, in their enforced idleness, had any temptation to be insubordinate, they had a far greater inducement to keep the law in the bridled savagery of the German gendarmerie. These creatures, who from the color of their uniform and the brutality of their conduct were known as the "green devils," seemed to revel in sheer cruelty. They scour the towns on bicycles and the outlying districts on horseback, always accompanied by a dog as savage as his master, and at the slightest provocation or without even the slenderest pretext they fall upon civilians with brutish violence.

It was not uncommon for one of these men to chase a woman on his bicycle, and when he had caught her, batter her head and body with the machine. Many times they would strike women with the flat of their sabres. One of them was seen to unleash his dog against an old woman, and laugh when the savage beast tore open the woman's flesh from thigh to knee.

No Starvation in Belgium

In January Mr. Whitaker crossed the line into Belgium with the aid of smuggler friends, traversed that country, chiefly on foot, and two months later escaped into Holland and so to England. In Belgium he was astonished to find what looked like prosperity when compared with conditions in the occupied provinces of France. After expressing gratitude to Belgian friends and a desire to tell only what is truth, he proceeds:

The first fact I have to declare is that nowhere in my wanderings did I see any sign of starvation. Nowhere did I notice such privation of food as I had known in Northern France. Near the French frontier, it is true, the meals I took in inns and private cottages were far from sumptuous, but as I drew nearer to the Dutch frontier the amount and variety of the food to be obtained changed in an ascending scale, until at Antwerp one could almost forget, so far as the table was concerned, that the world was at war.

Let me give a few comparisons. At Roubaix, in France, at the time when I left in the first week of this year, my daily diet was as follows: Breakfast—coffee, bread and butter (butter was a luxury beyond the reach of the working people, who had to be content with lard); midday meal—vegetable soup, bread, boiled rice, and at rare intervals an egg or a tiny piece of fresh meat; supper—boiled rice and bread. Just over the border, in Belgium, the food conditions were a little better. The ticket system prevailed, and the villagers were dependent on the depots of the American Relief Commission, supplemented by local produce.

A little further, and one passed the line of demarkation between the étape—the part of Belgium which is governed by General von Denk, formerly commanding the troops at Valenciennes—and the gouvernement général, under the command of General von Bissing.

Here a distinct change was noticeable. My first meal in this area included fillet of beef, the first fresh meat I had tasted for weeks. Tickets were still needed to buy bread and other things supplied by the Relief Commission, but other foodstuffs could be bought without restriction.

At Brussels the food supply seems to be nearly normal. My Sunday dinner there consisted of excellent soup, a generous helping of roast leg of mutton, potatoes, haricot beans, white bread, cheese, and jam, and wine or beer, as preferred; while for supper I had cold meat, fried potatoes, and bread.

At Antwerp, with two French friends who accompanied me on my journey through Belgium, I walked into a middle-class café at midday. I ordered a steak with fried potatoes and my friends ordered pork chops. Without any question about tickets we were served. We added bread, cheese, and butter to complete the meal and washed it down with draft light beer. Later in the day we took supper in the same café—an egg omelette, fried potatoes, bread, cheese, and butter.

And the cost of both meals together was less than the cost of the steak alone in Roubaix.

Thriving in Rural Belgium

Even in the little village where I hid myself there was no dearth of good food. Sugar was scarce, and the bread was made of brown wholemeal flour. But meat was plentiful, especially cold home-bred pork. A typical midday meal here included soup, steak or chops, potatoes, and little sweetcakes; supper was the usual Belgian meal of fried potatoes and bread soaked in boiled milk. So far from starving during my enforced self-concealment, I actually found myself gaining in flesh.

When I add that in Brussels, Antwerp, and other towns the retail shops displayed an abundance of foodstuffs of every sort, and that, according to common knowledge, the German soldiers buy a great deal of food for transmission to their homes, it will be realized that some parts, at any rate, of Belgium are not suffering so severely as most people in England suppose from want of nourishment.

It is not for me to explain these things. I cannot fathom the reasons which may have induced the Germans to refrain from commandeering the Belgian supplies of home-produced food. Belgium, of course, has been for years the best exponent of intensive agriculture in Europe. Her food exports to England and France alone before the war were considerable. Just as much food is being produced now as before the war, and, so far as I could discover, the people have plenty to eat.

It is in the invaded territory of France that the spectre of famine walks. It is not sufficiently understood that the German gentleness to the Belgians is only equaled by their bitterness toward the French.

It is not only in respect of food that Belgium is happier than her neighbor I have already mentioned that the civilians of Roubaix were denied the use of the railways. The Belgians are under no such disability. They find some difficulty in moving from one to the other of the two areas into which, as I indicated above, Belgium has been partitioned, unless they are armed with special passports. But within either of those zones the natives are allowed to travel without hindrance.

Again, while the occupied portion of France is entirely without postal services, the Belgians have the ordinary facilities for internal communication. They are required to use German stamps heavily marked in black letters with the words "Belgian Post"; and they are required to pay 8 centimes (three more than usual) for the transmission of a post-card, and 15 centimes (an extra charge of 5 centimes) for a letter. The collections and deliveries, however, are made by the regular Belgian postmen.

Busy Shops and Theatres

The policy of the Germans, in short, appears to be to interfere as little as possible with the everyday life of the country. The fruits of this policy are seen in a remarkable degree in Brussels. All day long the main streets of the city are full of bustle and all the outward manifestations of prosperity.

Women in short, fashionable skirts, with high-topped fancy boots, stroll completely at their ease along the pavement, studying the smart things with which the drapers' shop windows are dressed. Jewelers' shops, provision stores, tobacconists, and the rest show every sign of "business as usual." I bought at quite a reasonable price a packet of Egyptian cigarettes, bearing the name of a well-known brand of English manufacture, and I recalled how, not many miles away in harassed France, I had seen rhubarb leaves hanging from upper windows to dry, so that the French smoker might use them instead of the tobacco which he could not buy. Even the sweetstuff shops had well-stocked windows.

The theatres, music halls, cinema palaces, and cafés of Brussels were open and crowded. On the second night of my visit I went with my two French companions to the Théâtre Molière and heard a Belgian company in Paul Hervieu's

play, "La Course du Flambeau." The whole building was packed with Belgians, thoroughly enjoying the performance. So far as I could tell, the only reminder that we were in the fallen capital of an occupied country was the presence in the front row of the stalls of two German soldiers, whose business, so I learned, was to see that nothing disrespectful to Germany and her armies was allowed to creep into the play.

At another theatre, according to the posters, "Véronique" was produced, and a third bill announced "The Merry Widow." At the Théâtre de la Monnaie, which has been taken over by the Germans, operas and plays are given for the benefit of the soldiers and German civilians. One afternoon I spent a couple of hours in a cinema hall. A continuous performance was provided, and people came and went as they chose, but throughout the program the place was well filled. The films shown had no relation to the war. They were of the ordinary dramatic or comic types, and I fancy they were of pre-war manufacture. Nothing of topical interest was exhibited.

The Appearance of Plenty

All the scenes which I have described in Brussels were reproduced in Antwerp. There was a slightly closer supervision over the comings and goings of the inhabitants, but there was the same unreal atmosphere of contentment and real appearance of plenty. Though a good number of officers were in evidence, the military arm of Germany was not sufficiently displayed to produce any intimidation. Perhaps the most obvious mark, here and in the capital, that all was not normal was the complete absence of private motor cars and cabs from the streets.

In the country districts two things struck me as unfamiliar after my long months in France. About Roubaix not a single head of cattle was to be seen; in Belgium every farm had its cows. In Belgium the mounted German gendarmerie—the "green devils" whose infamous conduct in the Roubaix district I have described—were unknown. Their place was filled by military police, who, by comparison with the gendarmes, were gentleness itself.

I do not profess to know the state of affairs in parts of Belgium which I did not visit, but I do know that my narrative of the conditions of life that came under my personal inspection has come as a great surprise to many people who imagine that the whole of Belgium is starving.

We in hungry Roubaix looked out on Belgium as the land of promise. The Flemish workers who came into the town from time to time from Belgium were well fed and prosperous looking, a great contrast to the French of Roubaix and Lille. The Belgian children that I saw were healthy and of good appearance, quite unlike the wasted little ones of France, with hollow blue rings round their eyes.

The people of Roubaix, knowing these facts, are convinced that the Germans are endeavoring to lay the foundations of a vassal State in Belgium. Foiled in their attempts to capture Calais, the Germans believe that Zeebrugge and Ostend are capable of development as harbors for aggressive action against England. The French do not doubt that the enemy will make a desperate struggle before giving up Antwerp.

The picture I have presented of Belgium as I saw it is, of course, vastly different from the outraged Belgium of the first stage of the war.

Lest there should arise any misunderstanding, I complete the picture by stating my conviction, based on intimate talks with Belgian men and women, that the population as a whole are keeping a firm upper lip, and that attempts by the Germans to seduce them from their allegiance by blandishment and bribery will fail as surely as the efforts of frightfulness.

Escaping Into Holland.

Mr. Whitaker's account of his escape into Holland closes thus:

When we drew near to the wires, just before midnight, we lay on the ground

and wriggled along until we were within fifty yards of Holland. There we lay for what seemed to be an interminable time. We saw patrols passing. An officer came along and inspected the sentries. Everything was oppressively quiet.

Each sentry moved to and fro over a distance of a couple of hundred yards. Opposite the place where we lay two of them met. Choosing his opportunity, one of my comrades, who had provided himself with rubber gloves some weeks before for this critical moment, rushed forward to the spot where the two sentries had just met. Scrambling through barbed wire and over an unelectrified wire, he grasped the electrified wires and wriggled between them. We came close on his heels. He held the deadly electrified wires apart with lengths of thick plate glass with which he had come provided while first my other companions and then I crawled through. Before the sentries returned we had run some hundreds of yards into No Man's Land between the electrified wires and the real Dutch frontier.

Only one danger remained. We had no certainty that the Dutch frontier guards would not hand us back to the Germans. We took no risks, though it meant wading through a stream waist deep. Our troubles were now practically over. By rapid stages we proceeded to Rotterdam.

I was without money. My watch I had given to the Belgian villager in whose cottage I had found refuge. My clothes were shabby from frequent soakings and hard wear. I had shaved only once in Belgium, and a stubby growth of beard did not improve my general appearance.

At Rotterdam I reported myself to the British Consul. I was treated with the utmost kindness. My expenses during the next four or five days, while I waited for a boat, were paid and I was given my fare to Hull. There I was searched by two military police and questioned closely by an examining board. My papers were taken and I was told to go to London and apply for them at the Home Office. As I was again practically without means I was given permission to go to my home in Bradford before proceeding to London.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The All-America Team Off for the War

—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

German Crimes in the Somme Retreat

Official Report, Summarized by Henry Cheron Before the French Senate

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the French text of the Journal Officiel and the Bulletin des Armées.]

ON the morrow of the very day when the tenacious courage of the French and British soldiers compelled the enemy to retreat on the Somme—a worthy pendant to his defeat on the Marne—your Commission on War Damages sent a number of its members to visit the reconquered regions and get at the truth of the conditions which you had ordered it to investigate.

Perhaps the commission would have been content simply to file a report of the facts if these had not revealed such violations of the laws and customs of war, such crimes committed by the occupying forces, so profound a contempt for the most elementary rules of public conscience, that it has believed it to be its duty to denounce the outrages without delay. The report, incomplete though it must be, will be a first tribute to truth, right, and justice, realities which no nation, however powerful it may think itself, can violate in our epoch with impunity.

In the beginning we may recall that Germany solemnly indorsed the international convention, passed at The Hague on Oct. 18, 1907, in which the high contracting parties, facing the eventuality of war and animated, as they expressely stated, "by the desire to serve, in that extreme case, the interests of humanity and the increasing exigencies of civilization," imposed upon any military authority occupying territory in an invaded State certain rules which it is well now to read over again:

Article 46—The honor and the rights of the family, the lives of individuals, and private property, as well as religious convictions and the exercise of the right of worship, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.

Article 47—Pillage is formally interdicted.

Article 50—No collective punishment, pecuniary or other, can be inflicted on populations by reason of individual acts for which the community cannot be considered collectively responsible.

Article 55—The occupying power shall consider itself only the administrator and controller of the usufruct of public buildings, real estate, forests, and agricultural enterprises belonging to the enemy State and located in the occupied territory; it must safeguard the funds of these properties and administer them in accordance with the rules of usufruct.

Article 56—Property belonging to municipalities, to religious, charitable and educational institutions, or to institutions devoted to the arts and sciences, even though connected with the State, shall be treated as private property. All seizure, destruction, or intentional injury of such establishments, of historic monuments, of works of art and science is forbidden and shall be cause for legal redress.

In the preamble of this convention of 1907, which was solemnly ratified a second time by the German Empire, it was provided that—

In cases not included in the rules adopted by the powers the people remain under the safeguard and dominion of the principles of international law derived from the established usages of civilized nations, from the laws of humanity, and from the demands of the public conscience.

Finally, Article 1 of Convention 4, adopted Oct. 18, 1907, said:

The contracting powers will give to their armed land forces instructions that will conform with the regulations in regard to the laws and customs of war on land, annexed to the present convention.

Another Scrap of Paper

To this the German Empire affixed its signature. The principle underlying this convention was that war should be carried on between armies and not between noncombatants, and that everything should be done to save the inhabitants from horrors whose indirect effects in any case would bear down upon them all too cruelly.

What account did the Germans take of this international treaty? For them it was nothing but a scrap of paper, like all the others. They have trampled upon

it to such a degree that one must go back to primitive times, to the most savage epochs of ancient history, to find acts of vandalism and bestial savagery worse than those of which we have obtained proofs.

The commission visited all the reconquered districts. While Paul Doumer and a certain number of colleagues went to Chauny and the region northeast of Soissons, we, with Messrs. Hervey, Reynald, Eugène Mir, Mougeot, Galup, Servant, and Magny, traversed the regions of Noyon, Guiscard, Ham, Lassigny, Roye, Nesle, and Péronne.

We visited in detail these cities and about fifty villages. We wished to compare our facts with the earlier reports that had been made in the name of the Government, whether by the commission headed by George Payelle, first President of the Court of Accounts, or by the Director of Military Justice, who was sent out by the Minister of War. Today we bring you the first elements of a report which is as exact as possible, and from which, whatever our legitimate anger against the Germans, we have carefully excluded all passion susceptible of altering the truth. Besides, the truth is so horrible that it needed no amplification. Everywhere we were the anguished witnesses of the same spectacle: pillage, systematic destruction, acts of barbarism committed without the least excuse of military necessity.

We have made a clear distinction, it is scarcely necessary to say, between damages due to war and damages voluntarily inflicted by the enemy. We have set aside all the effects of battle—of a battle at times so fierce, so terrible, that it has demolished, destroyed, effaced everything, even to the smallest stone in the smallest house. What we have retained are the acts of violence committed in cold blood among unarmed civilians; the evil done for the sake of evil, the pillage and destruction of private property and public edifices; the attacks on the life, liberty, and honor of private individuals; all those acts which call for denunciation before the whole world, if only to blast and dishonor forever the cursed Government and race that undertook to saddle their domination upon other peoples, and impose on them a culture already practiced in all countries by notorious highwaymen.

Banks in Noyon Plundered

Let us come to the facts. From Ribecourt to Noyon the farms are everywhere destroyed. Noyon appears to be little damaged externally, although the barbarians blew up a certain number of houses and destroyed some factories. But, on closer examination, what odious pillage! Everywhere the furniture has been carried off. What has not been carried away has been smashed; the mirrors have been shattered by revolver shots. In a room of the Hôtel du Nord we found, amid all sorts of débris, a steel safe gutted with a crowbar. It was in this hotel that the Kommandantur had been located.

They robbed the stores from the beginning. On March 6, 7, and 8, 1915, in the presence of the Deputy Mayor of Noyon, and despite his energetic protests, they broke open the door of the safe belonging to the Société Génerale. For this purpose they use blowpipes. The chief officer of the Kommandantur directed this brigandage in person. The safe was then closed with a seal, but later they broke the seal. Before leaving Noyon they carried off everything from the safes.

On Feb. 24, 1917, an officer calling himself a representative of the Treasury at Berlin presented himself at the house of M. Brière, a Noyon banker, 72 years old. He ordered the banker to open his safety deposit vaults. M. Brière refused. Then, with the aid of a blowpipe, the soldiers proceeded to force open the safe doors. The depositors were present. Their protests were in vain. The Germans carried away everything that was in the bank—cash, deeds, bonds, business and official papers, jewels, silverware, negotiable papers, and archives. When the banker observed to the German officer that the archives would be of no use to him, he replied, drily: "I have been ordered to empty the boxes, and I am emptying them."

The same thing was done on Feb. 27, 1917, at the Cheneau & Barbier Bank,

where two officers and two German soldiers entered the basement, broke open the safes with the aid of a blowpipe, and carried away the valuables. Finally, on March 16, having mined a number of residences and public buildings, the Germans blew up twenty or more of them.

Brutal Acts at Sampigny

The villages in the neighborhood of Noyon fared no better. At Sampigny the pillage was conducted with unusual savagery. In all the houses there is manure to a depth of twelve inches. A porcelain merchant was treated with special brutality. On the eve of departure the Germans drove him out into the street, and, while he stood there looking on, smashed all the porcelains in his house with hammers. A business man at Sampigny, M. Cabrol, had left his safe open in order to show that it was empty, and thus save it from destruction: the Germans nevertheless blew it up.

At Guiscard the soldiers were preparing to burn the whole village when the French arrived; there was no time to put their plans into execution, but they had already carried off everything of value—furniture, linen, cooking stoves—and had broken the mirrors. The soldiers had stolen mattresses under the eyes of their officers.

We entered what had been a pharmacy; we found, amid débris of every sort, family portraits slashed with a knife. Ordure was everywhere. They had taken all the waterpipes from the houses, the bells from the church, and even the works of the clock.

At Ham there is general chaos at the canal entrance. Pillage and willful destruction are in evidence on all sides. Two of the most beautiful residences in the city were used by the enemy; one as the officers' casino, the other as the abode of General von Fleck. Here again the Germans carried away everything of value and smashed the rest. They even went to the length of sawing through the doorframes, destroying the windows with hammer blows, pulling out the chandeliers and trampling on them. To complete the work, they deposited filth in the pianos.

In the region between Ham and the canal they destroyed everything by fire. This is true of Esmery-Hamel, where they burned the bell tower of the church; likewise of Eppeville and Verlaine. Everything is destroyed at Erchen and Solente. At Champien, amid the ruins one finds a German cemetery, in the heart of which rises an allegorical monument representing peace! The barbarians did not hesitate to write on this monument the following formula: "To the memory of friend and enemy comrades united in death." What hypocrisy! An officer has informed us that in the same community a coffin was exhumed and the remains of the dead replaced by vile ordure.

Used Battering Rams

The destruction is general and methodical at Roiglise, at Avricourt, at Amy, at Margny-aux-Cerises, where we found one of the battering rams with which the barbarians batter down houses. It is the old Roman battering ram adapted to this base use. A particularly odious regiment of Saxons committed these acts in the region of Margny. In this town the Germans violated graves in the cemetery in order to bury their dead there. The rest they blew up.

At Plessis-Cacheleux the destruction was equally systematic. From Plessis to Roye the country is a desert. Magnificent farms, such as the Bourresse farm, are nothing but pitiful ruins. At Roye there was organized pillage of all the houses. The home of the notary, especially, was sacked of everything. The bell tower was wantonly pulled down; the bell is still in it. From Roye to Nesle all the villages, such as Carrépuis, Ballâtre, Marché, Rethonviller, Billancourt, were systematically destroyed.

At Nesle the Germans committed the worst violences from the first day of the city's occupation. They laid hands upon every movable object in the houses, from cellar to garret, especially upon wines; they carried away all articles of taste: pictures, mirrors, clocks, candelabra, and objects of art. When the furnishings of a house were of considerable value they arrested the owner for espionage and

robbed him during his absence. Some days before their departure they pretended that by order of their Emperor they had to pillage, sack, and destroy everything. This order was punctually executed by the Twentieth Regiment of Heavy Artillery, the Thirty-eighth Infantry, and the Sixth Foot Chasseurs, on orders from General Hahn, commanding the Thirty-fifth Division.

The officer just named, setting the example, had the men carry away everything movable from a room which he had occupied for four months. The bells were thrown from the steeples and the fragments were shipped to Germany. Finally, in the last week—that is to say, from March 10 to 17—the invaders gave themselves up to an orgy of unqualifiable acts—incendiarisms, total destruction of many houses, the poisoning of wells, springs, and fountains.

From Nesle to Péronne they left a desert; Herly was systematically sacked, the houses reduced to ruins, the château burned. At Manicourt and Curchy everything is destroyed and burned, and it is the same at Arrancourt-le-Petit, Puzeaux, Homiécourt, Marchelepot, Barleux, Flaucourt. We will not describe the scene at Villers-Carbonnel and Péronne, now a heap of tragic and grandiose ruins; nor at Lassigny, where, indeed, the destruction was caused by the battle.

Chauny a Mass of Ruins

The same aspects of destruction were encountered by our colleagues, especially at Chauny and to the northeast of Soissons. At Chauny, after having taken the measurement of all the cellars and houses for two months, and calculated the amount of explosives necessary to blow up each building; after giving themselves up to unbridled plunder, carrying away furniture, smashing safes, robbing churches, they devoted two weeks to destroying the whole city by flame and mine with an inflexible and pitiless method. Nothing remains of the city except one suburb where they had massed the inhabitants—and then bombarded them. They directed their shells particularly at the Institution St. Charles, a refuge for old men, where they had grouped the persons who were ill. The City of Chauny, which had counted more than 10,000 inhabitants, is now only a mass of ruins.

The inhabitants driven from the villages near St. Quentin testify to the same acts of vandalism. All their furniture was stolen or broken. Houses were destroyed by explosion or fire. At Vaux-Roupy the Germans blew up the chapel of the château and the tombs. At Seracourt-le-Grand they learned of the existence of a mortuary chapel belonging to the family of one of our most venerated colleagues. Wishing to add to the sufferings of their glorious hostage, they blew up that chapel and the tombs. Eyewitnesses told us that to accomplish this sorry business the Germans had to retrace their steps three times.

Massacre of Fruit Trees

By the side of this first series of facts there is another. If they destroyed and pillaged private property and public edifices, mark how they behaved in regard to those farming enterprises of which The Hague Convention said that the enemy in an invaded country should consider himself the administrator, entitled only to the usufruct.

Here they committed an act more vile, more wicked, more odious than all the others. They sawed down all the fruit trees! And when they had no time to saw them down they tore off the bark to kill them.

No words can describe the pitiful scene in what were formerly the orchards of that rich farming region, where apple trees, pear trees, cherry trees, sawed off two feet from the ground, lie as so many fragments of a property deliberately destroyed. Along the roads is a veritable cemetery of trees, trees cut down by thousands. What strategic use can be assigned to such vandalism? They went so far as to blow up some trees with dynamite. It was destruction for destruction's sake, or, rather, it was the impotent rage of a people jealous of France, a people which, not having been able to win by courage, attempted on retiring to annihilate all the sources of wealth.

In certain localities, such as Ham, the farm laborers themselves were compelled to saw down the trees to which they had given years of care. The effect of this abominable destruction upon the minds of the inhabitants should also be noted. Members of the old reserve regiments, mostly farmers, who are repairing the roads with marvelous rapidity, were particularly exasperated by the massacre of trees. They gave vent to deep curses against the perpetrators, longing to inflict upon them the punishment merited by such a crime.

That is how the Germans have respected The Hague conventions in regard to private property, public monuments, and farming interests in the occupied territory. Let us see now what they have done regarding the honor, liberty, and life of the inhabitants.

Crimes Against Noncombatants

We will not dwell upon the thousand vexations which our heroic people had to endure at the hands of their oppressors for nearly three years—quarrels over food, threats to the inhabitants if they did not give the soldiers a part of the American supplies, the seizure of the most necessary tools and possessions.

At Rove they took away by degrees all the bedding of an honored woman at the head of a boarding school which dates from 1870. Under the pretense of installing her in a neighboring house they pillaged her home and took away even her mattress and pillow. At Margny-aux-Cerises a German soldier threatened to strike a young girl who was nobly caring for her paralyzed mother, her sick grandmother, and a blind neighbor whom she had added to her burdens out of the largeness of her heart if she did not give up the bread and potatoes in her possession. At the peril of her life this brave little French girl defended the food of the three invalids for whom she was acting as guardian angel.

The inhabitants of the evacuated villages say that nothing was left them to eat; that they had to hide potatoes; that requisitions were made upon them at any moment; that fines and imprisonments rained upon them. A cultivator at Attilly told us that one day about noon—at the time of their departure—German soldiers arrived and said: "We are going to blow up your house at 1 o'clock." And they kept their word. At Guiscard we were told that in the middle of Winter they compelled young girls to work outdoors at the heaviest tasks—for example, at sewer cleaning—without any regard for their physical strength. The only alternative was prison.

When they were about to blow up the citadel at Ham they warned the inhabitants by fixing the hour when the operation was to take place. A bugle call was to be the signal. The population was to assemble in the church, with two days' provisions. Then, suddenly moving the hour forward—and that at 2 o'clock in the morning—when the inhabitants were still in bed they touched off the explosion without warning anybody. It made victims.

On account of the sufferings of the people there have been many deaths of children in all the occupied communities.

At Noyon, upon their arrival, Aug. 30, 1914, the German officers sought out the members of the Municipal Government, at the head of which was our heroic colleague, Noël, who recently received the cross of the Legion of Honor. They compelled these men to go at the head of the column which was about to occupy the city. They made them walk beside the commandant's horse, and, as they could not keep up, they were brutally treated. The Deputy Mayor, M. Jouve, having fallen, was beaten with lance butts. A citizen, M. Devaux, who had been seized as a hostage, was shot without cause behind the Mayor's house. An officer fired his revolver in cold blood at the doorkeeper of the City Hall; he missed him, but the unfortunate man died shortly afterward as a result of the nervous shock.

A baker, M. Richard, who was simply looking out of his door at French prisoners passing along the street, was killed by a rifle bullet in the abdomen. Mme. Delbecq, a woman who refused a drink to a drunken German soldier, was killed by a rifle shot.

Captives From Noyon

On Feb. 18, after having compelled all the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years to pass the night in the college, they took them away into captivity. More than eighty innocent young girls were thus torn away from their families, in spite of tears and sobs.

Sister Saint Romuald, lady superior, made some particularly moving statements. She said that when the Germans began their operations for retreat they evacuated 250 to 500 sick cases from the region of St. Quentin into the civil hospital at Noyon. These arrived in such frightful condition that seven or eight of them died every day. They were people who had been torn from their beds without time to take anything with them; paralytics, dying men, nonagenarians; there was even a woman of 102 years. Many of those who died had to be buried without any means of verifying their identity.

Mme. Deprez, owner of the Gibercourt Château, was suffering from serious heart trouble, which compelled her to keep her bed. A German officer arrived and ordered her to get up. The poor woman said she would obey in spite of her sufferings, and begged the officer to withdraw while she dressed. He refused and compelled her to dress before him. Mme. Begue of Flavy-le-Martel also had heart disease. They removed her. Her children of 10 and 7 years wished to follow, but the German officer refused. The little ones clung to the wheels of the carriage begging not to be separated from their mamma. Without regard for their tears and cries the officer brutally thrust them aside and left them in the road.

Everywhere they carried into captivity the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years, even the young girls, except women who had very small children. A woman in Holnor told us that they had taken away her little boy of 14 years. A high officer in the French Army reported to us, on the word of eyewitnesses, a significant remark of the German commandant at Ham. Having pointed out a young girl of 16 years he said: "That one is for me."

A woman from Ham related that on Feb. 10 she learned that 600 inhabitants were about to be taken away. Distracted—for she had three daughters—she ran to the Kommandantur and found that the rumor was true. The victims were ordered to meet in the court of the château with not more than sixty pounds of baggage apiece. At the same time all the people were ordered to bring their valuables, but this they did not do. The three daughters of the witness, aged 18, 20, and 26 years, went to the appointed place. From 10 o'clock in the morning till 3 in the afternoon the captives waited in the glacial cold. Parents rushed to them to say good-bye, and there were heart-breaking scenes. They were driven away with rifle butts, and at 3 o'clock the captives were forced to go to the railway station. The Germans had the cruelty to set up a camera to preserve a picture of this sad procession. A week or two afterward the mother of whom I have spoken learned that her daughters were not working, but were quartered in empty houses. Since then she has heard nothing from them.

A person driven from Seraucourt-le-Grand told us that on June 29, 1916, at the moment of a French offensive, the Germans gathered the men of 17 to 55 years in the public square to take them into captivity. When relatives approached to say farewell they were stopped by bars and machine guns. One woman had to brave the guns to go to the aid of her sick husband.

Life Under German Rule

The martyrdom of the inhabitants of Chauny was particularly terrible. For nearly thirty months they lived under the most intolerable and humiliating régime. Obliged not to leave their homes before 8 o'clock in the morning, to return by 7 in the evening, to live without lights at night, they had to salute the German officers, hat in hand, under pain of imprisonment. On Feb. 18 the Germans began sending northward all the inhabitants of 15 to 60 years. On the 23d they ordered the rest of the population—about 2,000 persons—to assemble in the square before the City Hall. They herded these with 3,000 inhabitants of neighboring vil-

lages in a suburb called Brouage. On March 3 there was a new gathering of these unfortunates, including the ill and infirm. They were compelled to pass six hours in review, enduring such sufferings from the cold that twenty-seven persons died the next day and others in the succeeding days. Then the unfortunates were packed into cellars, where for the next two weeks they heard the explosions in their houses, which were blown up over their heads!

Sufferings of Refugees

The evacuation of certain villages was carried out with equal cruelty. A woman from Gricourt, whom we met at Noyon, told us that her sick husband was driven out of his home without regard for his condition. He died, and she is left with seven children. Other inhabitants of that and neighboring villages told us that they had been driven out of their homes in the night. They had been compelled to travel a part of the way in wagons half full of manure. Then, from Babeuf to Noyon, they went on foot in the mud, with their little children suffering from cold and hunger. Some of these unfortunates died of exhaustion after reaching our lines. Everywhere the inhabitants were evacuated in this way, without enough to eat, and without regard to the weakness of children and invalids. Seventeen old men coming from Roisel arrived in such a state of exhaustion that they died within a few days.

These are atrocious facts, but however agonizing the story, however frightful the sight of heaped up ruins, we nevertheless brought back from our visit a profound impression of comfort; for, after having verified and denounced the cowardly acts of the German executioners, we have had to bow our heads before the nobility of the victims. Not for an instant during their long captivity did our compatriots despair of France. Not for an instant did they doubt our ultimate victory. They said so, they proclaimed it before our enemies, upon whom they imposed silence by their dignity, their pride, and their courage.

It is also my duty—I will speak with discretion, for it is not well to give up to an excessive optimism—to report another matter which all these people have declared. After having seen the German Army arrive in August, 1914, so strong, so well equipped, so admirably victualed, that they wept with rage, they saw that, little by little, annoyance crept into the ranks of our enemies. The refugees declare that during the later months the Germans suffered from increasing lack of food. On this point they are unanimous. The bread given to the German soldiers was almost uneatable. Sometimes they threw it away, and not even the dogs would eat it. Nettle soup, turnip-cabbage, and the black broth which they call glue, constituted their main diet. Their coffee was made of parched barley. They tried constantly to get food from the inhabitants when these received relief supplies. Meagre as was their own fare, they sent a part of it to their families in Germany, who, they said, were in absolute want.

We do not mean to draw any excessive conclusions from these facts. It would be puerile to deny that our enemies can still oppose a great resistance to us—let us not deceive ourselves—but we place the truth on record when we state, on the testimony of our compatriots from the invaded districts, that a great physical and moral weakening is noticeable in all the German soldiers.

Condign Punishment

As for their own sufferings, so great that in many places our army surgeons found a dangerous condition of exhaustion, our heroic compatriots applied to it this admirable formula: "We forgot everything when we saw French soldiers again." They were filled with joy at finding France again, that sweet France which is more beloved the more it suffers. They brought out the tricolor flag, carefully hidden for thirty months, and hoisted it immediately on the ruins of the Mayoralty or church. The children waved little flags. At the gates of Roye a triumphal arch was raised for the entrance of the French Army.

Our duty is to avenge the wrongs of which our compatriots have been the victims. There would no longer be justice in the world if such crimes, sys-

tematically committed by a nation which prides itself on having all the progress of science at its service, could be committed with impunity. For these crimes there should be the triple punishment of international law, of penal law, and of the victory of the civilized world.

First, the judgment of international law: There is an article of the Convention of Oct. 18, 1907, which I have not yet cited. I even believe that this article was inserted at the demand of Germany. I refer to Article 3 of Convention IV., which says: "The belligerent who shall violate the provisions of said rule shall be held liable to indemnity if there is cause, and shall be responsible for all acts committed by persons belonging to its armed forces." Consequently, they are responsible materially, financially—they must pay! * * *

Do you know how they regret their crimes? One of our colleagues, M. Ordinaire, just now read this sentence from the Vossische Zeitung: "Our troops are full of joy, the joy of having inflicted harm on some one else." The whole German mentality is in that remark. Not only do they not repent the crimes they have committed, but they still boast of them. They must be reached by the penal law. The first punishment that is necessary, the one without which the others will be impossible, is victory. * * *

The martyrdom of our fellow-countrymen has stirred in all our souls a new resolve of pitiless justice. We will go to the end, to the furthest point to which our strength will carry us, over the ruins of German imperialism and militarism, to establish the triumph of peace, of liberty, and of the inalienable rights of the human conscience.

The Senate Resolution

At the end of M. Cheron's address the Senate by a unanimous vote passed the following resolution:

THE SENATE:

Denouncing before the civilized world the criminal acts committed by the Germans in the regions of France occupied by them, crimes against private property, against public edifices, against the honor, the liberty, the life of individuals;

Asserting that these acts of unheard-of violence were perpetrated without the excuse of any military necessity and in systematic contempt of the international convention of Oct. 18, 1907, ratified by the representatives of the German Empire;

Holds up to universal execration the authors of these crimes, whose permanent repression is demanded by justice;

Salutes with respect those who have been their victims, and to whom the nation solemnly promises, here placing the vow on record, that they shall have full reparation from the enemy;

Affirms more than ever the will of France, sustained by her admirable soldiers—and in accord with the allied nations—to pursue the struggle which has been imposed on her until German imperialism and militarism are definitely crushed, responsible as they are for all the miseries, all the ruins, and all the griefs heaped upon the world!

Pitiful Tales From Ruined Homes

Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, sent to The London Telegraph of April 1, 1917, this moving account of the sufferings of French civilians in the region liberated by the German retreat on the Somme:

I AM moved to write again of the old men and women and of the young women and children who have been liberated by our advance. I am moved because day by day I have been visiting the places that were once their homes and are now the rubbish heaps which lie about that great stretch of country laid waste by the enemy in the wake of his retreat where there is only silence and black ruin; because, also, I have just been among these people, seeing their tears, hearing their pitiful tales, touched by hands which plucked my sleeve so that I should listen to another story of outrage and misery. All they told me, and all I have seen, builds up into a great tragedy. These young girls, who wept before me,

shaken by the terror of their remembrance, these brave old men, who cried like children, these old women, who did not weep, but spoke with strange, smiling eyes as to life's great ironies, revealed to me in a fuller way the enormous agony of life behind the German lines now shifted back a little, so that these people have escaped.

It is an agony which includes the German soldiers, themselves enslaved, wretched, disillusioned men, under the great doom which has killed so many of their brothers, ordered to do the things many of them loathe to do, brutal by order even when they have gentle instincts, doing kind things by stealth, afraid of punishment for charity, stricken both by fear and hunger. "Why do you go?" they were asked by one of the women who have been speaking to me. "Because we hope to escape the new British attacks," they answered. "The English gunfire smashed us to death on the Somme. The officers know we cannot stand that horror a second time." They spoke as men horribly afraid. Of their hunger there seems no doubt. They begged food of these civilians, who would have starved to death but for the American relief supplies. They killed cats and dogs to provide themselves with a taste of meat which otherwise they do not taste. This, although the German Kommandantur seized all the cattle and foodstuffs of the French inhabitants, and requisitioned all their hens and took the eggs the hens had laid.

"I was the bailiff of Mme. la Marquise de Caulincourt," said an elderly man, taking off his peaked cap to show me a coronet on the badge. "When the Germans came first to our village they seized all the tools, and all the farm carts, and all the harvesting, and then they forced us all to work for them, the men at 3 sous an hour, the women at 2 sous an hour, and prison for any who refused to work. From the château they sent back the tapestries, the pictures, and anything which pleased this commandant or that, until there was nothing left. Then in the last days they burned the château to the ground, and all the village and all the orchards." "It was the same always," said a woman. "There were processions of carts covered with linen, and underneath the linen was the furniture stolen from good houses."

"Fourteen days ago," said an old man, who had tears in his eyes as he spoke, "I passed the night in the cemetery of Vraignes. There were 1,015 of us people from neighboring villages, some in the church and some in the cemetery. They searched us there and took all our money. Some of the women were stripped and searched. In the cemetery it was a cold night and dark, but all around the sky was flaming with the fire of our villages —Poeuilly, Bouvincourt, Marteville, Trefeon, Monchy, Bernes, Hancourt, and many more. The people with me wept and cried out loud to see their dear places burning, and all this hell. Terrible explosions came to our ears. There were mines everywhere under the roads. Then Vraignes was set on fire and burned around us, and we were stricken with a great terror. Next day the English came, when the last Uhlans had left. 'The English!' we shouted, and ran forward to meet them, stumbling, with outstretched hands. Soon shells began to fall in Vraignes. The enemy was firing upon us, and some of the shells fell very close to a barn quite full of women and children. 'Come away,' said your English soldiers, and we fled further."

Russian prisoners were brought to work behind the lines, and some French prisoners. They were so badly fed that they were too weak to work. "Poor devils!" said a young Frenchwoman, "it made my heart ache to see them." She watched a French prisoner one day through her window. He was so faint that he staggered and dropped his pick. A German sentry knocked him down with a violent blow on the ear. The young Frenchwoman opened the window, and the blood rushed to her head. "Sale bête!" she cried to the German sentry. He spoke French and understood, and came under the window. "'Sale bête'? For those words you shall go to prison, Madame." She repeated the words and called him a monster, and at last the man spoke in a shamed way and said: "Que voulez-vous? C'est la guerre. C'est cruelle, la guerre!" This man had

kinder comrades. Stealthily pitying the Russian prisoners, they gave them a little brandy and cigarettes, and some who were caught did two hours' extra drill each day for a fortnight.

"My three sisters were taken away when the Germans left," said a young girl. She spoke her sisters' names, Yvonne, Juliette, and Madeleine, and said they were 18 and 22 and 27, and then, turning away from me, wept very bitterly. "They are my daughters," said a middle-aged woman. "When they were taken away I went a little mad. My pretty girls! And all our neighbors' daughters have gone, up from 16 years of age, and all the men folk up to 50. They have gone to slavery, and for the girls it is a great peril. How can they escape?" How can one write of these things? For the women it was always a test. Many of them had surprising courage, but some were weak and some were bad. The bad women forced on the others in a way so vile that it seems incredible. They entered into relations with German officers, and flaunted viciously under their protection, and robbed women of quality of their dresses and linen, and demanded jewelry from houses looted by their officers, and laughed as they drove in German cars past Frenchwomen of gentle birth who were forced to work in the fields. They are stories such as Guy de Maupassant might have written, but worse than he imagined.

There was no distinction of class or sex in the forced labor of the harvest fields, and delicate women of good families were compelled to labor on the soil with girls strong and used to this toil. There were many who died of weakness and pneumonia and underfeeding. "Are you not afraid of being called barbarians forever?" asked a woman of a German officer, who had not been brutal but, like others, had tried to soften the hardships of the people. "Madame," he said, very gravely, "we act under the orders of people greater than ourselves, and we are bound to obey, because otherwise we should be shot. But we hate the cruelty of war, and we hate those who have made it. One day we will make them pay for the vile things we have had to do."

"Sir," said a Sister of Charity, "these people whom you see here were brave, but tortured in spirit and in body. Beyond the German lines they have lived in continual fear and servitude. The tales which they have told us must make the good God weep at the wickedness of his creatures. There will be a special place in hell, perhaps, for the Emperor William and his gang of bandits." She spoke the words as a pious conviction, this little pale woman with bright and kindly eyes, in her nun's dress.

Roughly and hurriedly I have put these things down. It is only later that one may strike the balance of them all, and draw the right lesson of all this tragedy which is the nature of war. An old lady whom I met today drew perhaps the great lesson in its strict truth. "I am 77 years old," she said. "I saw the war of 1870, and was a prisoner of the Germans. Now I have seen this war, a thousand times worse than that other one. Two such wars in a lifetime are too much. But one such war in all the history of the world is still too much. Can we not finish with it forever?"

Brand Whitlock On Belgian Deportations

"One of the Foulest Deeds in History"

The State Department made public on April 21, 1917, a report from Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium, written in January, when he was still holding his difficult position at Brussels under German occupation. Of all his reports since the beginning of the war this is the only one thus far given to the public. It reads as follows:

IN order to fully understand the situation, it is necessary to go back to the Autumn of 1914. At the time we were organizing the relief work, the Comité National—the Belgian relief organiza-

tion that collaborates with the Commission for Relief in Belgium—proposed an arrangement by which the Belgian Government should pay to its own employes left in Belgium, and other unemployed men besides, the wages they had been accustomed to receive.

The Belgians wished to do this for humanitarian and patriotic purposes; they wished to provide the unemployed with the means of livelihood, and, at the same time, to prevent their working for the Germans.

The policy was adopted and has been continued in practice, and on the rolls of the Comité National have been borne the names of hundreds of thousands—some 700,000, I believe—of idle men receiving this dole, distributed through the communes.

The presence of these unemployed, however, was a constant temptation to German cupidity. Many times they sought to obtain the lists of the chômeurs, [unemployed,] but were always foiled by the claim that under the guarantees covering the relief work the records of the Comité National and its various sub-organizations were immune. Rather than risk any interruptions of the ravitaillement, for which, while loath to own any obligation to America, the Germans have always been grateful, since it has had the effect of keeping the population calm, the authorities never pressed the point other than with the Burgomasters of the communes. Finally, however, the military party, always brutal and with an astounding ignorance of public opinion and of moral sentiment, determined to put these idle men to work.

In August von Hindenburg was appointed to the supreme command. He is said to have criticised von Bissing's policy as too mild; there was a quarrel; von Bissing went to Berlin to protest, threatened to resign, but did not. He returned, and a German official here said that Belgium would now be subjected to a more terrible régime, would learn what war was. The prophecy has been vindicated.

The deportations began in October in the étape, at Ghent and at Bruges. The policy spread; the rich industrial districts of Hainaut, the mines and steel works about Charleroi were next attacked; now they are seizing men in Brabant, even in Brussels, despite some indications, and even predictions of the civil authorities, that the policy was about to be abandoned.

During the last fortnight men have been impressed here in Brussels, but their seizures here are made evidently with much greater care than in the provinces, with more regard for the appearances. There was no public announcement of the intention to deport, but suddenly, about ten days ago, certain men in towns whose names are on the list of chômeurs received summonses notifying them to report at one of the railway stations on a given day and penalties were fixed for failure to respond to the summons, and there was printed on the card an offer of employment by the German Government, either in Germany or Belgium.

On the first day, out of about 1,500 men ordered to present themselves at the Gare du Midi, about 750 responded. These were examined by German physicians and 300 were taken. There was no disorder, a large force of mounted Uhlans keeping back the crowds and barring access to the station to all but those who had been summoned to appear. The Commission for Relief in Belgium had secured permission to give to each deported man a loaf of bread, and some of the communes provided warm clothing for those who had none, and in addition a small financial allowance.

As by one of the ironies of life the Winter has been more excessively cold than Belgium has ever known it, and while many of those who presented themselves were adequately protected against the cold, many of them were without overcoats. The men shivering from cold and fear, the parting from weeping wives and children, the barriers of brutal Uhlans, all this made the scene a pitiable and distressing one.

It was understood that the seizures would continue here in Brussels, but on Thursday last, a bitter cold day, those that had been convoked were sent home without examination. It is supposed that the severe weather has moved the Germans to postpone the deportations.

The rage, the terror, and despair excited by this measure all over Belgium were beyond anything we had witnessed since the day the Germans poured into Brussels. The delegates of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, returning to Brussels, told the most distressing stories of the scenes of cruelty and sorrow attending the seizures. And daily, hourly, almost, since that time, appalling stories have been related by Belgians coming to the legation. It is impossible for us to verify them, first because it is necessary for us to exercise all possible tact in dealing with the subject at all, and, secondly, because there is no means of communication between the Occupations Gebiet and the Etappen Gebiet.

Transportation everywhere in Belgium is difficult, the vicinal railways scarcely operating any more because of the lack of oil, while all the horses have been taken. The people who are forced to go from one village to another must do so on foot or in vans drawn by the few miserable horses that are left. The wagons of the breweries, the one institution that the Germans have scrupulously respected, are hauled by oxen.

The well-known tendency of sensational reports to exaggerate themselves, especially in time of war, and in a situation like that existing here, with no newspapers to serve as a daily clearing house for all the rumors that are as avidly believed as they are eagerly repeated, should, of course, be considered, but even if a modicum of all that is told is true, there still remains enough to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records.

I am constantly in receipt of reports from all over Belgium that tend to bear out the stories one constantly hears of brutality and cruelty. A number of men sent back to Mons are said to be in a dying condition, many of them tubercular. At Malines and at Antwerp returned men have died, their friends asserting that they have been victims of neglect and cruelty, of cold, of exposure, of hunger.

I have had requests from the Burgomasters of ten communes from La Louvière, asking that permission be obtained to send to the deported men in Germany packages of food similar to those that are being sent to prisoners of war. Thus far the German authorities have refused to permit this except in special instances, and returning Belgians claim that even when such packages are received they are used by the camp authorities only as another means of coercing them to sign the agreements to work.

It is said that in spite of the liberal salary promised those who would sign voluntarily no money has as yet been received in Belgium from workmen in Germany.

One interesting result of the deportations remains to be noted, a result that once more places in relief the German capacity for blundering almost as great as the German capacity for cruelty.

They have dealt a mortal blow to any prospect they may ever have had of being tolerated by the population of Flanders; in tearing away from nearly every humble home in the land a husband and a father or a son and brother, they have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home to every heart in the land, in a way that will impress its horror indelibly on the memory of three generations, a realization of what German methods mean, not, as with the early atrocities in the heat of passion and the first lust of war, but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race, a deed coldly planned, studiously matured, and deliberately and systematically executed, a deed so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution and so monstrous that even German officers are now said to be ashamed.

Illegal Property Seizures

Minister Havenith of Belgium on April 20 delivered to the State Department at Washington a memorandum warning the world that any dealings in Belgian property or credits seized by German agents would be contested in the courts after the war. The memorandum says:

An order of the German Government, dated Aug. 29, 1916, disregarding the principles of international law, or-

ganizes forced liquidation of certain business concerns in Belgian territory occupied by the enemy.

According to trustworthy information the German Government has further ordered certain establishments to turn into the bank of the German Empire the amount of the accounts of French and English citizens.

The law of Belgium, of which the Hague Convention forms part, does not recognize as valid the powers granted for purposes of liquidation to receivers appointed by the occupant nor the liquidating operation. Therefore when the territory is liberated parties injured by the abuse of de facto power that may have been exercised by receivers or other liquidating agents will have a remedy at law against the said receivers or agents.

All contracts or other legal instruments going beyond the mere custody or conservation of property will be voidable. This will in particular apply to alienations of real or personal property, conveyances of debt; in a word, all acts of disposal.

The representatives in places out of the occupied Belgian territory of Belgian or foreign firms or corporations that have been sequestered by the German authorities would make themselves liable to the penalties provided by the law decree of Dec. 10, 1916, besides damages through civil action, if they should carry out the instructions given them by the receivers or liquidating agents.

"Liberty Enlightening the World"

By HENRY VAN DYKE

Thou warden of the western gate, above Manhattan Bay,
The fogs of doubt that hid thy face are driven clean away:
Thine eyes at last look far and clear, thou liftest high thy hand
To spread the light of liberty world wide for every land.

No more thou dreamest of a peace reserved alone for thee,
While friends are fighting for thy cause beyond the guardian sea:
The battle that they wage is thine; thou fallest if they fall;
The swollen flood of Prussian pride will sweep unchecked o'er all.

O cruel is the conquer-lust in Hohenzollern brains:
The paths they plot to gain their goal are dark with shameful stains:
No faith they keep, no law revere, no god but naked Might;
They are the foemen of mankind. Up, Liberty, and smite!

Britain, and France, and Italy, and Russia newly born,
Have waited for thee in the night. Oh, come as comes the morn,
Serene and strong and full of faith, America, arise,
With steady hope and mighty help to join thy brave Allies.

O dearest country of my heart, home of the high desire,
Make clean thy soul for sacrifice on Freedom's altar-fire:
For thou must suffer, thou must fight, until the war lords cease,
And all the peoples lift their heads in liberty and peace.

German Reprisals on Prisoners

French Captives Placed in Range of French Guns by Orders From Berlin

GENERAL VON STEIN, the German Minister of War, delivered an address before the Reichstag on March 3, 1917, in which he announced that, owing to French mistreatment of German prisoners, countermeasures had been adopted under which, beginning on that date, French prisoners would be placed in the zone of fire until the alleged abuses of the enemy were discontinued. In the course of his speech he said:

The situation is worse in France. Unfortunately things do not grow better there, but worse. The enemy endeavors to oppress our unfortunate comrades, body and soul. The liberties which we granted to prisoners in our camps, by allowing them occupation with art and science, as much as they like and were used to, are unknown in France. We therefore abolished these liberties in our prisoner camps. The time of warning which had been fixed at four weeks, after which countermeasures would be taken, only benefited the enemies. During that time we treated our prisoners decently, and our prisoners in the hands of the enemy had to suffer four more weeks of torture. I asked that the time be cut short, and this has been granted today. Countermeasures will be taken immediately and continued until we receive from hostile Governments news that the hostile measures have been abolished.

Thousands of prisoners were discovered working close behind the French front, in range of the fire of our own guns. If these unfortunate people seek cover against our fire the French officers prevent this with arms. We have taken countermeasures, and brought French prisoners into the same situation behind our front. This will be continued until the enemy has decided to fulfill our demands and withdraw his prisoners fifty kilometers [about 32½ miles] behind the front. The lowest act which they commit is that, especially during recent times, they have tortured German prisoners immediately after capturing them with all means in order to make them speak about military facts. This ghastly fate is especially reserved for officers and non-commissioned officers. They are locked up for days in receptacles resembling cages. They are made to suffer hunger for days in order to break their spirits. We do not meditate for one moment following the enemy on this road, but the front has been ordered to hold back prisoners taken there for some time, and to bring them into a similar situation. Low actions will not, however, be committed by us. I saw in France numberless crowds of French prisoners pass by. Our field-gray soldiers curiously crowded around, but I never heard one insulting word, and still less saw any action against them. That was done by us "barbarians."

The War Minister said he was sure the measures of reprisal would not always be executed with sufficient strictness, as the German people were always good natured and even oversentimental in such cases. He turned next to the case of German prisoners in England, saying:

In England things are different. Although the English usually deny atrocities, it must be admitted that in many cases they redressed grievances, and that generally the treatment in England is better. This, however, does not exclude that also the English employ many prisoners close behind the front, and therefore adequate measures have been taken as reprisals. We further know that captured Germans in the French ports are made to work under unfavorable conditions in excessive fashion by the English. For this reason also English prisoners have been put in the same position on certain places of the front. Immediately after the declaration of the submarine war we brought to the knowledge of the English Government that eventual special treatment of our brave submarine crews would be answered immediately with similar measures.

About the Russians not much is to be said. Many things are obscure. It is not yet certain whether the sad conditions on the Murman Railway have been completely cleared up. Some of our airplane officers are still chained in dungeons. But it ought not to be passed in silence that, in spite of everything else, in Russia conditions in many places have become rather better than worse. For this thanks are due to the devoted activities of the Swedish and Danish Red Cross. Since Sweden took charge of our representation in Russia very energetic work has been done there in order to better the fate of our comrades. Denmark magnanimously followed Switzerland's example and agreed that institutions for exchange of prisoners be established. Also the King of Spain offered help in the same direction. We welcome all these warm-hearted endeavors with sincere gratitude.

I cannot speak about the fate of our captured countrymen without mentioning the people dragged from East Prussia and Alsace-Lorraine. There, perhaps, greater tragedies happened than among our prisoners. In my corps we had a young Alsatian clergyman who had been forced to leave his wife with a new-born child. The woman had to sit for weeks in a cellar, and was then dragged away by the French, and the unfortunate husband up to today has heard nothing of his family.

When a short while ago, in Belgium, workmen and inhabitants were sent to Germany for work a storm of indignation arose abroad and also at home. We did not remain silent. The Belgians are our enemies, and many of them, probably from a safe hiding place, fired against our troops. My East Prussian and Alsatian countrymen are much nearer to my heart. Unfortunately we could not obtain the least justice for these unhappy ones. France hides behind all sorts of pretexts, and pretends that these people do not want to return. In fact, very few, some thirty, have come back. During these days a sister was said to return with fifty children, but she came with empty hands. Whether a second sister, who comes in the next few days, will be more successful is not yet known. The Russian Government alleges national auxiliary service, and therefore refuses to release these people. I am always ready to defend the principle that we can do without the co-operation of these unfortunate ones if they are given back to us.

Official Reply of France

The French Government took immediate cognizance of the foregoing charges and issued the following official denial:

In his recent speech to the Reichstag, the German War Minister gives an official character to the allegations already published by the German "Wireless," and tries to persuade public opinion all over the world that German prisoners in France are subject to ill-treatment. He states that the period granted for the negotiations regarding the treatment of prisoners is now over, and that reprisals will be adopted. As a fact, the German Government has made a complaint to the French Government through the American Ambassador on the following points:

According to the German statements, at the time of their capture and interrogation, German prisoners have been ill-treated; they have been robbed and insulted; have been badly housed in the camps, and have been used as laborers in the area swept by shell fire. The Note, therefore, required:

(a) That the German prisoners should be taken away from the dangerous areas and put into camps at a distance of at least thirty kilometers [about twenty miles] from the front line;

(b) that they should not work within that distance from the front line;

(c) that they should be permitted to use the postal service with Germany;

(d) that delegates of the United States Embassy should be authorized to visit the camps in the zone of operations.

A reply had to be given before Jan. 15. On the precise date the French Government presented to the United States Embassy a reply:

(a) Formally refuting the accusations of ill-treatment;

(b) showing that no check had been placed upon postal correspondence;

(c) agreeing, in return for reciprocal treatment, to allow delegates from the United States Embassy to visit the prisoner camps;

(d) The French Government further declared itself formally ready to employ—on a reciprocal basis—no prisoner of war in the zone of fire, nor within twenty kilometers [12½ miles] of the front.

Up to the present the French Government has received no answer to this note.

The German Government talks of reprisals, and thereby pretends to ignore the fact that there is documentary evidence to show that many months before German prisoners were employed on the French front in the zone of operations the Germans themselves were employing French prisoners under the fire of French guns; and it can truly be said that if they are attacking now it is to defend themselves.

This is clearly proved by irrefutable documents which are also corroborated by the confessions of their own prisoners showing that a prisoner camp was established at a point particularly beaten by the French artillery, where our miserable countrymen were kept without shelter or cover of any sort until evacuation was necessary for sanitary reasons.

On the other hand, it is sufficient to read the correspondence of German prisoners addressed to their families to be convinced of the feeling of humanity which has been displayed toward them. No better conclusion could be given than the following words said on Nov. 3, 1916, in a camp near Verdun by a German officer: "I am greatly pleased to be a prisoner in the hands of the French, but I must tell you that these people are too kind and too foolish. It is quite natural that prisoners should work, and they are not overworked, as I can tell you from all I have seen."

A Swiss newspaper, the Journal de Genève, stated on March 4 that Germany was already executing her threats against French prisoners of war; that they were being placed in barracks without food or water and without heating arrangements, notwithstanding the extreme cold. It declared also that French prisoners were being compelled to work

in German trenches within reach of the French artillery.

Another German Statement

Under date of March 9 the Overseas News Agency of Berlin sent out a semi-official statement saying in part:

The measures taken by the Germans were adopted because about 30,000 German prisoners of war have for months been living under miserable conditions and forced to do the hardest kind of work close behind the French lines, in a majority of cases within the range of German artillery fire.

The French wireless service stated that Gustave Ador of Geneva, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, had visited the German prisoners of war in the district of operations and had gained a most favorable impression regarding their treatment. There is no doubt the French authorities carefully selected a special district in which the conditions were favorable in order to deceive M. Ador and neutral countries. The French report regarding the German and French negotiations relating to prisoners of war in the district of military operations is not correct. Here are the facts:

The French Government in a note dated Dec. 21, 1916, was requested to assemble German prisoners of war in good camps situated at least eighteen miles behind the front, and to refrain from putting them to work at places nearer the firing lines. In case of refusal, or if no answer was given, it was announced that on Jan. 15 French prisoners of war would be sent into the German district of operations under similar conditions. The note as is known with certainty was immediately sent by telegraph to the French Government at Paris and it arrived there prior to Jan. 5, 1917.

The French answer, dated Jan. 15, reached Berlin only after the announced countermeasures had been put into effect. Besides, the contents of the answer in a great part were unsatisfactory. The French Government had not fulfilled the German request. It had merely declared it was ready to place the German prisoners of war twelve miles behind the front, where they were not sufficiently secure against the fire of long-range cannon, and where they were especially exposed to airplane attacks.

This declaration, of course, did not suffice for the abolishment of our countermeasures, especially since the experiences we had had with promises of the French Government relating to questions of war prisoners were very discouraging.

On the contrary, the French Government had to be asked to fulfill completely the German request. A communication to this effect was sent to the French Government in the beginning of February. On this occasion it was suggested to the French authorities that the whole district of operations on both sides be completely cleared of war prisoners. This offer in itself proved that the German Government does not make French prisoners of war work in the districts of operations because of "lack of hands."

Since that time the French Government has not replied and prefers to expose Frenchmen to the fire of their own countrymen in order to be able to continue to torture German prisoners of war and to use them for labor contrary to international law.

The French Government complains that even in the middle of December French prisoners of war were singled out to be sent to the district of operations. This assertion is untrue. The prisoners of war in question were marked only a short while prior to the final day announced in the German offer. If they had to be sent there the guilt was solely with the French Government.

Denial by an American

Philip O. Mills, an American ambulance driver, denied General von Stein's charges against France in a communication to THE NEW YORK TIMES, dated March 6, declaring that the German War Minister's speech was due to Germany's determination to make French prisoners perform the dangerous work behind the lines, and that the charges were an excuse to justify that measure. He wrote:

"I can and do brand as a falsehood any statement that German prisoners are tortured or compelled to work behind the French lies under fire.

"Over six months' service on the French fronts as an ambulance driver of the American Red Cross, attached to a French division in the sector through which the largest number of German prisoners have been passed, (about 15,000,) thousands of whom I have seen and hundreds of whom I have talked to, gives me authority for what I say. The French use only their older men for work close behind the lines, and I have never seen a German prisoner in the fire zone doing anything but traveling toward the rear. Night and day I have been on the roads in the fire zone, and there isn't a prison camp or citadel that cannot be and has not been visited by our ambulance drivers. We have had eighty men in service with forty cars at Verdun during December, and never a tale from any man of any such atrocity as is quoted in this speech.

"The first assembling camp for prison-

ers of war is well out of gun range, well kept, and comfortable, and I have been through it often. The prisoners are immediately fed on arrival, with the regular French army ration and all the bread they can eat. I never saw or heard of a Frenchman abusing or ill-treating a German prisoner, but, on the contrary, have seen hundreds of little acts of kindness shown them. Everything is open to us foreign ambulance drivers, and we are treated as part of the French Army. It is absolutely false that German officers are locked in cages, &c., for I have seen them confined in comfortable houses and allowed exercise and good food.

"The whole speech is merely to try to justify an improper use of prisoners of war and to prevent the ever-increasing number of voluntary German surrenders.

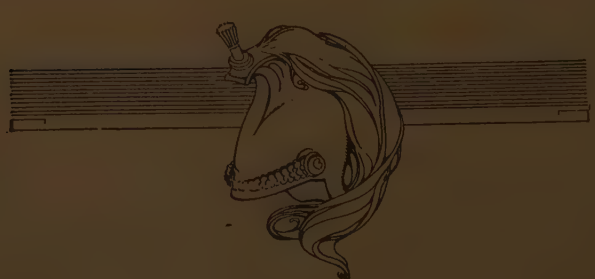
"The French do not need to stoop to deny such lies, for there are now hundreds of good American citizens who have been to France and have seen how everything is conducted behind the French lines, and so can disprove for them all such slanders."

Employment of Prisoners

Germany holds approximately 2,000,000 prisoners, most of whom are Russians. General Groener, Chief of the War Emergency Office, reported in February, 1917, that 750,000 of these prisoners were employed as farm laborers, and that more were soon to be put to work in the agricultural districts. An official report published in Berlin on Dec. 1, 1916, stated that there were 1,663,794 military prisoners in Germany on Aug. 1, 1916. In the two years of war to that date 29,297 prisoners had died. Of these, 6,032 died from tuberculosis, 4,201 from spotted fever, 6,270 from wounds, and the rest from other illnesses.

Russia has more than 1,000,000 military prisoners, of whom 428,000 were captured in 1916, mainly by General Brusiloff's armies. Besides these there are 200,000 Germans and Austrians interned as civil prisoners. At the end of 1915 the prisoners employed in State and agricultural work in Russia numbered 1,138,000, according to a Reuter dispatch from Petrograd. Of these 575,000 were under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Agriculture, 294,000 under the Department of Mines and Factories, and 169,000 under that of Ways and Communications. In the year 1916 the French captured 78,500 Germans and the British 40,800 on the western front, while in the Balkans the Entente armies took 11,173 Bulgarians and Turks. During the same period the Italians made prisoners of 52,250 Austrians. This gives the Entente Allies a total of more than 610,000 prisoners for the year 1916.

Great Britain has thus far made very little agricultural or industrial use of war prisoners, partly owing to the objections of labor unions and partly to fear of hostile acts.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE—Owing to the existing blockade CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain a proportional number of German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

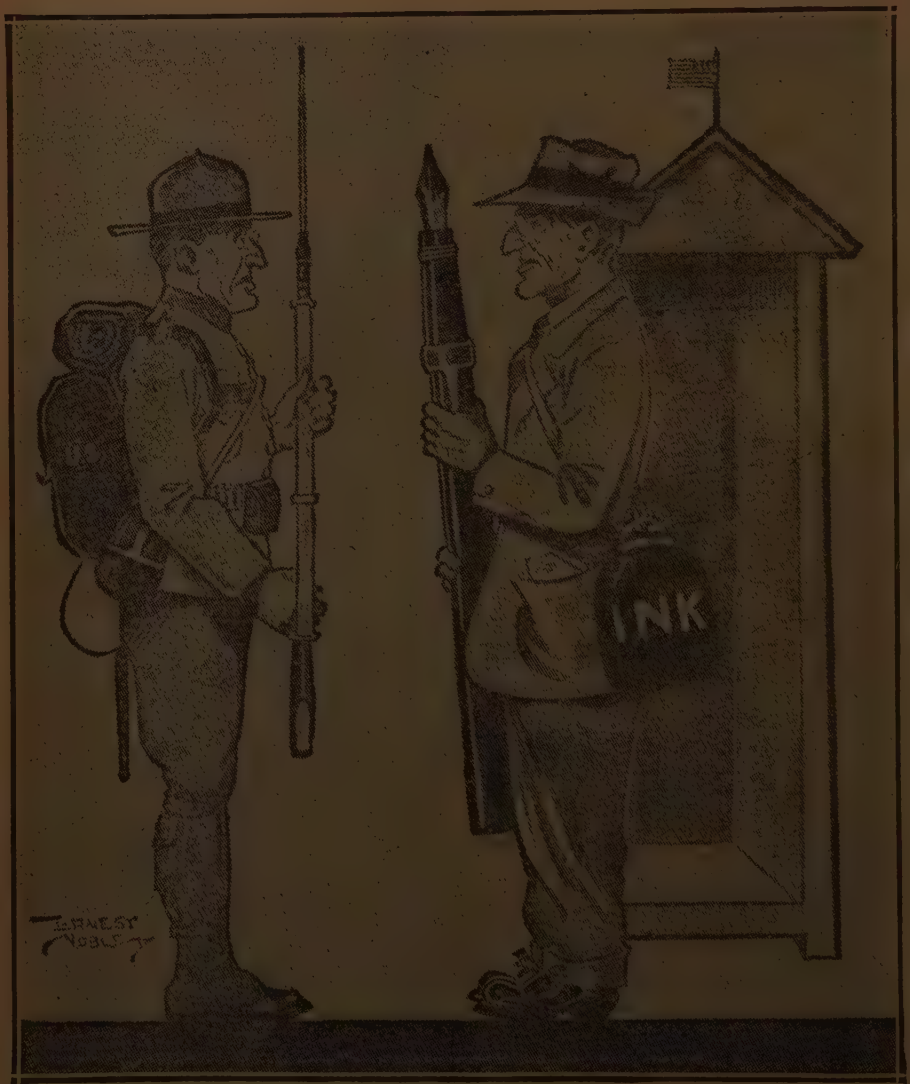
The Modern Sea Monster

—From Il 420, Florence.

It lurks in ocean depths and seeks to drag down all the ships in the world.

[English Cartoon]

Changing Guard at Washington



—From London Opinion.

The soldier President relieves the note-writing President.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The American Eagle

—*From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.*

"Remember, Germania, I am an eagle and not a crow!"

[English Cartoon]

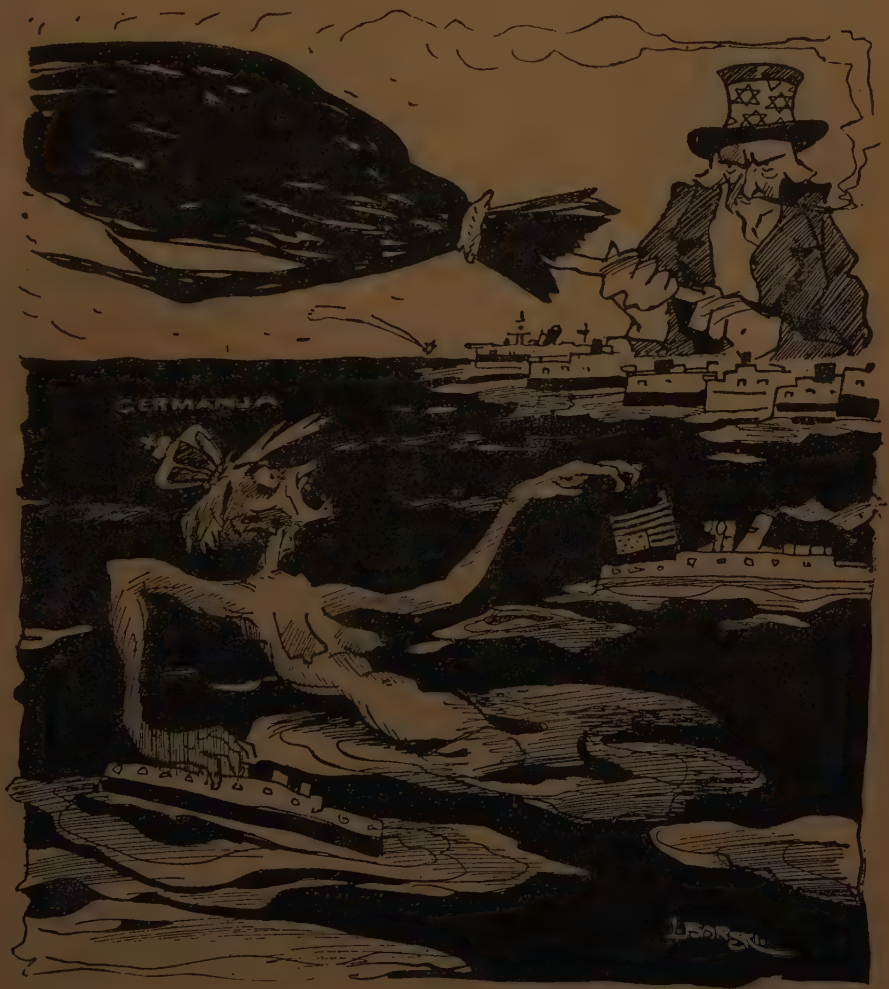
Welcoming the Newcomers

—*From The Passing Show, London.*

IMPRESARIO MARS (to Columbia) : "I've been waiting to present you with this bouquet for nearly a thousand nights. Still, I'm glad to see you in time for our thrilling last act!"

[Polish Cartoon]

Germany and America

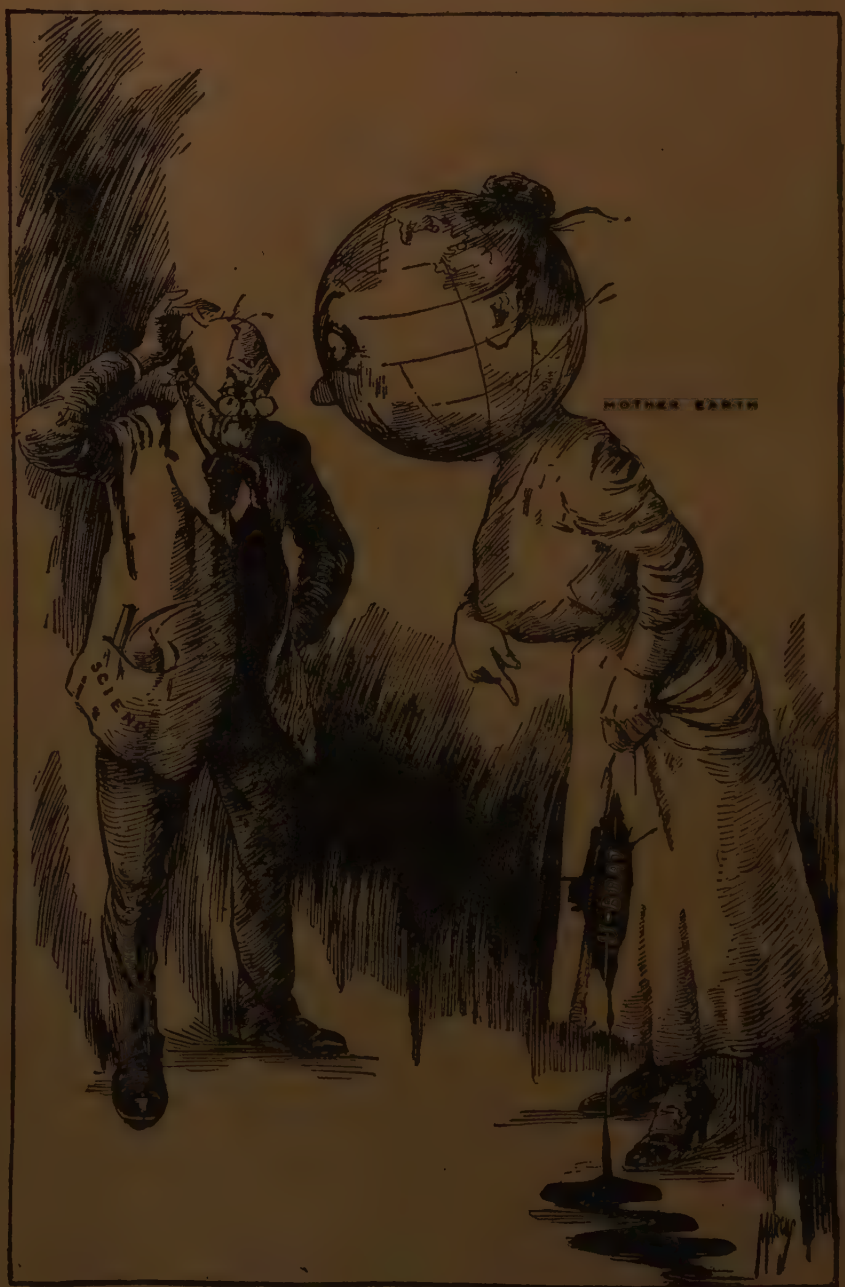


—From Mucha, formerly of Warsaw.

GERMANIA: "Take your flag off the water, or I will take it off myself."
UNCLE SAMUEL: "Don't! You'll find it very prickly!"

[American Cartoon]

A Problem for Science



—*From The New York Times.*

"You are responsible for that stain! You must find a way to take it out!"

[French Cartoon]

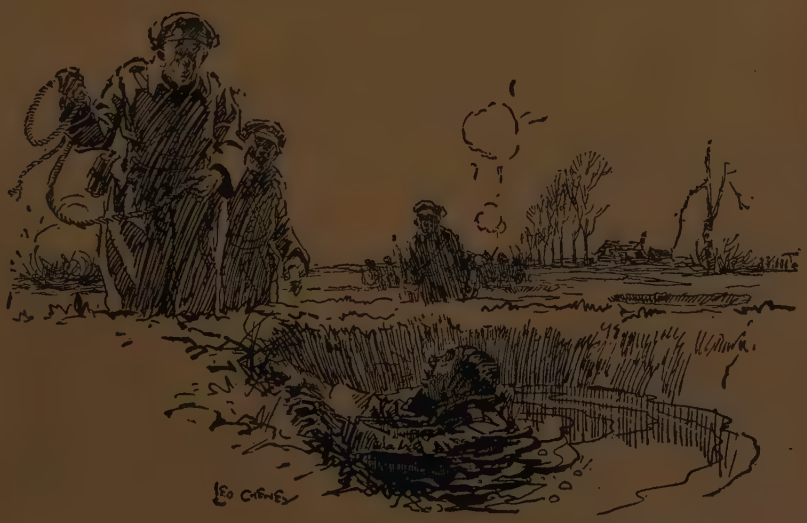
Advancing Backward

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

THE DEVIL TO GERMANIA: "I believe you are beginning to go a little too fast."

[English Cartoon]

A Considerate Captor

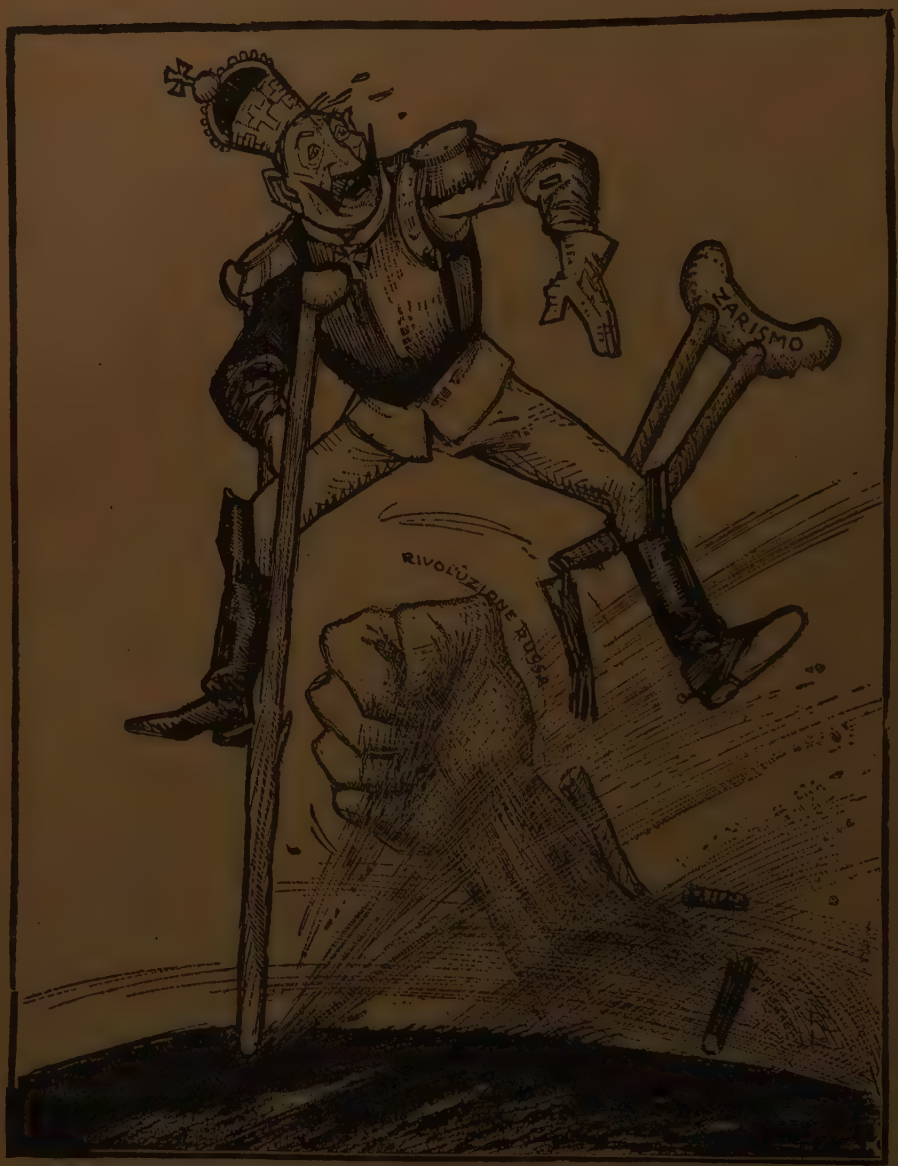


—From The Passing Show, London.

TOMMY (who has been blown into a shell hole): "Hurry up, mate. I don't want to lose my prisoner!"
RESCUER: "Prisoner! Why, where is 'e?"
TOMMY: "I'm standing on 'im!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Prop: Czarism

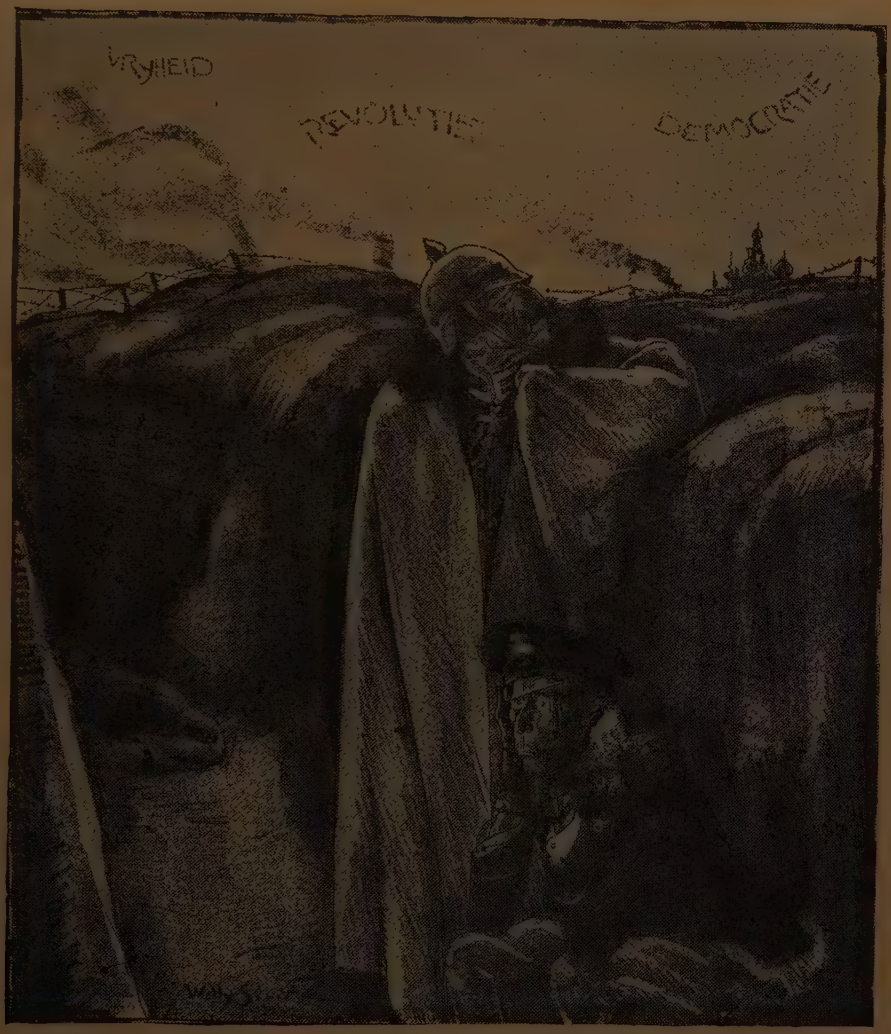


—From L'Asino, Rome.

WILHELM: "Democracy in Russia! Heavens! What shall I do now?"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Dawn in Russia



—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

WILHELM (to Little Wilhelm): "That light, my son, will do our house more harm than all the Russian artillery!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The "Strafing" Expedition in Italy

—*From Il Numero, Turin.*

GERMANY: "Go on:"

AUSTRIA: "I can't. I'm wedged in."

GERMANY: "Well, heaven knows, you are thin enough to get through anywhere!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Arrival of Uncle Sam

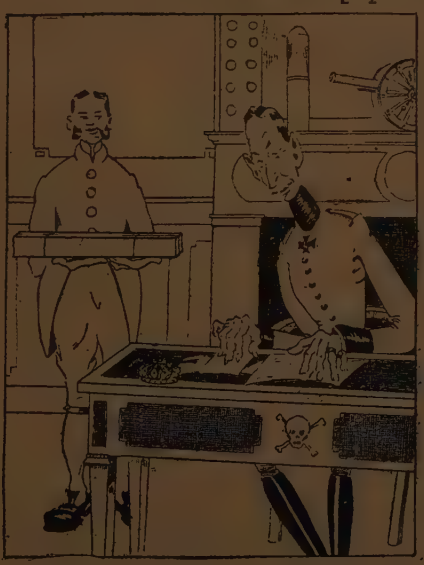
"Hello, nephews!"
"Welcome, uncle! You are late, but you can have a front seat."

—*From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.*

[French Cartoon]

The Crown Prince's Surprise

[April Fool's Day]



"A present from his Majesty? Why, it must be my baton as Marshal!"

—*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

"Just heaven!!"

[English Cartoon]

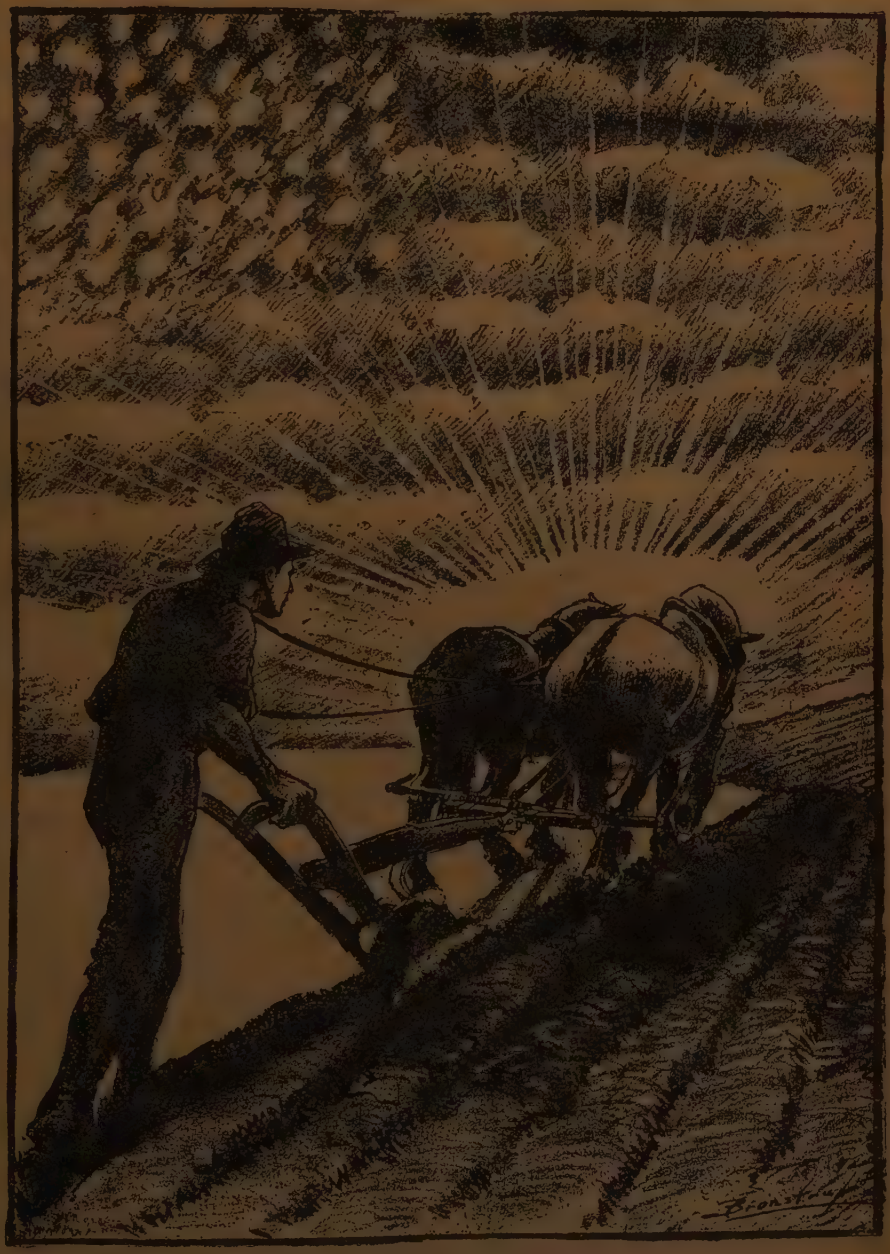
That "Strategic" Withdrawal

—From London Opinion.

HINDENBURG: "I positively refuse to stop in that house another moment!"

[American Cartoon]

He Also Serves

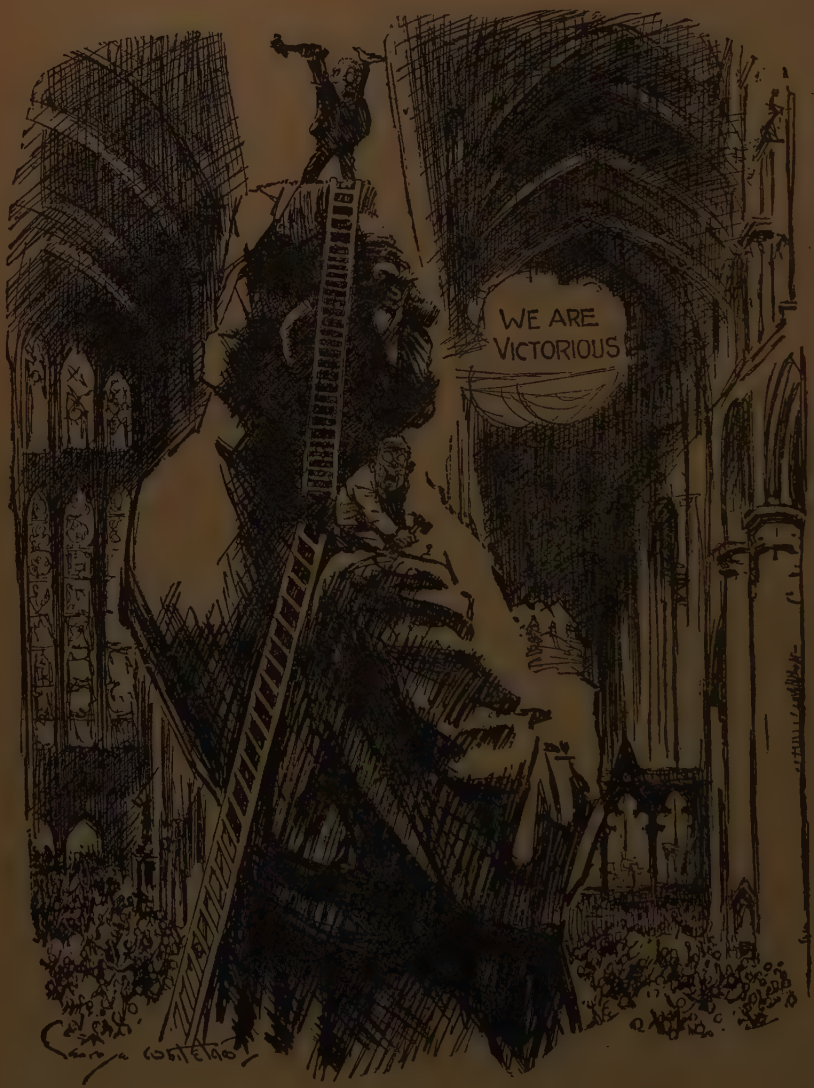


—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

The soldier of the home trenches.

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Fetich



—From The Passing Show, London.

ASTONISHED ENTHUSIAST (who has climbed to the top to hammer in his nail): "Mein Gott! His head is empty except for a gramophone!"

[French Cartoon]

The Happy Family

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

THE KAISER (to His Six Sons): "Hurrah for 'fresh and joyous' war! Hurrah for the docile folk who send their sons to butchery to keep mine intact! Hurrah for the last slaves in the civilized world!"

[French Cartoon]

War Finances in Germany

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

"Mein Gott! Fritz, you're losing your money!"
"What else can you expect, Bertha? It's the fall of the mark!"

"Unter den Hinden"

—From The Cleveland Leader.

The Price of Peace

—From The Dayton News.

A Fatal Sunrise for Him

—From The Portland Oregonian.

The Party Who Will Decide How Long the War Will Last

—From The Duluth Herald.

German Retreat On the Somme

—From The Baltimore American.

"Our aim is to keep moving."—German Military Critic.

To the Front

—From The Spokane Spokesman-Review.

Moving Day in Europe

—From The Duluth Herald.

One Down

Luring Them On

Poor Old World

The Melting Pot

—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[German Cartoon]

The Well-Trained Bulldog

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

BRITISH BULLDOG: "It must not be seen how gladly I would swallow that peace sausage."

BOY SCOUTS TO GREET JOFFRE

A "Mountain" of Boy Scouts in City Hall Park, New York City, Waiting to Salute the French Commission

(© Underwood & Underwood)

MARSHAL JOFFRE SALUTING LAFAYETTE

The Victor of the Marne Saluting After Unveiling the Statue of Lafayette in Prospect Park, Brooklyn

(© Underwood & Underwood)

VIVIANI AND JOFFRE HONORED AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Panoramic View of the Scene at Columbia University, New York, When Marshal Joffre and Minister Viviani Received the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws

(© International Film Service)

ITALY'S SPECIAL COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Enrico Arlotta, the Italian Minister of Marine, Is at the Head of This Group of Visiting Italian Statesmen and Experts

(© Underwood & Underwood)

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

Appointed by President Wilson to Command the American Army in Europe

(Photo Central News)

VICE ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS

Commander of the United States Destroyer Flotilla, Which Is Co-operating with the British Navy in the War Zone

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI. } No. 1 July, 1917 25 Cents a Copy
Part II. } $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
WHY WE WENT TO WAR: PRESIDENT WILSON'S FLAG DAY ADDRESS		1
GENERAL PERSHING IN FRANCE: American Expeditionary Force		6
America's Army in the Making		11
Putting the Conscription Law into Operation		13
America's Fleet in Being		14
Food Crisis in the United States		15
The First United States War Loan		17
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED	Brief Editorial Summaries	18
MILITARY REVIEW OF THE MONTH	By Lieut. J. B. W. Gardiner	26
PROGRESS OF THE WAR	Chronology to June 18	29
ITALIAN OFFENSIVE ON THE CARSO AND ISONZO FRONTS		33
THE BATTLE OF MESSINES RIDGE		35
STORMING OF THE AISNE QUARRIES	By Wythe Williams	41
EMPEROR CHARLES'S THRONE SPEECH		44
WAR AIMS OF THE ALLIES RESTATED		46
Lord Cecil on Russia's Peace Program		46
President Wilson's Note to Russia		49
RUSSIA'S PERILOUS TRANSITION STAGE		53
The American Mission in Russia		57
FRUITS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS		59
The Italian Diplomatic Commission		62
THE FACTS SUPPORTING PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE		64
A Cry from the Canadian Hills (Poem)	By Lilian Leveridge	75
THE NEW PHASE OF AIR RAIDS ON ENGLAND		76
1,430 Airplanes Shot Down in Two Months		78
A Great Fight in the Air	By a War Correspondent	80
THE DOWNFALL OF KING CONSTANTINE		83

Contents Continued on Next Page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
TWO OFFERS OF AUTONOMY FOR ALBANIA		85
The New Republic of Koritza		87
SHIPPING SUNK BY SUBMARINES	Record to June 13	88
Hardships of the U-Boat Service	By Captain L. Persius	90
The Heroic Men of the Athos	By Hughes Le Roux	92
A Harrowing Sea Story: Captain Chave's Report		93
Adventures of Submarine Victims		96
THE THREAT OF "MITTEL-EUROPA"	By T. G. Frothingham	97
CHINA AND THE WORLD WAR	By Gardner L. Harding	100
STORY OF THE RUSSIAN UPHEAVAL	By Christian L. Large	105
The Career of Kerensky		114
Details of the Czar's Abdication		115
What Has Paralyzed Russia's Armies: M. Tscheidze's Ideal		116
THE RUSSIAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS: Parallels and Contrasts		118
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. V.	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	124
THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN FRANCE	By Major William Redmond	132
WHO PAYS FOR THE COST OF WAR	By William A. Wood	134
THE HEROIC DEATH OF DR. CLUNET	By Robert de Lezeau	137
NESTING MOTHERS OF THE BATTLE ZONE	By H. Thoburn-Clarke	139
BELGIAN DEPORTATIONS PLANNED IN ADVANCE: Official Memorandum		143
Belgium's New War Industries		146
WELDING BRITAIN'S EMPIRE CLOSER: Results of Imperial Conference		147
BRITAIN'S FIGHT ON FOOD SHORTAGE		148
Food Restrictions in France: Use of Horse Meat		150
Von Batocki's Bread-Card Methods in Germany		151
JEWISH LIBERTY IN RUMANIA: KING FERDINAND'S PROMISE		155
THE WAR IN WESTERN ASIA	By James B. Macdonald	156
The British in the Promised Land	By W. T. Massey	163
The War's Effects on Turkish Railways		166
Cruelties to Jews Deported from Jaffa: Report of Consul Garrels		167
Wartime Suffering in Turkey		169
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS	35 Cartoons, All Nations	171

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
General John J. Pershing	*Frontis*	Guglielmo Marconi	94
Admiral William S. Sims	"	Lord Northcliffe	95
General Henry P. McCain	14	A. F. Kerensky	126
General Enoch H. Crowder	15	N. S. Tscheidze	127
Picture Map, Verdun Front	30	Russian Revolutionary Cabinet	142
Map of Italian Front	31	Workers' Convention	143
William Gibbs McAdoo	46	Count Stephen Tisza	*Extra*
King Alexander of Greece	47	War's Ravages in France	"
American Army Poster	78	Arras Cathedral in Ruins	"
Navy's Appeal for Men	79	Observers' Perilous Duties	"

WHY WE WENT TO WAR

President Wilson's Flag Day Address Explains the Grievance of the United States Against Germany

President Wilson delivered an address at Washington, June 14, at a Flag Day celebration, in which he set forth in detail the reasons why the United States went to war with Germany. He spoke as follows:

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

Items of the Indictment

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take

up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign Government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition among us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance—and some of those agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

Germany's Military Masters

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom Governments existed and in whom Governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller States, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and Ger-

man writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan States with German Princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her Government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Austria-Hungary a Pawn

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very centre of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous States of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German States themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force — Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud States of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtile peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence of the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

The Present Situation

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution. Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed; Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Rumania is overrun. The Turk-

ish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

German Cry for Peace

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office now for a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That Government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late, and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands, which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it—an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a Government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace,

and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deception of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war.

Tools of Peace Propaganda

They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction —Socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or co-operation in Western Europe and a counter-revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next, the final, struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the centre of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations, and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government among all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new lustre. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

General Pershing in France

Advance Guard of American Expeditionary Force On the Way to the Front

MAJOR GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING, who is to command the American expeditionary force on the western front, arrived safely in England on June 8 with his staff of 53 officers and 146 men, including privates and civilian attachés. On landing at Liverpool from the White Star liner Baltic, he gave the following message to the British public:

We are very proud and glad to be the standard bearers of our country in this great war for civilization and to land on British soil. The welcome which we have received is magnificent and deeply appreciated. We hope in time to be playing our part—and we hope it will be a big part—on the western front.

The American commander was received by a British General with a guard of honor and a regimental band, which played "The Star-Spangled Banner." The British Admiralty was represented by the Admiral in command of the port and the municipal authorities by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool. After these greetings were concluded General Pershing left for London by special train, the official state car being attached for him to travel in; and on arrival in London he was received by Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War; General Lord French, other high officers of the British Army, the United States Ambassador, and Admiral Sims of the United States Navy. At every stage the British Government showed every possible mark of honor to America's commander, while the greetings of the people were warmly enthusiastic.

The following day General Pershing and his entire personal staff were received by King George at Buckingham Palace. General Lord Brooke, commander of the Twelfth Canadian Infantry Brigade, presented the American commander to the King, who said to him:

It has been the dream of my life to see the two great English-speaking nations more closely united. My dreams have been realized. It is with the utmost pleasure that I welcome you, at the head of the American contingent, to our shores.

Later King George chatted for a few moments with each member of Pershing's staff. He conversed with the General for a quarter of an hour, shaking hands enthusiastically as they parted. A series of calls and entertainments followed the ceremony at the palace. On June 11 General Pershing and Ambassador Page took luncheon with King George and Queen Mary, spending nearly two hours at the palace. After luncheon the King and Queen showed the visitors through the historic rooms and about the palace grounds. From the palace General Pershing went to the War Office, where members of his personal staff had been in conference for several hours with representatives of their corresponding departments in the British Army. The officer who represents the American military air service devoted two hours to discussing plans for co-operation with the British service.

In the afternon General Pershing visited the House of Commons. He sat in the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery for a time, and later took tea on the Terrace as a guest of members. In the evening he took dinner with Ambassador Page at his residence to meet members of the British Cabinet and naval and military officers. Among the guests were Premier Lloyd George, Arthur J. Balfour, Lord Derby, Lord Robert Cecil, Viscount French, Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, Vice Admiral William S. Sims, U. S. N., and General Jan Smuts.

The first opportunity General Pershing had of observing British Army methods was on June 12, when he was taken to a training camp to watch instruction in trench warfare. Afterward he was the War Secretary's guest at luncheon. In the evening the General and eighteen members of his staff were the guests of the British Government at a formal dinner

at Lancaster House, a Government building devoted solely to purposes of state entertainment of distinguished visitors. There were thirty other diners, including eight members of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister sat at the first of six round tables in the sumptuous dining hall. The other tables were presided over by Lord Curzon, Lord President of the Council; Viscount Milner, member of the War Cabinet; the Right Hon. George M. Barnes, Pensions Minister; the Earl of Derby, Secretary for War, and Sir Alfred Mond.

The dinner was not an elaborate affair, the menu conforming strictly to the prescribed war rations. There were no speeches, but toasts were drunk to the King and the President. Early in the evening, before Major Gen. Pershing left his hotel, ex-Premier Asquith called on him.

Enthusiasm in France

An even more thrilling welcome awaited General Pershing on French soil. "I salute the United States of America, which has now become united to the United States of Europe," from the lips of General Dumas, commanding the northern region, were the first words that greeted Pershing as he stepped ashore at Boulogne on the morning of June 13. It was the first time in history that a soldier wearing the American uniform had landed on the European Continent with sword in hand for the purpose of using it against an enemy. As Pershing himself said, it was a historic moment.

The scenes that greeted him, the reception that followed, both at Boulogne and in Paris, were both historic and deeply significant. Drawn up on the landing quay was a detachment of French infantry in battle uniform. They came only recently from the trenches. As the American chief greeted their colors, they came to salute and stood like iron statues as he passed slowly down the line. Pershing's face showed his emotion. They were all grizzled or middle-aged veterans. There was not a youth among them—that little detachment of the army of France. Their faces, too, showed eagerness at his coming, and the few Americans who were there felt heart-throbs of pride at the splendid way in which their leader fitted into the picture. As the boat neared the landing stage Pershing's figure stood out prominently from the centre of his staff, and the common French utterance was: "Truly, here comes a man!"

Among the officials that met him were René Besnard, Under Secretary of State for War; Brig. Gen. Pelletier, who is chief of the French Mission to the American expeditionary force; General Dupont, who represented General Pétain; General Dumas, commanding the region of the north; Sir George Fowke, representing Sir Douglas Haig; Captain Baron de Courcel, who was to act as Pershing's official interpreter; also the Military Governor of Boulogne, and representatives of the French and British Navies. The American War Department was represented by Captain Boyd, Military Attaché.

After a drive through Boulogne, where great crowds gathered in all the streets, the entire staff departed by special train for Paris. Immediately after the start, General Pershing received the French newspaper men in his private car, and afterward the representaives of the American press. To the former he said, after expressing his pleasure at landing in France: "The reception we have received is of great significance. It has impressed us greatly. It means that from the present moment our aims are the same." To the Americans he declared that this arrival of the advance guard of the American Army "makes us realize the fullest importance of American participation. America has entered the war with the fullest intention of doing her share no matter how great or how small that share may be. Our allies can depend on that."

Stirring Reception in Paris

The reception at Paris was by far the greatest given to anybody since the outbreak of the war. From the moment the fortifications were reached every house-top, wall, and window was filled with cheering thousands. At the Gare du

Nord special cordons of troops lined the platforms, while dense ranks of soldiers flanked every street for blocks and patrolled the route of the party all the way to the Hotel de Crillon, in the Place de la Concorde, where the General made his temperary headquarters. Paris turned out literally tens of thousands, and it seemed every one was waving an American flag, while cries of "Vive l'Amerique!" became a sustained roar all the way from the Gare du Nord to the Boulevards. General Pershing was visibly affected by the welcome as he stepped from the train. Bands in the station played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise." Those who greeted him were Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, M. Painlevé, Minister of War; Generals Foch and Dutail, Ambassador Sharp, and all the attachés of the American Embassy.

To the masses in the streets as they followed the automobiles from the Gare it seemed the coming of Pershing was veritably the coming of an army. Here was America to help them, America, which had always stood in popular imagination as the symbol of incredible wealth and greatness. In the person of the simply dressed American General they cheered the whole American Army —millions strong, if need be, to carry the war to victory.

In the evening Ambassador Sharp gave a dinner at the American Embassy, where the General met the chief members of the French Cabinet and officers of the army and navy.

Pershing at Napoleon's Tomb

Among the most moving episodes was Pershing's visit to the tomb of Napoleon, in the Hôtel des Invalides, on June 14, for here was witnessed the impressive scene of the American commander standing with uncovered head at the resting place of the world's most famous soldier. Pershing, accompanied by his staff, was received at the Hôtel des Invalides by General Niox, the military commander of the historic monument, and General Malterre. As the American party entered the spacious grounds leading to the building they encountered a number of veterans of the French wars who have their home at this institution. One of these was a grizzled soldier of the Crimea, who still wore the ancient uniform and carried on his breast decorations of the old days. As the veteran saluted General Pershing the General stopped and extended his hand, saying: "It is a great honor for a young soldier like myself to press the hands of an old soldier like yourself, who has seen such glorious service."

Passing into the Invalides, General Niox conducted the American commander within the vast rotunda with its walls hung with battle flags, and thence the party proceeded below to the crypt where the sarcophagus of Napoleon reposes. Entrance to the crypt is rigorously restricted, and it is seldom that any one is admitted except crowned heads or former heads of States, as in the case of ex-President Roosevelt when he visited Paris.

General Pershing and his staff were conducted to the crypt by Marshal Joffre, who followed the precedent laid down by Napoleon, that only a Marshal of France might remain covered in his presence. The great key was inserted in the brass door of the crypt. Marshal Joffre and General Niox drew aside while General Pershing faced the door alone. He took a deep breath, stepped suddenly forward, and with a single motion threw his arm straight out and turned the key. In a tiny alcove at one side of the crypt the Governor of the Invalides unlocked the case, drew out the sword, and raised it to his lips. Then he presented the hilt to General Pershing, who received it, held it at salute for a moment, and then kissed the hilt. The same ceremony was followed with the cross of the cordon of the Legion of Honor, General Pershing holding the cross to his lips before passing it back to the Governor. This was the most signal honor France ever bestowed upon any man. Before this occasion not even a Frenchman ever was permitted to hold the historic relics in his hands. Kings and Princes have been taken to the crypt that holds the body of the great Emperor, but they only viewed the sword and cross through the plateglass of the case in

which they rest. The relics had not been touched since the time of Louis Philippe.

Visit to President Poincare

After his visit to the Invalides General Pershing made a formal call on Ambassador Sharp, and was then escorted with military honors to the Elysée Palace to be presented to President Poincaré. At 1:30 o'clock the President and Mme. Poincaré gave a state breakfast in honor of the American commander. Other guests were Premier Ribot, Paul Painlevé, Minister of War; Marshal Joffre, René Viviani, Minister of Justice, and Ambassador Sharp.

General Pershing received a remarkable greeting from the Deputies when he entered the diplomatic box in the Chamber of Deputies at 3 o'clock, just before Premier Ribot rose to tell the Chamber what the Allies purposed doing in Greece. The first part of the session partook of the nature of an official parliamentary reception to General Pershing, the United States figuring in M. Ribot's speech and being the theme of an eloquent oration by M. Viviani. Once they were aware of General Pershing's entry, the Deputies rose and stood, cheering, until the General bowed his acknowledgments. Then the galleries caught up the enthusiasm and violated the tradition of the House by joining in the applause. The Deputies again rose and turned toward General Pershing, cheering, when M. Ribot finished his speech by quoting President Wilson's phrase in his message to Russia: "The day has come to conquer or submit," and declaring: "We will not submit; we will vanquish." M. Viviani followed M. Ribot, describing the spirit of the United States and the principles for which both republics were fighting. General Pershing was compelled to respond to another demonstration after M. Viviani's speech, and at 4 o'clock he left the Chamber, followed by a storm of cheering.

Premier Ribot said in the course of his speech:

The people of France fully understand the deep significance of the arrival of General Pershing in France. It is one of the greatest events in history that the people of the United States should come here to struggle, not in the spirit of ambition or conquest, but for the noble ideals of justice and liberty. The arrival of General Pershing is a new message from President Wilson, which, if that is possible, surpasses in nobility all those preceding it.

The people of Paris gave Pershing and Joffre a remarkable reception on the morning of June 15, when the two Generals stool bareheaded together on the balcony of the Military Club, looking down on the excited crowd on the Place de l'Opéra. "Vive Joffre, who saved us from defeat! Vive Pershing, who brings us victory!" cried an excited girl, clinging to the arm of a be-medaled permissionaire, in a brief moment of silence, and at her words cheering burst forth tenfold only to cease long after the club balcony was vacant and the crowd was at last convinced that its two idols had definitely withdrawn.

A Wreath for Lafayette

General Pershing's personal program of official calls, dinners, and ceremonies came to an abrupt end in the afternoon after he visited Picpus Cemetery, where he placed a huge wreath of American Beauty roses on the tomb of Lafayette. Then he announced definitely that next day he intended to get down to work at the headquarters of the American Army, which was already in full operation, in the Rue de Constantine. The ceremony at the tomb was very brief, simple but impressive. With half a dozen officers of his staff he motored to the cemetery, where he was received only by the Marquis and the Count de Chambrun, descendants of Lafayette, who conducted him to the tomb. The wreath was carried behind by two orderlies. The Marquis de Chambrun said a few words welcoming General Pershing, who replied simply, expressing the great pleasure of every American to visit the tomb of one who had done so much for the United States—to pay a tribute of devotion which sealed friendship forever. Then the wreath was placed on the slab, while General Pershing and the officers stood at salute. The streets along the route to and from the cemetery were lined, as usual, with crowds, whose cheers seemed to indicate their appreciation of General

Pershing in this symbolic fashion repaying the debt of Lafayette.

General Pershing spent his third and last day in Paris before leaving for the front in making official calls, paying a visit to Marshal Joffre, with whom he had luncheon, and visiting the Senate. During his visit to the Senate there were scenes of enthusiasm similar to those in the Chamber of Deputies on the previous day. The Senators stood when General Pershing appeared in the diplomatic box, accompanied by the American Ambassador, and applauded him for several minutes. The General had to bow his acknowledgments repeatedly.

M. Ribot, the Premier, alluded to the presence of the distinguished American soldier, and called on Foreign Minister Viviani to address the Senate. M. Viviani, speaking at first with restraint, launched with great beauty of expression into an oration, in which he described the refusal of the United States to see the ideals of civilization, of democracy, and of right in battle with destructive forces without taking her part, which, he declared, was a great and noble part. The speaker was frequently interrupted by applause, and at the close of his address all the members of the Senate stood and, turning again toward General Pershing, clapped their hands and shouted, "Vivent les Etats Unis." General Pershing rose and bowed several times before the demonstration subsided.

The Senate took a recess of half an hour, so that the members might be introduced to General Pershing, and Antonin Dubost, President of the Senate, escorted him through the immense lobby of the Luxembourg Palace, introducing him to the members, Baron D'Estournelles de Constant assisting in the presentations.

Organizing for the Front

With the great series of official and popular greetings at an end General Pershing set to work to establish his headquarters in France. Marshal Joffre was designated by the French Minister of War to continue his work, begun in Washington, of assisting to organize American participation in the war. He will, therefore, be the representative of the French Government in co-operating with the American Commander, Lieut. Col. Fabry, as Chief of Staff, and Lieutenant de Tessan as aid, both members of the French War Commission to the United States, continue with the Marshal. According to a statement made by the War Department at Washington on June 13, General Pershing, in conference with French army heads, will determine where the American expedition shall be sent, and his recommendations, which will be practically final, will be approved by the authorities at Washington. He will be an independent commander, like Field Marshal Haig, necessarily co-operating with the French high command while on French soil.

General Pershing was preceded to France by various special units of the American Army, and on May 24 the first United States combatant corps went to the front under Captain E. I. Tinkham, who won the War Cross at Verdun, and Lieutenant Scully of Princeton. It was a proud moment when the first detachment of the American field service, consisting mainly of Cornell undergraduates, departed for the Aisne battlefield. They were armed with carbines, attired in khaki uniforms, and drove American five-ton motor cars. As they left, the Stars and Stripes, floating over the cantonment in a historic French forest, spread out in the breeze, and other contingents cheered them on their way. Other American sections, drilling in preparation for active participation in the fighting, included detachments from Andover, Dartmouth, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Chicago, and Williams College, while a large body from Princeton is awaiting organization. Most of them intended to serve with the American Ambulance Corps, but selected the fighting corps after the United States decided to enter the war.

An official statement issued by the British War Office on May 28 said that, counting the Americans serving in the British and French armies and the additional units ordered to France, there would shortly be 100,000 Americans in

France, and, further, that 3,500 war airplanes would be constructed and 6,000 aviators trained in the United States this year. The statement added that flotillas of destroyers were co-operating with the Entente Allies in the submarine zone, that one army division, a force of marines, and nine regiments of engineers had been ordered to France, and that 10,000 doctors and many nurses had been ordered to England, hundreds of these having already arrived. "Together with the Americans already serving in the British and French armies," the announcement explained, "these additional units will shortly give a total of 100,000 Americans in France, equaling five German divisions."

America's Army in the Making

THE work of pulling together the different lines of organization which will result in the formation of a United States Army fighting in Europe has been proceeding gradually and methodically. Explaining the Government's military plans, Secretary of War Baker, in a statement on May 9, said that all the forces raised for the war were to be dovetailed into one great army machine of more than 1,200,000 men when the National Guard had been raised to full war strength, when the regular army had been similarly increased and strengthened, and when the first draft of 500,000 men for the national army had been raised. This army would consist of about forty divisions.

Under the National Defense act of June 3, 1916, the full war strength of the regular army was fixed at 293,000 men, and of the National Guard at 409,000, but recruiting for both branches has been below requirements. On April 1, 1917, the regular army still needed 183,898 men, but the number of enlistments on June 18 had reached only 120,815. In some States the National Guard actually showed a decrease through discharges. It, therefore, became obvious that more than the 500,000 men, as originally intended, would have to be drafted. General Crowder told the Senate Military Affairs Committee on June 4 that the number then required was 625,000, and to obtain this number it would be necessary to draft at least 900,000 and possibly 1,500,000, because of expected exemptions. The additional 125,000 would be needed to fill up vacancies in the army and to keep the training camps in continuous operation.

The President on May 14 had already approved the completed plans for the immediate expansion of the regular army to its full war strength of 293,000 men through the formation as rapidly as possible of all the new units authorized by the National Defense act of June 3, 1916. To accomplish this forty-five new regiments of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery are being organized. This increase, as contemplated by Congress in 1916, was to have been obtained in five equal increments in a five-year period. The orders issued by the President now call for the formation of twenty-seven regiments of infantry, twelve of field artillery, and six of cavalry. When these have been obtained the army will comprise sixty-four regiments of infantry, twenty-one of field artillery, and twenty-five of cavalry—a total of 110 regiments —exclusive of coast artillery, staff corps, and special service units. There will be 3,379 officers and 127,985 men in the infantry, 1,325 officers and 37,175 men in the cavalry, and 897 officers and 26,748 men in the field artillery. The entire regular army will comprise more than 12,000 officers and 293,000 men. Previously there had been thirty-seven regiments of infantry, nine regiments of field artillery, and nineteen regiments of cavalry. The new infantry regiments will be known as the Thirty-eighth to the Sixty-fourth, inclusive; the new field artillery will be the Tenth to the Twenty-first, inclusive, and the new cavalry, the Twentieth to the Twenty-fifth, inclusive.

Expanding the Army

The expansion of the army is being accomplished by the conversion of each existing battalion into a full regiment. When the expansion is complete, the regular army will have seven full divisions, including the four infantry and two cavalry divisions regarded as essentially troops of the mobile army. A full war strength division is maintained in the Philippines and additional forces are in the Panama Canal Zone and Hawaii.

Secretary of War Baker in a statement with reference to the regular army says:

The Cavalry, Engineers, Coast Artillery, Signal Corps, and Quartermaster Corps of the regular army have already been brought to war strength.

Forty-five thousand recruits are needed at once to complete the new regiments of infantry and field artillery.

Twenty-five thousand additional recruits are desired at the earliest practicable date to fill vacancies in order that the war strength of 300,000 men may be maintained.

Facilities are in readiness for placing these 70,000 men under proper training.

The expansion of the National Guard has also been planned on the principle of enlarging existing units and forming new ones. Including naval militia the total authorized is 433,800. This force is being formed on the basis of 800 guardsmen for each Senator and representative. For the 531 Senators and representatives this allotment would give 424,800 men. Adding 9,000 for the insular possessions, and subtracting 24,700 reserved for the naval militia, gives a total of 409,100 for the National Guard. There were recently fewer than 200,000 in the guard.

In accordance with President Wilson's orders, Brig. Gen. William A. Mann of the General Staff, as Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs, has sent to each Adjutant General complete information about the quota assigned for each State, the units to be comprised, and the order in which the units shall be organized. The War Department, in an explanation of what had been done, added:

Notwithstanding such action some States have undertaken the organization of units which cannot be utilized in the formation of complete higher tactical units. While it is much to be desired to take full advantage of the patriotic interest stirring in the country, such advantage can only come through a co-ordination and regulation in keeping with a general and basic plan.

The War Department and the Militia Bureau are vitally concerned in getting the best value from the National Guard and to that end have perfected, as far as practicable, definite plans, for which co-operation on the part of State officials and representatives is urgently desired.

All persons desiring to offer their services in the National Guard, and especially those interested in raising new units, are requested to communicate with the Adjutant General of their State and to be governed by the wishes of the State authorities in carrying out the announced policy of the War Department in the organization and acceptance of such troops.

For the training of the new draft armies plans have been adopted to build sixteen cantonments, which will practically be cities. Here accommodation will be provided for 600,000 conscripts. The building of the sixteen soldier cities is under the direction of Colonel Littel, Chief of Cantonment Construction.

Training Thousands of Officers

Sixteen camps in different parts of the United States for the training of officers began work on May 15, the number of trainees in attendance being 40,000. The preliminary training was concluded about five weeks later. During this period only engineers received special instruction; all the other officers were formed into infantry regiments, and trained as infantry. The second training period began on June 18, when the future officers began to specialize in the different branches of the service. They now ceased to be "rookies." The second period of training is to conclude about the middle of August, a week or two before the first 500,000 men of the draft army will be called to the colors.

But as officers will be required for the second 500,000 men the War Department has already completed plans for a second series of officers' training camps. Brig. Gen. Henry P. McCain, Adjutant General of the army, on June 2 issued the following statement:

To provide officers for the drafted forces of the national army, the War Department has adopted the policy of commissioning new

officers of the line (infantry, cavalry, field and coast guard artillery) purely on the basis of demonstrated ability, after three months' observation and training in the officers' training camps.

To provide officers for the first 500,000 the War Department has put into operation sixteen officers' training camps, with about 40,000 men in attendance. These sixteen camps correspond to the territorial divisions in which the national army will be raised. The present camps will provide line officers sufficient in quantity and quality for the first 500,000 and a reserve for that increment. It is proposed to officer further increments raised under the draft by promotion from the ranks of the regular army, the National Guard, and drafted forces previously in service.

The second series of officers' training camps will be held beginning Aug. 27, with the definite mission of producing a body of line officers capable of filling all places in the grades above Lieutenant and many places in the Lieutenant grades of the second 500,000 troops. These camps will open on Aug. 27, 1917, and the training period will last until Nov. 26, 1917.

The President has commissioned officers by the hundred for the Officers' Reserve Corps, until its total strength is now in the neighborhood of 10,000. Many promotions have become necessary, and on June 8 President Wilson raised three Brigadier Generals (John F. Morrison, Charles G. Morton, and William L. Sibert) to the rank of Major General, while eighteen new Brigadier Generals and three new Lieutenant Colonels were also nominated. In making these promotions the President disregarded strict seniority and went down the list in search of "live wires," promoting several officers by selection.

A Great Air Fleet

The creation of a great American air fleet has begun. Three aviation fields are under construction and cadets are in training at the preliminary aviation schools established in six representative engineering colleges and universities. The Aircraft Production Board announces also that a site has been selected in France for the final training of the first aviators graduated from the American fields.

Work has been begun on a big four-squadron aviation field at Dayton, Ohio, and "it is significant," says Howard E. Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Production Board, "that this Dayton field of 2,500 acres, built to accommodate the largest group of aviation students to be trained in the great project on which America has now set forth, should be on the site of the original field on which the Wrights developed their first successful airplanes. The original Wright hangar, placed on a modest tract of eighty-six acres, which constituted the Wright experimental field, is set within the boundaries of the big new Government field."

A statement by the Council of National Defense says in regard to aviation policy:

The immediate policy involves, roughly, a program for the first year of turning out in American factories about 3,500 air machines, including both training and battle types, and the establishment of schools and training fields with sufficient capacity not only to man these machines but to supply a constant stream of aviators and mechanics to the American forces in Europe.

Brig. Gen. George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, who directs the aviation service, informed Congress on June 15 that $600,000,000 was needed as an initial appropriation for America's air fleet.

Putting the Conscription Law Into Operation

THE first step in putting into operation the select conscription law, officially known as "an act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States," which was approved on May 18, 1917, was to register all male residents who had reached the age of 21 years but who were not yet 31 years of age. The President by a proclamation, dated May 18, fixed June 5 as the day of registration.

When it became apparent that men who came under the law were leaving, or

endeavoring to leave the country, the President on June 1 issued another proclamation warning all persons subject to registration who withdrew from the United States for the purpose of evading registration that they would be prosecuted on their return and be liable to one year's imprisonment.

The registration blank contained twelve questions covering among others, name, address, age, nationality, birthplace, and occupation, and concluding with the interrogation, "Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)?" The official estimate by the Census Bureau of the number of men who should register was 10,264,867, and they were directed to appear at their polling booths and other places usually employed for elections.

Registration day passed off quietly. Although trouble was expected from anti-conscriptionists, there was practically no disorder. A few arrests were reported, but the method employed by the young men who were opposed to conscription was in nearly every case simply to neglect to register. An official statement given out by the Committee on Public Information on the evening of June 5, said in part:

Nearly 10,000,000 Americans of military age registered today for service in the army against Germany. The registration was accomplished in a fashion measuring up to the highest standards of Americanism. The young men came to the registration places enthusiastic; there was no hint of a slacking spirit anywhere except in a few cases where misguided persons had been prevailed upon to attempt to avoid their national obligation.

From every State reports were received showing that the sporadic conspiracies to thwart the first step toward the mobilization of as large an army as the country may need to bring the war to a victorious conclusion had failed utterly. The Department of Justice had a tremendous machinery ready to cope with these conspiracies, but it proved to be unnecessary.

Arrangements had been made by the Department of Justice and the War Department to secure immediate telegraphic reports upon any outbreaks or troublesome occurrence.

The spirit of the young men from whom the fighting forces are to be selected was evidenced in their attitude toward Question 12 on the registration blanks, which asked if exemption was claimed. In thousands of cases young men availed themselves of their right to ignore this question and to leave it entirely for the Government to decide whether they should be selected. This spirit was evidenced again in the receipt during the day of numerous requests from diplomatic and consular officials of the United States for additional registration cards to be used by citizens who are now in other countries; this fact was impressive because registration is voluntary on the part of Americans resident abroad.

Provost Marshal General Crowder, on June 16, gave figures to show the results of the registration. With the reports from Kentucky, New Mexico, and Wyoming still missing, the number registered was 9,401,314. It was estimated that the missing States would add at least 265,000 to this number, and that the grand total would be not less than 9,666,000. This, the War Department considered, would represent a registration of slightly more than 100 per cent. of the census figures, as a careful tabulation showed that there were at least 600,000 men in the service of military age who were not compelled to register, although they were included in the census estimate.

From various parts of the country plots and conspiracies to avoid or oppose the draft were reported. In many places those who had failed to register were rounded up and given another chance to enroll. There were also some arrests. Anarchist agitators were the most troublesome, and one of them, Louis Kramer, was sentenced by the Federal Court in New York to three years' imprisonment for conspiracy to dissuade men of conscript age from registering.

America's Fleet in Being

THE United States Navy began to render the Allies assistance almost from the first day of America's entrance into the war. The whereabouts of the Atlantic Fleet have been shrouded in secrecy, but announcements have been made regarding the movements of certain units. On June 6 the French

BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY P. McCAIN

Adjutant General of the United States Army and Director of the Organization of the New Forces for Service in Europe

BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, One of the Chief Officers Concerned in the Making of the New Draft Armies

(Photo Bain News Service)

Minister of Marine stated that American warships had anchored off the French coast. The same day the flotilla of American destroyers under Rear Admiral Sims, who has been promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral, completed their first month of war service. In the course of a speech in the House of Commons, on May 25, Prime Minister Lloyd George referred to the work of the United States Navy in these words:

> We owe a very considerable debt of gratitude to the great American people for the effective assistance they have rendered and the craft they have placed at our disposal. Now that the American Nation is in the war it is easier to make arrangements for the protection of our mercantile marine than it was before.

The American destroyers have been assigned to work hand in hand with the British squadrons, being virtually assimilated into the British naval machinery. A destroyer is usually out for four or five days, and then returns to port for two or three days while coaling and loading supplies. The Americans take their turn with the British boats in all routine work of patrol and convoy. The work, although largely routine, is interesting, and the Americans have never yet found time hanging heavy on their hands. The lookout must be constant, and eyes must be trained to an unbelievable degree of keenness. The young Americans take zealously to this business of finding the periscopic needles in the nautical haystack, and daily reports of submarines sighted, of observations made, of wireless warnings sent broadcast, show that the American boats are already making an average of results almost as satisfactory as the long-experienced English boats with which they are operating. An assignment to convoy a liner "from home"—that is, from an American port—is regarded as an especially choice morsel. A transatlantic liner which sights the American flag approaching to escort her to land never fails to respond with a great waving of flags and handkerchiefs from her decks, and there is a fine exchange of wigwag signals in lieu of handshakes.

Admiral Sims, it was officially announced in London on June 19, had been appointed by the British Admiralty to take general charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters during the absence of the British naval Commander in Chief. Admiral Sims accordingly hoisted his flag as allied senior officer commanding.

By an act of Congress, approved by the President on May 22, the enlisted strength of the navy and Marine Corps was increased to 150,000 and 30,000 men, respectively. A substantial increase in the pay of enlisted men and a temporary increase in the commissioned personnel were provided for. Secretary of the Navy Daniels on June 8 said that the navy was so popular that recruits had come in far more rapidly than had been expected. Since Jan. 1 about 60,000 recruits have been added to the service. The Marine Corps has also made good progress. On May 16 it had 21,864 officers and enlisted men.

Food Crisis in the United States

PRESIDENT WILSON has exerted all his authority during the month to secure measures to cope with an impending food crisis in the United States. In a statement issued on May 19 he declared that it was absolutely necessary to place unquestionable powers in his hands to prevent hoarding and speculation, and generally to regulate the distribution and consumption of food.

Herbert C. Hoover, whom the President has designated as Food Administrator, stated officially on June 2 that America's allies would require 971,000,000 bushels of bread and fodder grains out of the next harvest and, in addition, provision must be made for the grain ships destroyed by submarines. It would be impossible for North America, Mr. Hoover added, to furnish all of the 971,000,000 bushels, but the major load must fall on us.

At a conference in Washington on June 13, which was attended by Mr. Hoover, representatives of organized labor, and about twenty-five Congressmen, the statement was made that the present cost of living probably could be reduced about 30 per cent. in a comparatively short time if President Wilson received the powers he demanded. It was said that hundreds of millions of dollars were being wasted in getting foodstuffs from the producer to the consumer; that speculators and illegitimate middlemen were getting the greater part of this wastage, and that poorly organized methods of transportation and distribution were to blame in no small measure for the rest.

President Wilson made clear his decision in this matter by publishing a letter which he had written on June 12 to Mr. Hoover and which was issued on June 16:

My dear Mr. Hoover: It seems to me that the inauguration of that portion of the plan for food administration which contemplates a national mobilization of the great voluntary forces of the country which are ready to work toward saving food and eliminating waste admits of no further delay.

The approaching harvesting, the immediate necessity for wise use and saving not only in food, but in all other expenditures, the many undirected and overlapping efforts being made toward this end, all press for national direction and inspiration. While it would in many ways be desirable to wait complete legislation establishing the food administration, it appears to me that so far as voluntary effort can be assembled we should not wait any longer, and therefore I would be very glad if you would proceed in these directions at once.

The women of the nation are already earnestly seeking to do their part in this our greatest struggle for the maintenance of our national ideals, and in no direction can they so greatly assist as by enlisting in the service of the food administration and cheerfully accepting its direction and advice. By so doing they will increase the surplus of food available for our own army and for export to the Allies. To provide adequate supplies for the coming year is of absolutely vital importance to the conduct of the war, and without a very conscientious elimination of waste and very strict economy in our food consumption we cannot hope to fulfill this primary duty.

I trust, therefore, that the women of the country will not only respond to your appeal and accept the pledge to the food administration which you are proposing, but that all men also who are engaged in the personal distribution of foods will co-operate with the same earnestness and in the same spirit. I give you full authority to undertake any steps necessary for the proper organization and stimulation of their efforts. Cordially and sincerely yours, WOODROW WILSON.

The extent to which speculation had been rife since the beginning of 1917 was described by Mr. Hoover when he appeared, on June 19, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture to explain the Food Administration bill. In the last five months, he said, on the item of flour alone $250,000,000 had been extracted from the American consumer in excess of normal profits. Mr. Hoover then uttered this warning:

We now have a high cost of living beyond the abilities of certain sections of the population to withstand and to secure proper nourishment from the wage levels. Unless we can ameliorate this condition and unless we can prevent further advances in prices, we must confront further an entire rearrangement of the wage level, with all the hardships and social disturbances which necessarily follow. We shall in this turmoil experience large loss in national efficiency at a time when we can least afford to lose the energies of a single man.

President Wilson, it was announced on June 19, had decided to exercise in full the powers conferred upon him by the embargo clause in the espionage law and thereby make it impossible for neutral countries or the allies of America to export from this country so much as a bushel of wheat or the smallest quantity of any other essential commodity without obtaining a license and the approval of an Exports Council, to be composed of Herbert C. Hoover and representatives of the Departments of State, War, Navy, and Commerce. The statement to this effect was made through Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce:

The procedure of issuing an export license will be about as follows: The President's proclamation will designate the particular articles under control and countries to which such controlled articles may be exported under license. The quantity of the particular commodity to be exported under license will be decided by the Exports Council, and upon the advice of the departments concerned, and with such facts as may be presented by the trade expert dealing with that particular commodity. After the amount has been determined, the Division of Export Licenses will then restrict the amount licensed to the

amount determined upon by the Exports Council.

President Wilson has assumed full responsibility for the decisions which are to be made, and in reaching his conclusions he will have at his disposal all of the information and advice of Secretary of State Lansing and Mr. Hoover.

The First United States War Loan

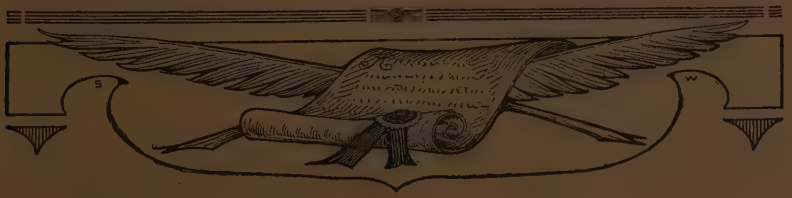
THE first popular offering of bonds for the war—in the sum of $2,000,000,000—closed June 15, 1917, in a large oversubscription, the total amount subscribed exceeding $2,900,000,000. There were nearly 3,000,000 individual subscribers. It was the largest bond offering in the history of the United States, and the individual subscriptions exceeded several times the largest total ever before recorded in this country.

The loan was known as "The Liberty Loan." The interest rate was 3½ per cent., and the amount was limited to $2,000,000,000. Allotments were made of the sums expected from each of the twelve Federal Reserve Districts, and in every case, with one exception, these amounts were largely exceeded. The official figures have not been issued at this writing, (June 20,) but semi-official reports show the following subscriptions in the various Reserve Districts:

District.	Minimum. Allotment.	Estimated Subscription.
New York.....	$600,000,000	$1,050,000,000
Philadelphia ...	140,000,000	225,000,000
Boston	240,000,000	300,000,000
Richmond	80,000,000	100,000,000
Atlanta	60,000,000	58,582,000
Chicago	260,000,000	355,000,000
Cleveland	180,000,000	276,286,950
St. Louis.....	80,000,000	90,000,000
Minneapolis.... ..	80,000,000	62,000,000
Kansas City.....	100,000,000	100,000,000
Dallas	40,000,000	48,000,000
San Francisco..	140,000,000	180,000,000
Total.....$2,000,000,000		$2,844,868,950

The last days of the loan campaign were marked by picturesque propaganda. In many cities bells were rung and whistles blown to indicate progress of the subscriptions; enormous clocks were conspicuously placed to show how the totals were mounting; women and men all over the country delivered addresses at street corners and in public places, advocating subscriptions; flaming and appealing posters were everywhere displayed, and all the newspapers inserted large advertisements gratuitously. The Liberty Bell at Independence Hall in Philadelphia was rung for the first time in half a century on the last day, and as the broken bell pealed the sound was taken up at the same time by other bells in all parts of the country.

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo visited the leading cities in advocacy of the loan, and everywhere met with an enthusiastic reception. Large corporations, railroads, industrial, commercial, and banking institutions made subscriptions for their employes, allowing them to subscribe on the installment plan, in this way giving the loan a wide distribution. Banks and bond houses all over the United States put all the machinery and energy of their sales organization behind the loan without charge, and this one fact contributed in no little degree to its success. There was much gratification over the large oversubscription, and especially because of the large number of individual subscribers.



CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1917

BRITISH ELECTORAL REFORM: VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE Representation of the People bill, introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Long, is in its way more radical even than the first great Reform bill of 1832, which brought about the downfall of the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, who violently opposed it; much greater than the Reform bill of 1867, which enfranchised the artisan class and added over 3,000,000 to the voters of the nation; greater by far than the Reform bill of 1885, which was, in the main, a redistribution bill, reapportioning the seats in Parliament in accordance with the population.

The effect of the new Reform bill may be summarized as follows: There were in 1915 8,357,000 male voters on the registers; the present bill will add over 2,000,000 male voters to this number; but far more striking is the addition of over 6,000,000 women voters, in accordance with the following clauses of the bill:

1. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a constituency, (other than a university constituency,) if she has attained the age of 30 years, and is entitled to be registered as a Local Government elector in respect of land or premises in that constituency, or is the wife of a husband entitled to be so registered.

2. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a university constituency if she has attained the age of 30 years, and would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man.

3. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Local Government elector for any Local Government electoral area where she would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man; provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified as Local Government electors in respect of the same property.

The age limit was adopted because the bill could not have been passed without it. The reason for the apparent discrimination against women in the matter of age seems to be that, with the destruction of male voters now going on at the front, the women would vastly preponderate at the polls if they, like the men, were allowed to vote at the age of 21, and it was thought safer to give time for the equalization of the sexes numerically.

* * *

CONSTANTINE AND HIS DYNASTY

CONSTANTINE of Greece, who has lost his throne, reversed the policy of his father, George I., King of the Hellenes, who was strongly pro-English, and who succeeded Otho of Bavaria when the Greeks drove him out of the country in 1862. The Greek Nation thereupon, by a plebiscite, elected, as King, Prince Alfred, son of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Edinburgh; and, when he refused the throne, requested Great Britain to nominate a candidate. The British Government chose Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, who was recognized by the powers on June 6, 1863, and for whom the Conference of London, in August, 1863, created the style, King of the Hellenes, at the same time making Greece a present of the Ionian Islands, which contain about one-tenth of the population of Greece.

Just before his nomination the new Greek King's sister, Princess Alexandra, had married the Prince of Wales, afterward King Edward VII., and it has been repeatedly affirmed and denied, in the House of Commons, that Queen Alexandra's protection kept her nephew Constantine on the throne long after his policy had become an open danger to the Allies at Saloniki.

Shortly after George of Denmark became King of the Hellenes, his father succeeded to the crown of Denmark, while another sister, Princess Dagmar, married the future Czar Alexander III. of Russia; she, also, as Dowager Empress Marie of Russia, was supposed to uphold Constantine, who is further allied with several of the Russian Grand Ducal families, his mother having been the daughter of Grand Duke Constantine, his

sister having married the Grand Duke George Mikhailovitch, while his brother Nicholas married the Grand Duchess Helena Vladimirovna. From each of the three powers which guarantee the constitutional Government of Greece, King George received a personal allowance of $20,000 yearly.

* * *

Visiting Commissions

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, proprietor of The London Times, The London Mail, and other publications, arrived at New York June 12 to take up the duties of head of the British Commission to the United States, which post had been tendered him by Premier Lloyd George. His duties are to co-ordinate the work of the various British organizations already engaged in the task of supplying British war and other needs. His appointment is not a diplomatic position. Each of the allied Governments has numerous commissions engaged in various duties of assembling and procuring supplies in this country. The head of the French Commission is André Tardieu. Baron Moncheur, former Belgian Minister to the United States, arrived at New York with a Belgian Commission June 16. A commission of Russians consisting of forty members, headed by Boris A. Bakmetieff, arrived at Seattle June 13; this commission was appointed prior to the fall of the Milukoff Cabinet.

* * *

The Irish Convention

THE Irish convention which will deliberate during the Summer to endeavor to reach an agreement on a form of home rule will consist of 101 members. The British Government, seeking to secure for this convention representatives of the everyday life of Ireland, invited the Chairmen of every County Council and county borough, while, in addition, invitations had been extended to the Chairmen of small towns and urban districts in each of the four provinces to appoint two members to the convention.

The convention will also include four Roman Catholic Bishops, together with the Primate, Dr. Crosier, and the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Bernard, representing the Protestant Church of Ireland, and Dr. John Irwin, Moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Assembly. Commerce will be represented by the Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, while five representatives of labor will be sent by the trade councils of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, and trade unions.

Political parties will be represented as follows: Five Nationalists, five Ulster Unionists, two O'Brienites, two Irish representative peers, five Southern Unionists, and five Sinn Feiners or Separatists. As to Sinn Feiners, the spokesmen of the Separatists' bodies had stated they would not enter the convention, but the Government reserved five places for them. Fifteen additional members will be nominated by the Government from among leading Irishmen of all sections.

* * *

Socialist Efforts for Peace

THE International Socialist Conference, which was summoned to meet at Stockholm in May, but which was delayed because delegates from important countries would not attend or were not permitted by their Governments to go to Stockholm, has taken on a more important aspect since the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates assumed the responsibility for summoning the assembly. The Russian Provisional Government has indorsed the invitation. The British and French Governments have granted passports to Socialist delegates, including so ardent a pacifist as Ramsay MacDonald, evidently because the Socialists of the allied countries command a majority of the votes in the conference and for them not to attend would give the delegates from the central countries a chance to dominate the gathering. The Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Committee at Stockholm has been holding a series of preliminary consultations and informal discussions with Socialists from the different belligerent countries, and has succeeded in eliciting from the German majority Socialists, who, under Scheidemann's leadership, are supporting their Government, a statement of their peace terms. This statement has been condemned by prominent anti-Government leaders among German

Socialists, on the ground that it merely represents German imperialism. At the conference, which has been called for July 8, Germany has twenty votes, but they are divided equally between the Scheidemann group and the minority, which includes Kautsky, Haase, and Bernstein. The United States Government refused to issue passports to Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, and Victor L. Berger, the delegates chosen by the Socialist Party of America.

* * *

Chaos Growing in Austria-Hungary

COUNT MORITZ ESTERHAZY has completed the formation of a new Hungarian Cabinet, in which all parties opposed to the policies of Count Tisza are represented, Count Albert Apponyi being Minister of Education, while Count Karolyi has so far refused to take office. Hungarian feeling both against Germany and against the German dominance of Austria is reported as steadily growing; but the rock in the channel is the Slav question. More than half the population of Hungary is either Slav or Rumanian, and is held in political helotry by the dominant Magyars. Without the help of Germany and of the Austrians in Germany the Magyars would inevitably be submerged in the rising flood of Slavdom.

The difficulties of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy—which, since 1866, has been the weaker half—are also rapidly growing. The Southern Slavs, agitation among whom was one of the causes of the war, are restive under the Germanizing pressure of the Vienna Government, while the Northern Slavs—the Czechs of Bohemia, the Moravians, and Slovaks—are practically in open rebellion, and these two Slav groups far outnumber the German factions in Austria, as the non-Magyars outnumber the Magyars in Hungary.

German and Magyar domination has only been maintained by franchise laws, and now, as in Prussia, there is strong pressure for the establishment of a widely extended franchise. If this were done, the domination of both Magyars and German-Austrians would come to an end. Even now, in the Reichsrat, 233 Germans —who are divided into mutually antagonistic parties—are faced by 263 Slavs and Italians, the Slavs including 108 Czechs, some 80 Galician Poles, and a certain number of Ruthenians, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Croatians, and Italians. On June 19 the Poles in the Austrian Parliament refused to vote for the war budget and forced the Austrian Premier, Count Clam-Martinic, to resign; the Poles are seeking independence.

* * *

Two German Reforms

THE German Federal Council has decided upon the repeal of two of the main features of "exceptional legislation" in Germany, the Jesuit act and the language paragraph, the first of which forbade members of the Society of Jesus to establish themselves in Germany, while the second forbade the use in public meetings of any language but German, except in the case of international congresses and election meetings. This decision is final, and will not be referred to the Reichstag, as that body is formally regarded as having already given its consent, having voted in favor of the abolition of the Jesuit act in 1894, and again in 1899, and in favor of the repeal of the language paragraph in 1908. On all three occasions, however, the Federal Council refused to ratify the decision of the House, whose vote has, therefore, been overruled until now.

The language paragraph was directed against the Polish and Danish subjects of the empire and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, and was considered necessary, in view of the German custom of arranging for a State official to be present at any public meeting, so as to intervene in the event of any inadmissible utterance.

The Jesuit act dated from 1872 and marked the beginning of the famous Kulturkampf. The aggressive policy of the Vatican at that time had aroused Protestant opinion, and its claim as to the precedence of ecclesiastical over secular jurisdiction had given rise to the conviction that, as Herr Rudolf Delbrück, the then Secretary of State, stated in the Reichstag at the time, the young German

Empire must be protected from the disintegrating effect of international influences on the imperial consciousness being evolved in its midst. The Society of Jesus and its kindred organizations were, therefore, forbidden to establish themselves in Germany, their existing settlements were ordered to be broken up within six months, and Jesuits of non-German nationality were permitted to reside only in certain districts, and were liable to banishment at any time.

* * *

Our German and Austrian Ships

GERMAN merchant vessels numbering about 100 and representing a gross tonnage of about 600,000 were taken under the control of the United States Government on April 6, the German crews being removed and turned over to the immigration authorities. Customs officials took over the ships at Porto Rico and Hawaii, while the War Department had earlier taken possession of German merchant ships in the Canal Zone, the Navy Department taking control of the German raiders at Philadelphia. It is estimated that, while the German ships now controlled by the United States Government cost more than $50,000,000, they now represent, even in their present damaged condition, considerably over $100,000,000; and while practically every ship was more or less damaged, by orders emanating from the German Embassy, the injuries, except in one or two cases, were much less serious than had been feared. The Kronprinzessin Cecilie was probably the most seriously damaged, while the Liebenfels, sunk in Charleston Harbor, was almost intact, except for the opening of the seacocks.

Fourteen Austrian ships, of a gross tonnage of 67,807, were also taken over, the largest being the Martha Washington, 8,312 tons; the Dora, 7,037 tons; the Lucia, 6,744 tons, and the Ermy, 6,515 tons. The first two were in New York, the third at Pensacola, and the fourth at Boston. Of these fourteen Austrian ships, eight belonged to the Union Austriaca di Navigazione. The four Hamburg-American liners seized at Colon—the Grünewald, Sachsenwald, Savoja, and Prinz Sigismund—were first moved to Gatun Lake, in order that the fresh water might kill the barnacles accumulated on their hulls.

Rush repairs were immediately begun on all the ships except those at Honolulu, H. T., and the Vaterland at New York, the latter being too large for any American dry dock. By a unanimous Senate resolution, no suit for compensation may begin until one year after peace is made.

* * *

Canada's Conscription Bill

A BILL has been introduced in the Canadian Parliament providing for compulsory military service for men between the ages of 20 and 45. According to the bill, drafts shall be called out by the Governor in council in precedence of youth and lack of home entanglements. Ten classes are provided in which age and dependents (confined to wives and children) are given the preference. When a certain class is called out by proclamation those who fall under that class are bound to respond to the call. Those who do not may be designated as deserters and held liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years. The proposition is bitterly opposed in the Province of Quebec, especially by the French Catholics. An effort was made to form a coalition Cabinet to pass the measure without party division, but it failed.

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The Fiji Islanders in the War

THE Fijians, whose archipelago became British territory in 1874, have actively entered the world war, a group of sturdy Fijians recently disembarking at Vancouver and passing through Canada on their way to France, where they will act, however, not as belligerents, but as stevedores on the wharfs of France. But a larger contingent may follow, trained for war. Many of the Polynesian races, to which the Fijians belong, are splendidly built. At the Columbian World's Fair the prize for physical perfection was awarded to a South Sea Islander, and the average among some of these races is the highest in the world both for stature and for all-round physical development.

Thereupon Brazil began to take active war measures. The Chamber of Deputies authorized the Government to utilize German ships in Brazilian ports, and on June 2 President Braz signed a decree carrying this into effect. Forty-six German merchant ships were laid up in Brazilian ports early in the war, aggregating 240,779 tons displacement. The largest of these is the Hamburg-American liner Blücher, of 12,350 tons; while thirty-three of the vessels are of more than 4,000 tons each. A second step was the opening of Brazilian ports to all Entente warships, including those of the United States. A third step was the development of measures whereby Brazil will share with the United States Navy the policing of the South Atlantic, thus liberating many English and French ships to fight in the North Sea and the Mediterranean.

It will be remembered that Brazil, once a colony of Portugal, and still using Portuguese as its official language, is one of the largest countries in the world, with an area of 3,218,991 square miles and a population approaching 20,000,000, being exceeded in area only by the British Empire, the Russian, French, and Chinese dominions, and the United States. Most of South America is preparing to follow Brazil's lead, while in Central America only Costa Rica and Salvador still maintain relations with Germany.

* * *

General Pershing Carries America's Sword to Europe

SINCE the national existence of the United States began, General Pershing is the first soldier of the Republic to draw the sword of America on a European battlefield, though a full army corps of young Americans have been fighting in the battlefields of France under the flags of France and England. In the Colonial period, during the wars waged between 1689 and 1763—King William's war, Queen Anne's war, and the war of the Austrian succession, precipitated by the attack of Frederick the Great against Maria Theresa—all officers in the British colonies in America were, of course, officers of the English Crown, and it may be held that for this reason they took part in European wars, though fighting in America. Thus, Washington and Clive were at the same time fighting on the same side in the same war, though the one was engaged at Pittsburgh, the other at Plassey, in Lower Bengal. In this war both Cuba and the Philippines were taken by England from Spain, but were returned when peace was made.

In the Barbary wars, from 1802 to 1806, the United States was at war in the Old World, on the north coast of Africa. The Pasha of Tripoli, who had collected tribute from the United States, declared when payment of this tribute was stopped that "we are all hungry, and if we are not provided for we soon get peevish," and opened a war against the United States. There was naval fighting in European waters when John Paul Jones, leading a little fleet fitted out by France, cruised in the North Sea and took the British ship Serapis in September, 1779. Since the United States was then allied with France, it may be said that Paul Jones carried the sword of America to Europe.

The war of 1812 was directly caused by the great European struggle against Napoleon, but the United States was no longer allied with France. Indeed, it was openly declared in Congress that the United States "ought to fight France also." So General Pershing opens a new page, carrying the sword of America to the battle plains of Belgium and France.

* * *

Polyglot Armies of the Entente

THE forces of humanity are, in the most literal sense, fighting against the tyranny of the Central Empires; practically every race, creed, and color under the sun is represented in the Entente armies, whether already in the field or in training camps. France's Foreign Legion is already a congress of races; but there are also, in the armies of the French Republic, representatives of half a dozen African and Asian stocks, including the troops of Arab and Moorish blood, from Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco, who fought valiantly in the Champagne offensive; and, at Verdun, the coal-black

sharpshooters from Senegal and the Upper Niger—territories largely opened up by Gallieni and Joffre—and the Colonials from French Farther India, from the territories of Tonking. Many Chinese are also working for France, in the munition shops and in the fields.

England's army is even more varicolored, as England's Empire is more widely extended; and it should be remembered that, with the exception of Great Britain—that is, England, Scotland, and Wales—the armies of England, including the large contingents from India, are all volunteers. Fighting with the Colonials are Red Indians from the Canadian Northwest, Polynesians and Maoris—aboriginal New Zealanders—and, in the Imperial Army of Britain, there are representatives of a dozen nations of India, and of one at least, the Gurkas, who do not owe political allegiance to England, but who cross over the frontier from Nepal, to enlist in the British Indian army, because it offers a career to these hereditary fighting men.

In Africa, side by side with the Britons and the Boers, led by Generals like Louis Botha and Smuts, who, not so long ago, were fighting against England, there are representatives of several South African races, of the Kaffir stock, who are quite distinct from the negro races of Equatorial Africa. Besides the Christian religion, there are represented, among these troops, Brahamanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Jainism, and a dozen forms of paganism and fetich worship.

* * *

HENRY P. DAVISON of J. P. Morgan & Co. has been appointed Chairman of the Red Cross War Council by President Wilson. It is proposed to raise $100,000,000. With Mr. Davison on the War Council will be William H. Taft, Edward N. Hurley of Chicago, former Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission; Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., Charles D. Norton, Grayson M. P. Murphy of New York, and Eliot Wadsworth of Boston, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross.

* * *

THE total amount of income taxes collected in the United States from the civil war law in the ten years it remained on the statute books, 1863 to 1873, was $346,762,000, as against $330,565,628, the total amount collected in the single year ended June, 1917.

* * *

War Insurance Losses

THE United States War Risk Insurance Bureau up to May 23, 1917, had issued policies totaling $504,003,016, with net losses of $5,844,531; total premiums, $10,300,355. The following were the losses:

Vessel.	Hull.	Cargo.	Total.
1915.			
Evelyn	$100,000	$301,000.00	$401,000.00
Carib	22,253	235,850.00	258,103.00
Greenbrier	50,000	.....	50,000.00
Wm. P. Frye.	11,550	.....	11,550.00
Navajo	.....	58,368.34	58,368.34
Seguranca	.....	235.73	235.73
Total for 1915			$779,257.07
1916.			
Carolyn	.....	$62,595.03	$62,595.03
1917.			
Healdton	$400,000	$99,000.00	$499,000.00
Illinois	250,000	.....	250,000.00
Rockingham	800,000	498,108.00	1,298,108.00
Missourian	1,000,000	.....	1,000,000.00
Edw. R. Hunt	50,000	.....	50,000.00
N. York, (est.)	100,000	150,000.00	250,000.00
Percy Birdsall	25,000	.....	25,000.00
Vacuum	1,000,000	.....	1,000,000.00
Hilonian	275,000	414,627.00	689,627.00
Total for 1917			$5,061,735.00
Total losses			$5,903,587.10

Military Review of the Month

Period From May 18 to June 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

[See map of Italian front Page 31, and of Ypres front on Page 36]

As last month's review was being written, one of the fiercest Italian battles of the war was being fought on the front between Tolmino and the sea. The Italian objective was the Carso Plateau, on which they already had a foothold, obtained shortly after the fall of Gorizia last year. Instead of attacking here, however, they began operations on the Isonzo between Tolmino and Gorizia, thereby following the same strategy which has marked all the later battles of the Entente. Two points were particularly selected for the attack: The first Canale, and the second Plava. After a very heavy bombardment the Italians, who were on the west bank of the river, surged across and established themselves on the east bank. Vodice Ridge, close to the river and just to the north of Mount Cucco, was taken and Mount Cucco itself occupied.

For days there was fighting of the heaviest character. The Austrians counterattacked heavily in an effort to throw the Italians back across the river, and, when this failed, began a minor attack in the Trentino in order to divert attention. In both, however, they were unsuccessful. The Italians had their object thoroughly in mind and were not to be distracted from it.

Fighting on the Carso

Then the scene of operations was suddenly shifted south of the valley of the Vippaco. It was the much discussed plan of the oscillating attack. As in most other cases where it has been tried, it was successful. The work on the Carso was brilliantly performed. The front attack extended from Castagnavizza to the sea. There was no attempt to advance the entire Carso line. It was not necessary, nor could sufficient concentration of guns and shells have been made.

The Carso is a hairpin-shaped plateau which generally parallels the seacoast. The distance from the southern edge to the seacoast varies considerably, in some cases being several miles, in others practically nothing, the sides of the plateau sloping down to the water's edge. The surface of the Carso is broken and rough, honeycombed with natural caverns of varying size, the plateau being of volcanic origin and calcareous in nature. It is the great barrier to Trieste from whatever direction a land attack might come, and must be occupied in its entirety before Trieste can be taken.

The advance, after the most severe fighting, was for a depth of nearly a mile, and many thousands of prisoners were taken. The Italians finally reached a point about half way up the western slopes of the Hermada Hill, or Hill 323. This hill is the key to the entire situation. It is a nearly isolated height about 1,000 feet above sea level, which dominates the Adriatic and both the highway and the railroad which run along the coast at the base of the tableland. Its capture would give the Italians almost perfect observation for a distance of five miles, whereas, as matters now stand, the Austrians are in a position to observe every preparation the Italians put under way. This is always a matter of cardinal importance because it is on perfection of observation that any success in this war is based.

In this case it is of particular importance in view of the railroad and supply situation. The Carso is bounded by two railroads, one generally following the line of the Vippaco on the north and the other on the south, running along the seacoast, the latter branching at Nabresina. The plateau itself is not touched by any railroad. A few indifferent dirt roads pass over it, which, after consider-

able winding, connect with one of the two railroads. The only road of moment which crosses the Carso runs from Nabresina through the village of Comen to Scherbina, a rail junction in the Vippaco Valley. Once Hermada Hill is in Italian hands, this road with its southern connection is not alone under observation but under reasonably close artillery fire.

The Italian attack lasted for eighteen days without pause. It was the longest and most sustained offensive yet carried on by any of the belligerents, and the fact that the Italians were able to continue for such a great length of time speaks exceedingly well for their transport system. After that time the attacks gradually lessened and then died down. Since then they have not been renewed.

The Austrians were able to strengthen their line greatly at the expense of the Russian front. This latter front was still inactive, with no prospect of its becoming otherwise, and men could be taken without danger. This was done freely, and several divisions were recognized as having been on the Russian front a short time before. This in itself is sufficient reason for the final halting of the Italian offensive. After several days the Austrians, who had refused to admit that Italy had moved forward at all, counterattacked and reported that all their lost positions (which up to this time had not been lost) were recovered. But while it is probably true that some gains were made, it is unlikely that any serious reclamation of ground took place. The claims made were too vague.

Battle of Messines Ridge

The event of the month on the western front was the British attack between the Ypres salient and Armentières. The defeat of the German attempt to reach Calais, known as the battle of Ypres, left the lines most peculiarly shaped. A great wedge bulged out into the German lines east of Ypres, with the flanks beaten back, one as far west as Furnes on the Ypres Canal, the other well to the west of the village of Wytschaete. From Wytschaete the line curved about Messines, and then continued on east of Armentières. The British attack was launched from Hill 60, just west of Zillebeke, to a point south of Warrenton on the Lys River. The object of the attack was twofold: first to straighten out the British lines from Ypres south and remove the danger of having the southern side of the Ypres salient crushed in. This danger was always present, and if such an attack should succeed there would be an immediate possibility of the Germans being able to continue the drive to Calais.

There was the second consideration of improving the line from the standpoint of terrain. This section of Belgium and of France is extremely flat. There are but few points which rise more than seventy-five feet above the sea; indeed, this is almost the exact level of the entire belt. Between Wytschaete and Messines, however, there is a distinct ridge which varies in height from 260 feet to about 190. This ridge, together with Hill 60, the British had most thoroughly and carefully mined. In fact, from the extent to which preliminary work was carried it must have been begun nearly a year ago. Its importance justified this measure, and all the work that was involved. There is not an artillery position within ten miles of this section of the British front after this ridge has been eliminated. It is impossible for the Germans to move any considerable body of troops or to move their guns, whether in reinforcement or withdrawal, without the entire operation opening out under the British eyes. On the other hand, in order for the British to make the most important concentrations unobserved, it is only necessary to keep German airplanes away, and the work can be done in complete concealment.

The fighting was begun by setting off the mines, which had been so placed and so carefully constructed that the entire German front positions were destroyed. Immediately the artillery began, and in a short time the infantry went forward. The Germans had full warning of the attack. The action of the artillery, which was of very heavy calibre, for some days

before the infantry went into action, was in itself a warning that an attack was pending. In spite of this the resistance was not up to the German mark. The entire command seems to have been thrown into a panic by the explosion and was unable to fight effectively. At an absurdly small loss the infantry took these two villages, Wytschaete and Messines, and occupied the entire ridge between. Over 7,000 prisoners were captured in the operation—more than the total British loss. The entire British objective was gained; at no point was a reverse suffered. This meant the occupation of the entire ridge and to a large extent the flattening out of the old salient.

Later operations showed almost immediately the value of the positions which the British had gained. The weight of British artillery fire, directed partly from the new observation posts and partly by airplane, forced the abandonment of several lines of trenches almost without the infantry going into action at all. This was particularly the case between the Lys River and the village of St. Yvon, where the Germans fell back solely because of the effects of the artillery.

The final result of this fighting as it stands at the moment of writing is that the British have cleaned out the old salient in its entirety and have drawn a straight line from Hill 60, east of Zillebeke, to a point east of Armentières. To the north the old salient still exists. But in this case the Germans have to launch their attack across the Furnes Canal, which stretches out before the British lines; judging from former experience, this is apt to prove an impassable obstacle with the important artillery positions all in British hands.

The British attack, however, did a great deal more than straighten out the dangerous southern salient. It will eventually mean the abandonment by the Germans of the triangular strip of territory, the vertices of which are Hill 60 on the north, Comines on the east, and Warrenton on the south. This triangle is bounded on its eastern sides by the Ypres Canal and the River Lys. The ground embraced by it is exceedingly low without a single elevation. It is nothing like the rolling country found in Artois further south. It is absolutely flat, except for a gentle slope from west to east. There is no cover, there are no positions from which a German attack can be launched. That the British have not yet launched another attack does not mean that they are not in a position to take advantage of this situation. But the lesson had been dearly bought with experience, that liberal use of the mechanics of war is to be economical in human lives. The British output of shells is sufficient to permit them to be used lavishly, and this the British are prepared to do. It is a question, however, of accumulating them in the gun positions—of transportation. It is this accumulation which is going on now, and when it is deemed sufficient, the Germans are almost certain to feel the weight of another torrent of steel.

The capture of this triangle will push well out into the German positions a deep wedge several miles beyond their present lines. It will endanger both Lille on the south and the Germans about the Ypres salient on the north. Their lines before Armentières will be taken almost directly in the rear and the whole line as far south as Lens endangered. The situation created in the German lines by this recent success, though generally local, is still the most interesting from the standpoint of possible developments, and will bear the closest watching.

Further south the fighting has come to a standstill. After taking Bullecourt, for which the struggle was most intense and most bitterly contested, the British found that they were unable to advance further. Heavy counterattacks held them in place and even wrested from them isolated sections of trenches which they had won at so great a cost. On the whole, however, both sides have been fought to a standstill with but little to choose. On the French front matters are in very much the same state, and the fighting has generally ceased on a large scale. Attacks by the Germans—all fruitless—

against the Chemin des Dames have been the only outstanding features.

Situation in the Balkans

The most hopeful thing from the standpoint of the Allies has been the abdication of the Greek King Constantine with his heir apparent in favor of the second son. For many months Constantine has been a thorn in the side of Sarrail's army before Saloniki. The latter has been afraid to make any serious attempt to move forward lest the Greek Army under the King's directions sever his lines of communications behind him. This fear is now removed and there is nothing to prevent an offensive movement should he care to make it.

It is extremely doubtful if this attempt will be made at the present time. A change of plan is under way now on this front from which anything may develop. It would surprise no one if the main part of the armies which now hold this front should be withdrawn for service in other fields—possibly the Near East—leaving only a covering force of sufficient strength to hold the Bulgarians in check. This force will of course be assisted in part at least by the Greek Army, and could be safely left to look after the position of the Entente, while close to 750,000 men could be detached.

As matters now stand, the task before the Saloniki army of moving up either the Vardar, the Struma, or the Cerna against Nish seems well nigh hopeless. Such a movement could only be begun with Russia sufficiently active to prevent withdrawals from her front. As this is far from being the case, it is not apparent just what use the army is in its present location. All indications point to a complete readjustment of this entire situation in the near future.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From May 19 Up to and Including June 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

Announcement was made on May 19 that a regiment of American marines under Colonel Doyen would be sent to the fighting front at the earliest practicable moment. On June 7 the French Ministry of Marine announced the arrival of American warships off the French coast, and the collier Jupiter arrived at a port in France with wheat and other supplies for the American troops. On June 8 announcement was made that one thousand naval aviators had arrived in France. On the same day Major Gen. Pershing reached London, and went from there to Paris. Several hospital units arrived in Europe.

The State Department refused passports to delegates to the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

An Italian Commission headed by Prince Ferdinand of Udine conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war, and a Belgian Commission headed by Baron Moncheur reached this country and was received by President Wilson. Lord Northcliffe was sent from England to act as head of the British Commission.

Congress passed an Espionage bill with an embargo clause giving the President power to control exports.

Between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 men registered on June 5 in compliance with the army draft law.

Subscriptions to the Liberty Loan, closed June 15, reached a total of almost $2,900,000,000.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The British official statement for the week ended May 19 showed that eighteen merchant ships of over 1,600 tons each had been sunk; for the week ended May 26, eighteen vessels; for the week ended June 2, fifteen, and for the week ended June 9, twenty-two ships of more than 1,600 tons.

On May 22 announcement was made that Denmark had lost 150 ships since the beginning of the war through submarines or mines.

Germany sent a conciliatory reply to Spain's protest concerning the sinking of the Patricio, offering an indemnity and a salute to the Spanish flag. Two other Spanish ships, the mail steamer C. De Eizaguirre and the steamship Begona, were sunk. More than eighty lives were lost on the

Eizaguirre. Pro-ally demonstrations were held in Madrid.

Several Swedish grain ships were sunk. In reply to a protest from the Swedish Government, Germany expressed regret. A Swedish ship engaged in the work of the Belgian Relief Commission was also sunk.

Three American sailing vessels, the Dirigo, the Frances M., and the Barbara, were sunk.

The British hospital ship Dover Castle was sunk, but all the patients on board were saved. One hundred ninety men lost their lives in the sinking of the South Atlantic liner Sequana. The Leyland liner Anglian and the British steamship Southland were sunk.

A French submarine sank an enemy submarine as it was coming out of Cattaro harbor on June 2, escorted by a torpedo boat.

Nicaragua and Haiti severed relations with Germany.

The Brazilian steamer Tijuca was sunk. Following the recommendation of President Braz, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies passed a bill authorizing the revocation of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany, and authorized the seizure of German ships in Brazilian ports.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

May 20—Russians repulse German attacks east of Kalncem.

June 2—Germans bombard Russian positions at Krevo and Brody.

June 4—Russian scouts raid German lines near Kovel and Pnevi.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

May 19—Germans launch strong attack on the Aisne; small force reaches French lines northwest of Braye-en-Laonnois.

May 20—British break into Hindenburg line on a front of over a mile between Fontaine-les-Croisilles and Bullecourt; Germans seize French trenches on a 216-yard front on the Chemin-des-Dames.

May 22—French repulse strong attacks against new positions in Western Champagne, north of Mont Carnillet, and against the heights of Casque and the Teton; Germans bombard Rheims.

May 23—French seize the last heights dominating the valley of the Ailette River and enlarge their positions on the northern slopes of the Vauclerc and Californie Plateau.

May 24—French check German assault on Vauclerc Plateau.

May 25—Germans penetrate French lines near Braye, but lose most of the ground later; British make gains southeast of Loos.

May 26—French extend their gains on both sides of Mont Carnillet.

May 27—Germans pierce French lines at the eastern end of the Moronvilliers Range; British gain near Fontaine-les-Croisilles.

May 28—Germans fail in three attempts to wrest Moronvilliers Heights from the French.

May 30—Germans attack French trenches south of Mont Blond, but are driven back; fighting resumed south of St. Quentin.

June 1—Berlin reports unusual activity in the region of the sand dunes on the Belgian coast, at the Ypres salient, and in the sector of Wytschaete; Germans attack on the Aisne and penetrate French trenches near the Laffaux mill, but lose most of their gains; French capture a German outpost south of Chevreaux.

June 2—General von Hindenburg announces that the French and British offensive has come to a definite conclusion; French War Office reports capture of 52,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of war material since April 1.

June 3—British advance near Lens, but are forced back by German counterattacks; Germans enter British lines near Chérisy, but are driven out.

June 6—British attack Arras line from Roeux to Gavrelle and carry German positions on a front of about a mile on the western slopes of Greenland Hill, north of the Scarpe; Germans attack on the Aisne and make small gains near Braye-en-Lannois.

June 7—British smash salient south of Ypres with a terrific blow, preceded by gigantic mine operations, and win Messines, Wytschaete, Oosttaverne, and other strongly fortified positions that had been held by the Germans for two and a half years.

June 8—British organize new positions south of Ypres and repulse German counterattacks.

June 9.—Germans make counterattack on a six-mile front east of Messines and near Klein Zillebeke, but are repulsed; Canadians penetrate German lines on a front of two miles south of Lens; French repel attacks along the Chemin-des-Dames.

June 10—British make further gains at several points south of Ypres.

June 11—British capture German trench system on a front of about a mile near La Poterie farm.

June 13—British sweep forward on a front of about two miles east and northeast of Messines and occupy Gaspard.

June 14—German troops in the Messines region abandon their positions between St. Yves and the River Lys.

June 15—British force Germans out of new positions east and south of Messines and capture a further portion of the Hindenburg line northwest of Bullecourt.

June 16—British driven back in counterattacks east of Loos and from second line trenches northwest of Bullecourt, but make gains south of Ypres.

June 17—Germans penetrate French salient northwest of Hurtebise Farm, but French

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF VERDUN FRONT

This Picture-Map, Drawn in Five-Mile Squares in Perspective, Shows How the Battle Line Has Moved to and Fro Since the Germans Attempted to Capture the Great French Fortress

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

THE ITALIAN DRIVE ON TRIESTE

Picture-Map of the Carso Plateau, Across Which the Italians Are Driving in Their Attempt to Capture Trieste, the Key to Italia Irredenta

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

retake all except a small part of the first line.

June 18—British fall back east of Monchy-le-Preux; French capture a German salient in Champagne between Mont Carnillet and Mont Blond.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

May 19—Italians take Hill 652 on Monte Vodice; Austrians admit loss of Monte Kuk.

May 20—Italians extend their positions on Hill 652 and break into Austrian lines east of Gorizia.

May 23—Italians recapture positions penetrated by the Austrians in the Travignolo Valley.

May 24—Italians break through Austrian lines from Castagnavizza to the sea, capturing Boscomalo, Jamiano, and strong heights east of Pietrarossa and Bagni, and advance in the San Marco, Monte Santo, and Vodice areas.

May 25—Italians capture fortified heights north of Jamiano and gain ground south of Jamiano to the sea.

May 26—Italians capture a strong network of trenches from the mouth of the Timavo River to a point east of Jamiano, take heights between Flondar and Medeazza, and trenches around Castagnavizza.

May 27—Italians smash through Austro-Hungarian positions between Jamiano and the Gulf of Trieste, driving across the Monfalcone-Duino Railroad to Medeazza, and carry the heights at the head of the Palliova Valley.

May 28—Italians cross the Timavo estuary and occupy San Giovanni.

May 31—Austrians fail in attack north of the Tonale Ridge, on the northern side of Monte Pizzul, and in the Rocolana Valley.

June 1—Italians defeat Austrian attempts to recapture heights in the Vodice area.

June 4—Italians drive Austrians from captured advanced positions on the western slopes of San Marco.

June 5—Italians repulse massed attacks south of Gorizia from Dosso Faiti to the sea and take advance positions in the sector between Castagnavizza and Jamiano.

June 6—Austrians regain positions before Flondar, south of Jamiano.

June 7—Austrians report successful attacks near Jamiano and defeat of Italian attacks between the Vipacco Valley and the sea.

June 11—Italians begin new offensive on the Asiago Plateau and seize Monte Ortigara and the Agnello Pass.

June 16—Italians in the eastern Trentino carry Corno Cavento.

June 18—Italians advance northeast of Jamiano and repulse attacks on Monte Mosciagh, on the Asiago Plateau, and on Hill 652 in the Vodice.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

May 20—Russians repulse German attacks on the Rumanian front east of Koverka.

May 27—British bombard German positions near Livanovo.

May 31—Italians in Albania occupy Cerevoda, Velisest, Osaja, and Cafa.

June 7—Rumanians show activity on the Dobrudja front; gun duels in Macedonia on the right bank of the Vardar and south of Huma.

June 16—French cavalry occupies five towns in Northern Thessaly.

June 17—British evacuate several villages on the Bulgar front, after setting them afire; French extend the occupation of Thessaly.

AERIAL RECORD

Danube towns were raided by the Germans and many persons were killed in Ismail, Bessarabia.

Many great raids, in which hundreds of machines took part, occurred on the western front. The British dropped bombs on Ostend, Zeebrugge, Bruges, and Niemunster. Ghent was also raided and St. Peter Station partly destroyed. The London morning papers on June 2 announced that 713 airplanes were shot down on the western front in May, of which 442 were German and 271 British and French. On June 5 the French raided eleven points behind the German lines, including the City of Trèves, in Rhenish Prussia. The Lafayette Escadrille, composed chiefly of Americans, fought fifteen battles in the last two weeks of May.

The Zeppelin L-43 was destroyed by British naval forces in the North Sea.

Many lives were lost and hundreds of persons injured in raids on England. On May 23 the eastern counties were attacked and one man killed. On May 26 seventy-six persons were killed and 174 injured in the Folkestone raid. Three machines were shot down. One hundred and four persons were killed and 403 hurt in a raid on June 13. On June 17 two lives were lost and sixteen persons injured. One Zeppelin was brought down.

NAVAL RECORD

A French topedo boat flotilla put to rout a flotilla of German destroyers on May 20. One French craft was damaged.

British warships bombarded Ostend and Zeebrugge. In a running fight between six German destroyers and the British squadron one German destroyer, the S-20, was sunk and another damaged.

Japanese light craft arrived in the Mediterranean Sea to help in fighting submarines.

Thirteen Bulgarian ships bombarded Kavala.

A Russian squadron, cruising along the Anatolian coast on May 29, bombarded four ports and destroyed 147 sailing ships loaded with supplies.

British warships captured Fort Saliff on the Red Sea.

The American steamer Mongolia fired four shots at a German submarine which discharged a torpedo at the liner on June 1. Neither the Mongolia nor the submarine was damaged. The American ship Silver Shell had a running battle with a submarine in the Mediterranean on May 30. After an exchange of sixty shots the submarine disappeared. The Standard Oil steamer Moreni was sunk after a two-hour battle with a submarine, and four of her crew were lost.

RUSSIA

The reorganized Cabinet of the Provisional Government, on May 19, declared itself a unit for general peace only, and no annexations or indemnities.

A congress of the Swedish political party passed a resolution favoring complete separation of Finland from Russia.

On June 1 the Kronstadt Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates repudiated the Provisional Government and decided to assume control of Kronstadt. The committee surrendered on June 6, but their decision was reversed on June 11 by agitators, who declared that the declaration of independence was still in force.

A. I. Konovaloff, Minister of Commerce and Trade, resigned because of disagreement with M. Skobeleff, the Labor Minister, concerning economic and financial questions. Many strikes occurred in Petrograd. General Michael V. Alexeieff resigned as Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, and General Brusiloff succeeded him. General Goutor took Brusiloff's place on the southwestern front.

An American diplomatic commission, headed by Elihu Root, and a railroad commission, headed by John F. Stevens, arrived in Petrograd. President Wilson sent a note to the Provisional Government outlining the objects and ideals of the United States in the war. These principles were approved in a note sent by Great Britain.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in reply to Austrian overtures, made in a telegram from Prince Leopold of Bavaria, adopted a proclamation expressing opposition to a separate peace. Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist who acted as Germany's agent in a new peace move, was expelled from the country.

On June 17 the Duma, in secret session, voted for an immediate offensive by Russian troops.

GREECE

On June 12, in response to the demand of the protecting powers—France, Great Britain, and Russia—King Constantine abdicated in favor of his second son, Prince Alexander. Entente forces landed at Piraeus and Castella, and occupied the heights near Phalerum Bay. French cavalry occupied a number of towns in Northern Thessaly, and the populace of Larissa went over to the Venizelos Government. M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner of the protecting powers, issued a proclamation guaranteeing popular liberty.

MISCELLANEOUS

A revolt occurred in China as the result of the dismissal of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. The rebellious provinces, under the leadership of General Chang-Hsun, demanded the dismissal of the National Assembly, the revision of the Constitution, the dismissal of the President's advisers, the reinstatement of Tuan Chi-jui, and war against Germany. The United States Government sent a friendly message to the Foreign Office urging tranquillity.

The Spanish Cabinet headed by Marquis Prieto resigned and a new one was formed by Eduard Dato. A revolution in the army was averted by the Premier granting infantry officers the right to form committees of defense.

Count Tisza resigned as Premier of Hungary after a struggle over electoral reforms. Count Esterhazy succeeded him.

An attempt to form a Coalition Ministry in Canada failed. E. P. Patenaud, Secretary of State, resigned because of his opposition to conscription.

Lord Devonport resigned as Food Controller in England and was succeded by Baron Rhondda. Colonel Churchill succeeded Viscount Cowdray as Chairman of the British Air Board.

The Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Macklenburg-Strelitz consented to far-reaching revision of the Constitutions of the duchies.

The French Chamber of Deputies, in secret session, adopted a resolution declaring that peace conditions must include the liberation of territories occupied by Germany, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and just reparation for damage done in the invaded regions.

Italian Offensive on the Carso and Isonzo Fronts

[See rotogravure map opposite Page 31]

DURING the latter half of May, 1917, General Cadorna's forces on the Isonzo and Carso fronts made one of the most remarkable drives of the year—an assault that lasted eighteen days, with all its original fury. The fighting took place amid the peaks and chasms north of Gorizia, and on the volcanic Carso plateau to the south, a region of desolate rocks and caves, where all the water for the soldiers had to be brought by building an aqueduct, bit by bit, as the army advanced. This land of caves and hiding places had been fortified by the Austrians and complicated with broad areas of barbed wire, behind which enormous 10-inch guns and innumerable machine guns swept every path of approach.

The Italians won victories despite these odds. They took heavy guns up mountains hitherto ascended only by Alpine climbers who roped themselves together. They swung bridges from one peak to another. They built trenches, fortifications, roads, tunnels, retaining walls 10,000 feet above sea level; all this in the face of an enemy fighting desperately on the defensive.

When the campaign on the Isonzo closed last November the town of Gorizia and 43,000 Austrians had been captured, and the Italian front, from Plezza on the north, just over the frontier, skirted the Monte Nero heights of the Julian Alps to the bridgehead of Tolmino, (Monte Cucco,) swung along the same range east of Gorizia, passed over the plain south of that city, and, crossing the Vipacco, struck across the northwest corner of the Carso plateau to the sea, two miles from Duino, the Summer home of Prince Hohenlohe, and fourteen miles northwest of Trieste.

This was the situation when the Italians on May 12 began a heavy bombardment of the Austrian positions from Tolmino to the sea, which two days later became concentrated across the Isonzo, five miles north of Gorizia, where the Austrians by their defenses on the Kuk, 611 meters high, and on the Vodice, 524 meters, still kept the Italians on the right bank of the stream. On May 13 there was also a concentration of fire on the Carso front, south from the Italian positions of Volkovniak, 343 meters, and Dosso Faiti, 432 meters, against which the Austrians later made counterattacks.

Then on Monday morning, May 14, the Italian infantry crossed the river in several detachments, deployed on the left bank, and stormed the ascent of Monte Cucco. The following day they advanced east of Gorizia and also on the Carso to the south. On the 16th they captured the wooded heights on the east bank of the Isonzo and took several small villages with more than 3,000 prisoners. The 17th found the Italians fighting their way toward the mountain crests of Vodice and Monte Santo. Heavy British artillery had been added to the Italian armament. Duino was captured that day. Perceval Gibbon, an eyewitness of part of the fighting, wrote:

"The picturesque point is Monte Santo. It is a steep cone, with slopes like the side of a roof, and on the summit straggle white buildings of a monastery long since shot to ruins. A single cypress, black and monumental, stands not far from the shattered walls of the close, clear-cut against the shell-vexed sky. About it a frenzy of shells roars and blazes. Our barrage and theirs mingle in a hellbroth of fire and smoke, through whose tempestuous fog emerges at moments that single statuesque tree, monumentally and tragically faithful to its duty of sentinel over the graves of forgotten saints. But slowly the Italian lines are crawling uphill, paying with their valorous lives for every yard of progress. If in England anybody doubted Italy's ca-

pacity for liberal sacrifice or her intention toward victory at all costs, he is now answered."

By stubborn and sustained assaults on the Carso the Italians on May 23 finally broke through the Austro-Hungarian lines on a front of six miles from Castagnavizza to the sea, taking more than 9,000 prisoners, with the town of Jamiano and the strong heights east of Pietrarossa and Bagni. The next day enlarged this success, and on the 25th the Italians took the heights between Flondar and Medeazza and a strong network of trenches extending from the mouth of the Timavo River to a point east of Jamiano.

On May 27 General Cadorna's forces smashed through the Austro-Hungarian positions between Jamiano and the Gulf of Trieste, passing the Monfalcone-Duino Railway northeast of San Giovanni and establishing themselves within a few hundred yards of Medeazza. North of Plava they carried the heights at the head of the Palliova Valley, thus joining their Monte Cucco lines with those of Hill 363. This day's work brought the Italians within eleven miles of Trieste. The next day these results were consolidated by crossing the Timavo estuary and occupying the village of San Giovanni. In the northern section the Austrians were hunted out of their subterranean chambers and many prisoners added to the total, which, by this time, amounted to about 25,000.

The Austrian losses in killed, wounded, and missing between May 14 and 29 were estimated at 85,000, and included five Generals and forty high officers. A hundred cannon were taken or destroyed. Perceval Gibbon, writing on the 29th, described the scene on the Carso:

"Everywhere there is evidence of the ghastly Austrian losses. There are whole areas of ground over which the fight stamped its way southeast of Jamiano and Hudilog and along the battleground parallel with Castagnavizza Road which are littered with bodies clad in that dull gray which is Austria's fighting color. There, for the first time during this offensive, one sees what was so common on the Somme—steel helmets of the enemy lying about, many smashed or drilled by bullets."

Two days later the same correspondent added a curious bit of authenticated history:

"The Italians have just completed examination of two railway tunnels upon the line to Trieste, one 200 yards long, the other slightly less. Both had been turned into shelters for troops and very completely equipped. The roofs are pierced with long ventilating shafts, and water mains have been carried in. There is a mass of arms and ammunition here, and numbers of machine guns.

"It is here that they discovered what was never certainly known upon this front, though frequently rumored, namely, machine gunners chained and padlocked to their guns. I understand they have been officially photographed. Each man has a light steel chain of twisted links, like a dog chain, shackled around one ankle and fastened to the tripod of the gun, and a similar chain padlocked around his waist and linked up to the barrel. These prisoners state that the object is to prevent them leaving the gun in Italian hands when falling back before an attack. Another explanation is suggested by the fact that the chief forces on this southern edge of the Carso consist of Rumanians."

With the beginning of June the Italian offensive abated and the Austro-Hungarians began a series of heavy counter-attacks, in which the daring Honveds did some terrific fighting and took many prisoners—Vienna claimed 27,000.

The net result of the month's fighting, however, is a considerable gain for the Italian forces.

The Battle of Messines Ridge

A British Victory That Began With the Explosion of Enormous Mines

THE action of June 7, 1917, in which the British by one terrific blow smashed the strong German salient south of Ypres, was one of the most spectacular and thrilling episodes of the war. It took place in the little corner of Belgium where the allied armies had held the enemy checkmated for two and a half years, and where, all that time, they had been harassed by German guns on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge.

For nearly two years several companies of Australian, New Zealand, and British sappers had been patiently burrowing under this low range of hills, placing beneath them nineteen powerful mines containing a total of more than 1,000,000 pounds of ammonite. Great charges of this new explosive had been in a firing position for fully twelve months, yet the secret was kept and the dangerous work went on under the German fortifications. At 3:10 in the morning of June 7 the whole series of mines was discharged by electric contact, blowing off the hilltops in a vast flame-burst of volcanic fire, rocking the ground for miles as in an earthquake, and emitting a roar that was distinctly heard in England by Lloyd George, listening for it at his country home 140 miles away.

At the same time the whole salient was subjected to the most intense shellfire of the whole war, the climax of nearly two weeks of artillery preparation. In the wake of this infernal rain came the infantry battalions of General Haig under Sir Herbert Plumer, dashing forward with rifle and bayonet. Before the day was over the whole of Messines Ridge was securely in British hands, with more than 7,000 prisoners and many guns. The German casualties were estimated at 30,000. Those of the British were about 10,000.

The attack was divided into three phases. The battle opened with the explosion of the mines at dawn, which was the signal for the artillery. Large portions of the German front and support trenches, dugouts, and mining systems went up in smoke. The German front line over the entire distance of ten miles was captured in a few minutes.

The second phase was the storming of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, which was accomplished with little loss three hours after the attack began. The British went forward in a concerted rush along the whole sector south of Ypres, from Observation Ridge to Ploegsteert Wood, north of Armentières. The third and final phase, later in the day, was the assault of the rear defenses, which ran across the base of the salient formed by the ridge itself. Here the British found the enemy in greater strength, and the fighting was very fierce. Nevertheless, by nightfall the village of Oosttaverne and the whole rear position—along a front of five miles and at a depth of nearly three miles—had fallen into British hands. The day's work was the largest since Vimy Ridge. It was achieved by the British Second Army, under General Sir Herbert C. O. Plumer, and his force included English, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand troops.

Official Report of Battle

The British War Office summarized the action as follows in its report of June 8:

> The position captured by us yesterday was one of the enemy's most important strongholds on the western front. Dominating as it did the Ypres salient and giving the enemy complete observation over it, he neglected no precautions to render the position impregnable. These conditions enabled the enemy to overlook all our preparations for attack, and he had moved up reinforcements to meet us. The battle therefore became a gauge of the ability of the German troops to stop our advance under conditions as favorable to them as an army can ever hope for, with every advantage of ground and preparation and with the knowledge that an attack was impending.

MAP OF YPRES REGION SHOWING GROUND GAINED BY BRITISH IN BATTLE OF MESSINES RIDGE

The German forward defenses consisted of an elaborate and intricate system of well-wired trenches and strong points forming a defensive belt over a mile in depth. Numerous farms and woods were thoroughly prepared for the defense, and there were large numbers of machine guns in the German garrisons. Guns of all calibres, recently increased in numbers, were placed to bear not only on the front but on the flanks of an attack. Numerous communicating trenches and switch lines, radiating in all directions, were amply provided with strongly constructed concrete dugouts and machine-gun emplacements designed to protect the enemy garrison and machine gunners from the effect of our bombardment. In short, no precaution was omitted that could be provided by the incessant labor of years, guided by the experience gained by the enemy in his previous defeats on the Somme, at Arras, and on Vimy Ridge.

Despite the difficulties and disadvantages which our troops had to overcome, further details of yesterday's fighting show that our first assault and the subsequent attacks were carried out in almost exact accordance with the timetable previously arranged. * * *

Following on the great care and thoroughness in preparations made under the orders of General Sir Herbert Plumer, the complete success gained may be ascribed chiefly to the destruction caused by our mines, to the violence and accuracy of our bombardment, to the very fine work of the Royal Flying Corps, and to the incomparable dash and courage of the infantry. The whole force acted in perfect combination. Excellent work was done by the tanks, and every means of offense at our disposal was made use of, so that every arm of the service had a share in the victory.

"The British had to level many bits of woodland, and then they sprayed these woods with drums of blazing oil, which burned them away and made attacking across what would be considered impregnable natural defenses almost an easy matter. The communication trenches were so damaged that it was impossible for the Germans to make their way along them in daylight except on all fours. Ration parties attempting at night to come up over the open were badly cut up by the constant British fire.

Described by Philip Gibbs

Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, cabled a vivid story on the day of the battle, saying in part:

"For five days at least many Germans were pinned to their tunnels as prisoners of fire. No food reached

them. There was no way out through these zones of death. A new regiment, which tried to come up last night, was broken and shattered. A prisoner says that out of his own company he lost fifty to sixty men before reaching the line. For a long way behind the lines the British heavy guns laid down belts of shell fire, and many of the enemy's batteries kept silent.

"The British gunners smothered the German batteries whenever they were revealed to the airmen. Those flying men have been wonderful. A kind of exaltation of spirits took possession of them, and they dared great risks and searched out the enemy's squadrons far over his lines. In five days from June 1 forty-four separate machines were sent crashing down, and this morning very early flocks of airplanes went out to blind the enemy's eyes and report the progress of the battle.

"In the darkness queer monsters moved up close to the lines, many of them crawling singly over the battle-fields under cover of woods and ruins. They were the tanks, ready to go into action on the great day of the war, when their pilots and crews have helped by high courage to a great victory.

"Last night all was ready. The men, knowing the risks of it all, (for no plans are certain in war,) had a sense of oppression, strained by poignant anxiety. Many men's lives were on the hazard of all this. The air was heavy as if nature itself was full of tragedy. A Summer fog was thick over Flanders and the sky was livid. Forked lightning rent the low clouds and thunder broke with menacing rumblings. Rain fell sharply, and on the conservatory of the big Flemish house, where officers bent over their maps and plans, raindrops beat noisily.

March Over Dark Roads

"But the storm passed and the night was calm and beautiful. Along the dark roads and down the leafy lanes columns of men were marching and brass bands played them through the darkness. Guns and limber moved forward at a sharp pace. "Lights out," rang the challenges of sentries to staff cars, passing beyond the last village and nearer to the line. Masses of men lay sleeping or resting in the fields before getting orders to go forward into the battle zone.

"All through the night the sky was filled with vivid flashes of bursting shells and with the steady hammer-strokes of guns. From an observation post looking across the shoulder of Kemmel Hill straight to Wytschaete and Messines Ridge I watched this bombardment for that moment when it should rise into a mad fury of gunfire, before the troops, lying in those dark fields, should stumble forward.

"The full moon had risen, veiled by vapors until they drifted by and revealed all her pale light in a sky that was still faintly blue, with here and there a star. The moon through all her ages never looked down upon such fires of man-made hell as those which lashed out when the bombardment quickened. That was just before 3 o'clock.

"The drone of a night flying airplane passed overhead. The sky lightened a little and showed great black smudges like ink blots on a blue silk cloth where the British kite balloons rose in clusters to spy out the first news of the coming battle.

Ridges Go Up in Fire

"The cocks of Flanders crowed, and two heavy German shells roared over Kemmel Hill and burst somewhere in the British lines. A third came, but before its explosion could be heard all the noise there had been, all these separate sounds of guns and high explosives and shrapnel were swept into a tornado of artillery which now began.

"The signal for its beginning was the most terrible, beautiful thing, the most diabolical splendor I have seen in the war. Out of the dark ridges of Messines and Wytschaete and that ill-famed Hill 60, for which many of Britain's best have died, there gushed up enormous volumes of scarlet flame from exploding mines and of earth and smoke, all lighted by flame spilling over into fountains of fierce color, so that the countryside was illuminated by the red light.

"Where some of us stood watching, aghast and spellbound by this burning horror, the ground trembled and surged violently, too. Truly the earth quaked. A boy, who came back wounded, spoke to me about his own sensations: 'I felt like being in an open boat in the rough sea. It rocked up and down, this way and that.'

"Thousands of British soldiers were rocked like that before they scrambled up and went forward to the German lines—forward beneath that tornado of shells, which crashed over the enemy's ground with a prolonged tumult.

"Just as the day broke with crimson feathers unfolding in the eastern sky and flights of airmen, following other flights above the troops, rockets rose from the German lines. They were distress signals, flung up by men who still lived in that fire zone—white and red and green. They were calling to their gunners, warning them that the British were upon them. Presently there were no more of them, but others, which were ours, rose in places which had been German."

The Scene of Destruction

Two days later the same correspondent visited Wytschaete Wood and looked down into the vast mine craters. Here is his description of the captured German trenches:

"They are horribly smashed, so that only bits of trench and a few traverses here and there and concrete emplacements, knocked sideways above the closed entrances of deep tunnels and dugouts, remained among the shell craters. Some bodies of German soldiers lie amid this vast midden of war, their dead faces as gray as their tunics—but not many of them. Most of those killed were buried as they died, buried under the masses of earth flung up by exploding shells, buried in their tunnels, which fell in upon them as they crouched under the drumfire of the British guns hiding deep in those subterranean chambers, buried by the wild upheaval of mines which opened the earth beneath them with yawning chasms a hundred yards wide and sixty feet deep.

"Bits of tunics, bits of rifles, rags and tatters of equipment, weapons and human flesh lie in holes and pools, protruding from rubbish heaps of the chaotic earth ravaged by British gunfire. Looking down into the mine craters, the vast Peckham crater or that by Maedelstede Farm, where the primitive blue clay had been flung up above the topmost strata, I agreed with that German officer who came back dazed as a prisoner and said: 'This is more than human nature itself can suffer.'

How the Mines Were Sprung

"On the night of June 7 the Australian tunnelers, who had waited for the moment when their year's work would be accomplished by the touch of a little spring on a metal plate from which an electric wire ran to a mine shaft below Hill 60, assembled in a dugout not far away. They waited for that moment at dawn with nerves strung tensely, deeply excited, though very quiet, at this frightful expectation. They knew exactly the explosive power of those tons of ammonal packed under the enemy's position. There was always the risk of misadventure, the appalling risk of failure, because it is tricky business, this work of a man-made earthquake.

"The metal disk was touched. In just one tick of time there was the noise of earth in travail, the rending, rushing noise breaking out into a vast roar, as though a cliff were falling down a precipice.

"Hill 60 opened and let forth a great eruption of flaming clods. Some English troops took Hill 60 after this explosion, which flung some of them to the ground as they rose at the signal of attack. Below Mount Sorrel and Armagh Wood groups of Württembergers and Jägers rose from holes in the stricken earth and held up trembling hands, asking for mercy. They still shook with terror of the mines. Not many of them showed any will to fight. Some of them had to be searched for below ground, cowering in dark pits which had been good, deep dugouts and observation posts with heavy concrete protection. Now all were smashed like those I saw by Wytschaete Wood.

"Just south of these men, astride the Ypres-Comines Canal, a number of London troops were fighting forward to the ruins of a famous white château south of the canal on the west of Hollebeke. It was the Château Matthieu. The Germans here did not surrender without a desperate resistance."

Fighting in Rear Trenches

Another correspondent, describing the fighting in detail, says that Dam Strasse, a street of houses built of great blocks of concrete six feet thick, gave the British officers great anxiety, as they expected to meet stiff resistance here; but they found that the shellfire had been so amazing as to shatter many of these blockhouses, so that the garrison was cowed and surrendered by hundreds.

The first check came outside the ruin of an estaminet, in which a party of Germans with machine guns and rifles were determined to sell their lives dearly. They poured fire into the British, who suffered a good many casualties here, but would not be balked, whatever the cost. They took what cover they could and used their rifles to riddle the place with shot. One by one the Germans fell and their fire slackened. Then the British charged the ruins and captured all those who still remained alive.

Fresh waves of men came up and went forward into Ravine Wood, with its tattered trunks and litter of broken branches. There was another fight, very fierce and bloody, between some South Country troops and German soldiers of the Thirty-fifth Division, who attempted a strong counterattack. The Englishmen had their bayonets fixed, and at a word from the officers they made a quick, grim dash at the Germans advancing upon them through Dead Wood with their bayonets ready also. So that morning sun gleamed upon all this steel. The bayonets crossed. The men of Kent went through the enemy, thrusting and stabbing, but, though they saw red in that hour, they gave quarter to the men who dropped their rifles and cried "Kamerad." The German losses here were very heavy.

An eyewitness gives this account of the armored tanks and the marvels achieved by aviators:

"Several tanks came up to share in the fighting and climbed over all this broken ground, but did not find much work to do. All along the battle line these brown beasts were nosing about, crawling through the slough, pitching and tossing over the cratered earth and rearing their long snouts over sandbag barricades. Their pilots and crews were out for any kind of adventure over any kind of ground. They did not have many casualties and would have been more successful if the infantry had wanted more help from them, but the guns had done most of the work beforehand.

"The completeness of this victory, the march through of the troops, and the utter despair of the German troops were due in an overwhelming way to the guns and the gunners who served them. It is only right and just that the highest tribute should be paid to these men, who worked day and night for nearly a fortnight under an intense strain and infernal noise, without sleep enough to relieve the nerve rack, and always in danger of death. The gunner officers are hoarse with shouting under fire.

"They were for the moment hollow-eyed with bodily and mental exhaustion. The ammunition carriers worked themselves stiff in order to feed the guns. They used up an incredible number of shells. The gunners of one division alone fired 180,000 shells with their field batteries and over 46,000 with their heavies. On the same scale has been the ammunition expenditure of all the other groups of guns.

Guns Move to New Positions

"A historic scene, intensely thrilling, took place after the troops gained the high ground of Wytschaete and Messines. An order was passed along to all batteries. Horses standing by were harnessed to the guns, and limbers of the field batteries were lined up. Then half way throughout the battle the old gun positions were abandoned after two and a half years of stationary warfare in a salient searched every day of that time by German shells fired by direct observation from the ground just taken.

"The drivers urged on their horses. They drove at a gallop past the old

screens, and out of camouflaged places where the men had walked stealthily, and dashed up the slopes. The infantry stood by to let them pass, and from thousands of men, these dusty, hot, parched soldiers who were waiting to go forward in support of the first waves of the assaulting troops, there rose a great following cheer which swept along the track of the gunners and went with them up the ridge, where they unlimbered and got into action again for the second phase of the fighting down the further slope. Never before in this war has there been anything like this in excitement and sense of victory.

Amazing Feats of Aviators

"As the scouts of the gunners, as their watchers and signalers, were the boys of the Royal Flying Corps. They were uplifted with a kind of intoxication of enthusiasm, and youthful madness took possession of them. One man's flight, told in his own dry words, is like a wild nightmare of an airman's dream. He flew to a German airdrome and circled around. A German machine gun spat out bullets at him. The airman saw it, swooped over it, and fired at the gunner. He saw his bullets hit the gun. The man ceased to fire, screamed, and ran for cover. Then the airman flew off, chased trains and fired into their windows.

"He flew over small bodies of troops on the march, stopped, fired, and scattered them. Afterward he met a convoy going to Comines, and he circled over them hardly higher than their heads and fired into them. Near Warneton he came upon troops massing for a counterattack and made a new attack, inflicting casualties and making them run in all directions.

"Another man found himself under fire by Archies mounted on lorries. He dived and fired on the gunners, who ran away and hid. One flying man attacked and silenced four machine-gun teams in strong emplacements. Others cleared trenches of German soldiers, who scuttled like rabbits into dugouts. They fired everything they carried, anything which would kill the enemy or destroy his material. Having used up all his Lewis gun ammunition upon the marching troops, one lad fired his signal rockets at the next group of men he saw.

"They flew at the field gunners and put them to flight, at heavy guns crawling along the roads on caterpillar wheels, at transport wagons, motor lorries, and one motor car, whose passengers, if they live, will never forget that sudden rush of wings four feet overhead, with a spasm of bullets about them. The airplane was so low that the pilot thought he would crash into the motor car, but he just planed clear of it as the driver steered it sharply into a ditch, where he overturned with the five occupants. The airman went on his journey, scattered 500 infantry, and returned home after a long flight, never higher than 500 feet above the ground.

"In this battle of Messines there was not anybody of the British Army who did not spend all his strength and take all risks with a kind of passionate exaltation of spirit. * * * It is the greatest and cheapest achievement of the British arms throughout this war, though the loss of so many gallant men is sad enough, God knows. And for the enemy it is as hard a blow as our taking of Vimy Ridge two months ago, when he was staggered by his losses."

The battle of Messines Ridge took from the Germans the last commanding natural position opposite the British lines. Bapaume and Vimy and Messines Ridges, as well as Monchy Plateau, five miles east of Arras, were all captured by the British within three months, and this has materially changed the military situation on the western front.

Storming of the Aisne Quarries

By Wythe Williams

[In a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 25, 1917.]

REGARDING the offensive on the Rheims-Soissons front, which began on April 16, 1917, I am permitted to state that it was the biggest concentrated effort yet made by the French Army, although at first glance it seemed to have accomplished less material result than any other offensive, except the long-ago offensive in the Champagne, which can be classified as a failure. I think all the army experts will admit that the result needs explanation. Yet, as the explanation was made to me while going over the ground, it was both logical and good, and in summing it up I believe that the offensive will in later histories be considered as a success.

In the first place, the ground chosen was the toughest proposition anywhere on the front, yet it was essential to take the offensive there, for the very reason that it was necessary to keep on bending back the line on which the Germans had already taken the initiative by their retreat.

I visited Soissons for the first time in September, 1914, just after the battle of the Marne and just at the beginning of the battle of the Aisne. * * * We talked confidently about when the Germans were once disengaged from their "quarries" and another retreat from the Aisne would begin, just as had happened from the Marne. But the Germans remained in those same quarries for two years and seven months. Day by day from September, 1914, more guns, bigger guns, concentrated their fire upon them; but they held out. Week by week, month by month, year by year, more guns and bigger guns and still bigger guns were added, until there was an unbroken line of guns that in April of this year opened the heaviest fire the world has ever known, pouring 18,000 tons of high explosives upon the quarries day after day; and still they held out—almost intact—until they finally were taken by storm by the French infantry going up on the hillsides wave after wave, driving out the Germans with bayonets and gas bombs.

I have often heard remarks in the last few weeks that the chief trouble with the recent offensive was that the artillery fire was ineffective. Yes, it was ineffective, but now that I have seen those quarries, I know why. Until the orders arrived for the infantry to advance and take those quarry heights "at all costs" the Germans were quite as safe there as in a submarine far below the surface of the sea.

Vast Underground Fortresses

I went down into one of the quarries. The opening was a tiny hole in solid granite. I went down and down in pitch blackness. The officer and I stumbled down, fumbling at solid rock walls. A soldier came up to meet us with an electric lamp, and below we could see a line of wooden steps, at least a hundred of them. Then we came into a great arched cavern that led into another similar one, and then to another, and then into long galleries and through dark, narrow passages, where we had to stoop low, only to come into other caverns with exits leading in various directions, and so on until, at least half a mile toward the German rear, from where we entered, we walked out again into daylight. That quarry alone was big enough to secrete 5,000 German soldiers, who poured from a dozen similar exits when the French infantry advanced.

Every gallery of these underground fortresses the Germans raked with machine guns when stormed. The artillery positions were so constructed that the guns could be whirled behind granite walls whenever necessary to avoid destruction by the concentrated French fire.

They were the strongest defenses I have ever seen. They made every other fortress, every trench line, every concrete

abri I have visited seem weak. And now they belong to the French—all of them. True, they were only a little way from the old front line, and now the front French line is just a little further beyond. The French paid dearly for them. Their orders were to capture them "at all costs." They simply had to have them, and now that they have them, it does not seem to me the offensive can in any respect be called a failure.

The positions on that front are now entirely reversed. Before the French had all the bad positions and the Germans the good ones in the quarries and on the hill crests. Besides, the French had the River Aisne at their backs, which was always an uncomfortable thought. Now the Germans have all the bad positions. They are down in the hollows and have another river—a branch of the Oise—behind them.

Also, in the offensive between Soissons and Rheims the French alone took 30,000 prisoners, while the entire offensive bagged 55,000 and a total of 600 cannon and 1,200 mitrailleuse.

In the light of the dwindling man power on both sides, 55,000 prisoners means nearly five divisions, and is considerable.

All along the line the French have undoubtedly got the upper hand. So far as I am able to learn their air service is once more supreme, and as for the artillery, both field and heavy guns are now positively dominant over the enemy, as has been the case, in fact, ever since the Somme.

Indeed so perfect is the munition organization that now every army corps has a supply station directly behind it, where there is a platform 350 yards long, just for discharging heavy shells, another platform the same length for light shells, another for engineers' supplies, another for macadam for roads, and another for food.

I was permitted to witness one of the engagements, beginning with the tuning up of the heavy guns until after the infantry had advanced—in this case up a steep hillside—and captured the positions. As drama it was the most superb I ever witnessed. On the opposite hillside, probably two miles distant, I stood with the General commanding the army corps who was conducting the operations. It was about 3 o'clock on a cloudy afternoon. I took a position sprawling on a grass patch at the top, with my back against a bush blending in color tone with my clothing, and got my glasses carefully adjusted for the performance about to begin. Although it was cloudy there was no haze, and the absence of sunshine made everything stand out more clearly.

An Impressive Stage Setting

The hillside dropped straight before us, and then, stretching away, was a great panorama of wooded valleys, meadows, a winding river, and a steep rise of a bare, shell-marked slope opposed. In the centre of the slope was the remnant of a town, but only a remnant. All we could make out was a few piles of stones against the red earth. Near the top of the hill ran a darkish line that marked the French trenches, and beyond, over the crest, were the Germans. In the valley at our feet, in the woods and meadows, were French cannon—but we could see none of them, all were so carefully concealed. Immediately overhead were a couple of large observation balloons, one attached by ropes to an automobile that guided it from a road on the side of our hill, the second guided from a boat in the river. All about circled airplanes, both observation machines and avions de chasse. There were at least a dozen, some keeping near the balloons and others swooping high and low over the German lines on the hill opposite.

There was a constant boom of cannon that, in connection with the cloudiness of the day, seemed more like the rolling of thunder than artillery—especially as the wind was away from us. We could not hear the sound of the shells leaving the guns until the reports first detonated across the valley. But we could constantly see the bursts of smoke where the shells were exploding beyond the crest.

But this thunder of guns was only a minor overture. The General explained that the real performance was scheduled to begin at exactly 3:30 P. M. I

asked how long it would last, and his laconic reply was: "Until we take their positions."

It is estimated that in that comparatively small sector of the contemplated attack—it was not more than a couple of miles in breadth—there were seven to eight hundred guns, but for this preliminary attack probably not more than 300 were in action. The remainder, reserved for the signal of infantry advance, would then turn on a barrage fire, so hot that the Germans could not bring up reinforcements.

The artillery had been pouring explosives into those German positions for several days, it was explained to me. Already they were all pretty badly demolished. It was not considered that the infantry would have much trouble—except from concealed machine guns. That was what the guns were hunting then. The Germans evidently knew what was coming, but I wondered, nevertheless, at the lightness of their artillery reply.

The day became darker, so dark, in fact, that down at our feet we could see bright flashes from the nearest guns. The General commanding the brigade leaned carelessly against a tree near me, holding a watch in his hand. * * *

I was fascinated by my watch as it ticked around to that fatal 3:30. At the very tick of the second a blast of fire went up that shook the hill we were sitting on. Those 500 remaining guns must all have been fired simultaneously, and then on until the end of the performance there was one continual, awful roar of explosive. The hillside opposite, which we could see so clearly a whole minute before, was now completely blotted out in a vast roll of heavy smoke. Even with the glasses we could distinguish absolutely nothing.

I looked down into the valley and the sparks of guns were so bright and fast I could not count them. The meadows and woods seemed alive with guns, distinguished only by rapid, short flashes of flame. I fixed my glasses on just one little portion of the open field and tried to count the flashes, but gave it up as quite impossible. There were too many flashes from different portions of the field at the same second. It looked as though the field were suddenly alive with a swarm of fireflies—that fire was the winking of the guns as they sent out their shells.

All in Motion at the Signal

I glanced overhead. Simultaneously with the signal of attack both balloons sailed majestically forward until they now hung out before us over the valley, guided by the ropes that attached them to the automobile and the river boat. The fleet of airplanes, doubled in number, still circled about them and now swooped low over the German positions to report back how the infantry was getting on.

I looked across at the hillside. Just at the crest I could see three rockets going up. The officer explained that it was the infantry's signal to the artillerymen, asking them to place shells just in advance of that spot. At another point on the crest three more rockets appeared, then three more still further on.

Through that impenetrable bank of heavy smoke I tried to visualize the companies of infantry going up to the crest, meeting the enemy, hurling hand grenades, and using bayonets, finding fierce resistance where the machine guns were hidden, and then sending up their rockets to show their gunners behind just where to send them aid. And I noted that wherever the signal rockets went up almost immediately after there would come a great spurt of black smoke.

I went forward late the following afternoon, not to lines which even then were too unsafe, but behind them through the forest from which the Germans had been driven. It was a strange, unforgettable sight. The entire forest bed was of long, slender green leaves and tiny white flowers, lilies of the valley. Resting on a bed of green leaves, as far as one could see, were the bodies of German soldiers. A strange, compelling, and arresting odor filled the air, an odor indescribably sweet and unspeakably horrible. It was a combination of the lilies of the valley and the dead.

Emperor Charles's Throne Speech

In the Austrian Reichsrat on May 31, 1917

For the first time since the beginning of the war the Austrian Parliament at Vienna was convened by the Emperor on May 31 in the Grand Hall of Ceremonies in the Imperial Hofburg. Many Deputies appeared in picturesque national costumes, and the entry of Emperor Charles was greeted with three enthusiastic "hochs," which were repeated when he took his seat on the golden throne under a red and gold canopy, while the Empress and Archduchesses ranged themselves on the daïs beside him. The Emperor read his speech in a resonant voice. It was his first Parliamentary address since his accession.

Emperor Charles began with an affectionate tribute to the memory of Emperor Francis Joseph, and continued:

SUMMONED in a fateful time to direct the State, I, from the beginning, have been conscious of the immense seriousness of the task Providence has laid on my shoulders. I feel, however, within me, the will and power loyally to discharge my duties as ruler, following the example of my illustrious predecessor, and to do justice, with God's help, to my sublime office.

The interests of the State shall no longer be deprived of that effective furtherance which zealous co-operation of a popular assembly rightly comprehending its power, judicious and conscientious, can provide. I have summoned you, honorable gentlemen, to exercise your constitutional activity, and I heartily welcome you today on the inauguration of your work.

In full consciousness of the constitutional duties taken over from my illustrious predecessor, and from my own deepest conviction, I desire solemnly to declare to you my unalterable will to exercise my right as ruler at all times in a truly constitutional spirit and to respect inviolably liberties according to the fundamental law and to preserve unabridged to the people that share in the formation of the State's will which the prevailing Constitution provides for.

In the loyal co-operation by my people and its representatives, I see support for the success of my activity, and I think that the welfare of the State, whose glorious existence has been maintained in the storms of a world war by the grim cohesion of its citizens, cannot in times of peace be more securely rooted than in the unassailable rights of a mature, patriotic, and free people.

Mindful of my obligation to the Constitution and adhering to my intention expressed immediately on my accession to fulfill this obligation freely, I must at the same time keep in mind the provisions of the fundamental law which places in my hands alone the decisions to be taken at the great moment of the conclusion of peace. I am, however, convinced that a happy development of our constitutional life after the unfruitfulness of the past years and after the exceptional political conditions of war time—apart from the solution of the Galician question, for which my illustrious predecessor has already indicated the way—is not possible without expanding the Constitution and the administrative foundations of the whole of our public life, both in the State and in the separate kingdoms and countries, especially in Bohemia.

I trust that recognition of your serious responsibility for the formation of political conditions and your belief in the happy future of the empire, splendidly strengthened in this terrible war, will give you, honorable gentlemen, strength, in union with me, speedily to create conditions giving scope to free national and cultural development of equally privileged people. From these considerations I decided to postpone taking the constitutional oath until the time, which I hope is not far distant, when the foundation of a new, strong, and happy Austria will again for generations to come be firmly consolidated internally and externally.

Today, however, I declare I shall always be the just, affectionate, and conscientious ruler of my dear peoples in

the sense of the constitutional idea which we have taken over as a heritage from our forefathers and in the spirit of that true democracy which, during the storms of a world war, has wonderfully stood the ordeal of fire in the achievements of the entire people at home and at the front.

We are still in the midst of the mightiest war of all times. Let me, from your midst, with thankful heart offer my imperial greeting to all the heroes who for nearly three years on our far-flung fronts have loyally discharged the heavy duty, and on whose iron resistance between the Alps and the Adriatic the renewed desperate enemy attack even now is breaking to pieces.

Our group of powers did not seek the sanguinary trial of strength of this world war. Aye, more than that, it has, from the moment when, thanks to the imperishable achievements of the allied armies and fleets, the honor and existence of our States no longer appear seriously threatened, openly and without ambiguity made known its readiness for peace, guided by the firm conviction that the true formula of peace can only be found in the mutual recognition that the positions have been gloriously defended.

The future life of the peoples should, in our view, remain free from animosity and thirst for revenge, and for generations there should be no need to employ what may be called the last resource of the State. But this high aim of humanity can only be attainable by such a conclusion to the war as will correspond to that peace formula.

The great neighboring people to the east, to whom old friendship united us, is gradually becoming conscious of its true aims and tasks, and it lately appears to approach this point of view and seek from an obscure impulse a direction of policy which will save the treasures of the future before they have been devoured by a senseless war policy. We hope that, in the interest of humanity, this process of internal reformation will manifest itself externally in a strong development of will, and that such enlightenment of the public mind will also extend to the other enemy countries.

While our group of powers is fighting with irresistible force for honor and existence, it is and remains toward every one who honestly abandons the intention to threaten us readily prepared to cease hostilities, and whoever wishes to reopen better and more human relations will certainly find our side ready in a conciliatory spirit. In the meantime, however, our fighting spirit will not relax; our sword will not become blunt.

In true co-operation with our old ally, the German Empire, and the allies whom our just cause won during the war, we shall remain ready to force, if necessary by arms, a good end to the war, which we should like to be able to attribute to a victory of reason.

I deplore the increasing sacrifices which the long duration of the war imposes on our population. I deplore the blood of my brave soldiers, the privations of brave citizens, and all the distress and hardships which are heroically endured for the sake of the beloved Fatherland. The efforts of my Government, supported by well-trained officials, are incessantly directed toward facilitating the maintenance of the population—whose loyalty to the State and public spirit find my thankful recognition—and toward guaranteeing that the stock of food will be made to go around by suitable organization. * * *

Always remember, however, that the strength of the monarchy is rooted not the least in its historic associations, and that only affectionate regard for it can maintain and develop its living strength. Therefore, I hope you will zealously cultivate a loyal sense of unity with the countries of my Hungarian holy crownland, which has recently proved itself one of the principal supports of the monarchy.

Honorable gentlemen of both houses, once again accept my cordial greetings. It is a great moment which brings a new ruler for the first time face to face with the people's respresentatives. May it be the beginning of a time of flourishing progress, a time of power and prestige for venerable Austria, and of happiness and blessings for my beloved peoples. God grant it!

War Aims of Allies Restated

RUSSIA'S revolution and the entry of the United States into the war brought about a restatement of the purposes of the war by the Allies. The Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates had previously forced the Russian Provisional Government to modify its original declaration of its war aims by forcing the retirement of Milukoff and the entire reconstruction of the Cabinet, with the more radical Socialists in control. The declaration of the new Government was summed up in the phrase, "Peace without annexations or indemnities on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny." On June 5 this policy was again announced in a call for an international Socialist peace conference issued by the Russian Central Federations and Socialist Parties, accompanied by a demand that Russia's allies in the war restate explicitly their war aims.

The first response to this demand was made in the British Parliament by Lord Robert Cecil in reply to a question from a pacifist member of the body, Philip Snowden.

The debate was originated by Mr. Snowden, who moved the following amendment on May 16:

> That this House welcomes the declaration of the new democratic Government of Russia, repudiating all proposals for imperialistic conquest and aggrandizement, and calls on his Majesty's Government to issue a similar declaration on behalf of the British democracy, and to join with the Allies in conformity with the Russian declaration.

Mr. Snowden wanted to know whether the treaty made with the old order in Russia was still binding or whether it had been rendered void by the revolution; also whether the British Government accepted the declared policy of the new Russian Government in regard to war aims.

Lord Cecil on Russia's Peace Program

The address of Lord Cecil in reply follows:

WHATEVER there may be in store for Russia in history, she will at any rate have the credit of having carried through, by practically the unanimous wish, so far as an outsider is permitted to judge, of the whole of her people and of every class of her people, a revolution which has been stained with far less bloodshed than any movement comparable with it in size. I am anxious to make that clear, because, of course, in dealing with this declaration, possibly some phrase might escape me which would appear to be a criticism. I am anxious to avoid any chance of that being said. It is quite true that the phrase which is thought to crystallize the new policy is the phrase, "No annexation and no indemnity." The honorable member for Leicester says that the word "annexation" is a mistranslation —at any rate, a completely wrong version of what is meant. I am disposed to agree with him.

But what would the real policy of "no annexation" mean? Take Arabia. Arabia has declared its independence from Turkey. No human being would suggest that we should use our power of influence to place Arabia again under the domination of Turkey. Take Armenia. I do not know whether it is yet realized what Armenia really meant and what crimes were committed upon Armenia. Here is a statement which says:

"Of the 1,800,000 Armenians who were in the Ottoman Empire two years ago 1,200,000 have been either massacred or deported. Those who were massacred died under abominable tortures, but they escaped the longer agonies of the deported. Men, women, and children, without food or other provisions for the journey, without protection from the climate, regardless of age or weakness or disease, were driven from their homes

WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Man Officially Responsible for the Successful Flotation of the Liberty Loan of Two Billion Dollars

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

KING ALEXANDER OF GREECE

Second Son and Successor of King Constantine, Who Abdicated on the Demand of France, Great Britain, and Russia

(Photo American Press Association)

and made to march as long as their strength lasted or until those who drove them drowned or massacred them in batches. Some died of exhaustion or fell by the way; some survived a journey of three months and reached the deserts and swamps along the middle Euphrates. There they have been abandoned, and are dying now of starvation, disease, and exposure"—I am afraid they are dead now, because this was written some months ago. "A recent report tells of a group of survivors at Abu Herrera, mostly women, children, and a few old men, who had been without food for seven days."

The most imperialistic annexation would be of benefit to the people who suffered such crimes as that. Take the case of Syria and Palestine. Although in Syria the numbers are not so great, yet there in substance the same thing has taken place. I confess I have some hesitation in denouncing annexation if it means that no territory which has been taken by force during this war is not to be restored to its original owners. If that is what is meant, then I am certainly unable to accept the policy of no annexation. May I give a few examples? The favorite example referred to is that of the German African colonies. I do not say that we attacked the German African colonies in order to rescue the native from misgovernment. We did it as part of the war against Germany. I do not say that it would have been right in any circumstances to go to war in order to rescue the African population from misgovernment by Germany. But having rescued them, are you to hand them back? That is a very different question, which requires to be carefully considered.

German East Africa

Just let me read one or two descriptions, because I am not sure that this is always realized. This, for instance, is from a description given to us this year as to the treatment of carriers in German East Africa:

"Many carriers are dying of cold. The treatment of carriers lately by the Germans has been terrible; their carriers include our Indian soldier prisoners of war, and many wretched villagers, young boys, old men, and women; in fact, they catch those who cannot run away. They chain them together, and just work them until they die of starvation and exhaustion. In following upon Wahle's track from Walangali to Lupembe we kept finding dead and dying carriers. Nor after an action do they trouble any more about their wounded Askari, but just leave them to die.

"The great aim of German policy in German Southwest Africa as regards the native is to reduce him to a state of serfdom, and, where he resists, to destroy him altogether. The native, to the German, is a baboon, and nothing more. The war against the Hereros, conducted by General Trotha, was one of extermination; hundreds—men, women, and children—were driven into desert country, where death from thirst was their end; those left over are now in great locations near Windhuk, where they eke out a miserable existence; labor is forced upon them, and, naturally, unwillingly performed. Again with the Hottentots—their treatment is still more barbarous, as the Germans are fully determined to root out that race lock,stock, and barrel."

I do not know, of course, and it is impossible to say, what we may not be forced to do at the end of the war, but if there is any measure of success I confess I should regard with horror the idea of returning natives who have been freed from a Government of that kind. What about Poland? I think we are all agreed that it was desirable to set up an independent Poland. Is there to be no annexation there? Are you to say really that Germany, having taken two provinces from France, they shall not be restored? Take Italia Irredenta. Are we really to commit ourselves to the proposition that under no circumstances would we restore to Italy provinces populated by Italians? I should regret any acceptance of short, misleading phrases. Mr. Whyte referred to another phrase—"No peace with the Hohenzollerns." There is a great deal in that that is very attractive to any ordinary British mind, but at the same time I agree with him that it is too attractive to be quite true—at any rate, to be quite prudent as a

definition of national policy. It may be quite true that it would not be a good ground for going to war to accomplish acts of justice and reparation such as I have described, yet it is quite a different thing to ask to resign and abandon the fruits which every one must recognize are desirable achievements.

"No Indemnity" Cry

About "No indemnity" I confess that for us to talk about not wishing for any indemnity seems to me a little difficult. What about Belgium? Does the honorable member say no indemnity to Belgium?

Mr. Snowden—We have always demanded as an essential of any settlement the restoration to Belgium of its independence, and not only that, but of all the damage that has been done.

Lord R. Cecil—What about Serbia? What about the northern provinces of France? Are we to rule out definitely all reparation for the destruction of peaceful merchant vessels by submarines? I certainly am not prepared to do it. Mr. Snowden said the allied Governments should rewrite their reply to Presidet Wilson and issue a new note in very different terms. He proceeded to give a description of the note, which, indeed, I read in the German papers, but which is altogether at variance with the terms of the note. The one statement in the note which I suppose is objected to is that referring to the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire. I remember the time when it was one of the greatest doctrines of the most progressive forces in this country that the Turks were to go out bag and baggage. It was only we benighted Tories who ever said anything for the Turks in those days. We are all agreed there is nothing to be said for the Turks now. If that is the only sentence which the honorable member thinks conflicts with the general spirit of the declaration made by the Council of Workmen, I cannot see that there is any ground for saying there is any substantial difference of opinion between any of those who have spoken in this debate. I confess that at this moment it does not seem to me that it would be desirable for us to ask for terms of peace from Germany. There is a well-known French proverb, Que messieurs les assassins commencent, (let the murderers begin.)

Bethmann Hollweg's Speech

To judge by the German Chancellor's speech, there is no inclination on the part of the Germans even to state what terms of peace they are ready to accept. As far as I can see, what has happened in Germany now is what has happened in every domestic controversy in that country for the last forty or fifty years. There is a popular demand for some reform, an appearance by the Government that they are going to yield and make terms, a protest generally couched in very offensive terms from the Junker party, and an immediate surrender by the Government to the Junkers. That is really the meaning of Bethmann Hollweg's speech in the Reichstag yesterday, and until that spirit has been exorcised from Germany it appears to me to be ludicrous—apart from want of dignity—to suggest that we should ask for terms from the German Emperor.

We of the Allies are determined not to accept a peace that will be no peace. It must be a peace just and durable. I am a great adherent of the idea of a league of nations, but before there can be, in the most sanguine mind, the slightest expectation of its success, you must first establish a sound, just, equitable peace. The honorable member quoted some phrase about patriotism. I think the last word on that subject was said by Miss Cavell when she was under sentence of death. "Patriotism is not enough," she said. I agree; but you do not want less than patriotism; you want more—you want the condition, and this must be the foundation of any peace we make—justice, chivalry, respect for obligations, and respect for the weak. If we can secure peace founded on this central doctrine, I shall be glad to co-operate with any honorable member of the House to erect what barriers may be possible against the recurrence of a devastating war such as the present is.

President Wilson's Note to Russia

The Allies, however, seemed to have agreed that the formal reply should be made by the United States. This was done in a note cabled to Russia May 26, but its publication was delayed until June 10. The note follows:

IN view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of co-operation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the last few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being rewoven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the status quo ante. It was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that empire. That staus must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a

fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical cooperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford, then, to be generous, but we cannot afford, then or now, to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security. WOODROW WILSON.

Entente Peace Terms Defined

MORE precise definition of France's aims was given by the Chamber of Deputies on June 5, when, by a vote of 453 to 55, a resolution was adopted in the following terms:

The Chamber of Deputies, the direct expression of the sovereignty of the French people, salutes the Russian and other allied democracies, and indorses the unanimous protest which the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine, torn from France against their will, have made to the National Assembly. It declares that it expects from the war imposed upon Europe by the aggression of imperialist Germany the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, together with liberation of invaded territories and just reparation for damage.

Far removed from all thoughts of conquest and enslavement, it expects that the efforts of the armies of the republic and her allies will secure, once Prussian militarism is destroyed, durable guarantees for peace and independence for peoples great and small, in a league of nations such as has already been foreshadowed.

Confident that the Government will bring this about by the co-ordinated military and diplomatic action of all the Allies and rejecting all amendments, the Chamber passes to the order of the day.

Speaking to the resolution, Premier Ribot said:

When the hour for supreme decisions strikes it will be for representatives of the country to determine the conditions of peace. We wish to bring about the triumph of the rights of the peoples and the ideas of justice and liberty. Do not let us be deceived by formulae whose makers hide themselves and who wish to spread the conviction that we seek conquest. We ask only that what is ours be returned to us. We demand that the provinces which never ceased to be French be restored to us.

The resolution which the Government asks you to pass demands a reparation, which none can contest, for appalling damages. The universal conscience will ratify these pretensions.

Appealing to what has been said by the President of the great Republic of the United States, we wish to establish in stable fashion justice and right for all nations, guarantees for tomorrow, for our children against the renaissance of barbarism. If we fall back into our old differences the danger might be great, but France united cannot be vanquished.

I ask you in the name of the Government, in the name of France, that your vote be unanimous.

British and Italian Aims

The following note was forwarded on June 11 by the British Government to the Russian Provisional Government's request for a statement of war aims:

In the proclamation to the Russian people inclosed with the note it is said that free Russia does not purpose to dominate other peoples or take from them their national patrimony or forcibly occupy foreign territory. In this sentiment the British Government heartily concur. They did not enter the war as a war of conquest; they are not continuing it for such object. Their purpose at

the outset was to defend the existence of their country and enforce respect for international engagements. To those objects have now been added that of liberating populations oppressed by alien tyranny.

They heartily rejoice, therefore, that free Russia has announced her intention of liberating Poland, not only Poland ruled by the old Russian autocracy but equally that within the dominion of the Germanic Empires. In this enterprise the British democracy wish Russia godspeed.

Beyond everything we must seek such settlement as will secure the happiness and contentment of peoples and take away all legitimate causes of future war.

The British Government heartily join with their Russian allies in their acceptance and approval of the principles laid down by President Wilson in his historic message to the American Congress. These are the aims for which the British peoples are fighting. These are the principles by which their war policy is and will be guided.

The British Government believe that, broadly speaking, the agreements they have from time to time made with their allies are conformable to these standards, but if the Russian Government so desire they are quite ready, with the allies, to examine and, if need be, to revise these agreements.

An official communication, dated June 13, which was received in Washington from the Italian Government read:

In Italian political circles it is felt that the attitude of the Allies toward Russia warrants them in questioning the Russian Government concerning intentions of Russia.

The message of President Wilson has so thoroughly cleared the situation it is impossible honestly to connect the alleged democratic views of the Russian Government with the pacifist advances of the Central Powers.

The consent on the part of England, in the name of all the Allies, to revise the conditions of the alliance excludes every pretext whatsoever of the Russian extremists of evading the duty to fight against Germany and Austria.

In view of these declarations of the Allies, it is felt that the Russian Government cannot further delay its decision in order to render the pro-German tendencies of a part of the Russian population vain.

Russia must free herself from the dangerous position she is in now, especially for the sake of Russian freedom.

This was supplemented by an unofficial statement made in Washington to the effect that the Entente Powers had carefully examined the situation and reached these conclusions:

1. That the position occupied by Russia affects the entire plans of the Allies, especially as regards military operations in the near future contemplated by England, France, and Italy.

2. That nothing Russia does can irreparably damage the cause or the interests of the Allies.

3. That Japan can be counted upon to prevent Russia from forming an alliance with Germany or with giving aid to the Central Powers.

Allies' Position Unsatisfactory to Russian Socialists

The replies of the Allies to the request for the war aims was not satisfactory to the Russian Socialists. Their newspapers acutely criticised the replies. The most important and decisive comment was printed June 15 in the Ivestia, the official bulletin of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in these words:

Mr. Wilson is mistaken if he thinks that such ideas can find reception in the hearts of a revolutionary people. The Russian revolutionary democracy knows very well that the road to the passionately awaited universal peace lies only through a united struggle of the laboring classes with the imperialists of the world. It is quite easy to understand what feelings will be called forth by the strange pretense of describing the ever-growing spirit of brotherhood and peace in the international Socialist, as also a German intrigue. The French and English notes will undoubtedly not call forth enthusiasm among the revolutionary democracy.

That these views represent the dominating thought of the party in control in Russia at the time was confirmed by the following reply to a letter from the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council addressed to it by Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions; Arthur Henderson, British Minister without portfolio, and Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Munitions, expressing surprise that a call had been issued by the council for an international conference to consider peace before the negotiations between the British, French, and Belgian delegations and the council had been concluded.

"The Russian revolution," says the statement, "which is a revolt of the people not only against the tyranny of Czarism, but also against the horrors of the world war, the blame for which falls upon international imperialism, has placed before all countries, with extraordinary acuteness, the urgent need of concluding peace.

At the same time the Russian revolution

has indicated to the nations a way for realizing this problem, notably a union of all the working classes to combat all attempts of imperialism to prolong the war in the interests of the wealthy classes and to prevent peace without annexations or indemnities.

The working classes of all countries can easily come to a speedy solid agreement only if they are inspired with their own interests and remove the aspirations of imperialists and militarists, who often hide their true face under a seductive mask. It is evident that the conference can become the turning point in the terrible epoch of fratricidal war only if the members of the conference are imbued with these ideas. And it is no less evident that all the questions you have raised cannot be the subject of discord or a motive for a continuation of the war.

Having recognized the right of nations to dispose of their destiny, the members of the conference will come to an understanding without difficulty regarding the future of Alsace-Lorraine and other regions. Moreover, the working classes, relieved of the mutual distrust with which the imperialists have envenomed them, will agree regarding the means of granting compensation and the amount of such compensation to the countries devastated by war, like Belgium, Poland, Galicia, and Serbia. But it goes without saying that such compensation must have nothing in common with the contribution which is imposed on the conquered country.

Regarding your statement that it is impossible for you to break the secret union—this statement evidently is based on a misunderstanding, for the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates claims from no party as a preliminary condition the renunciation of the policy already pursued by it. The council expects from the conference of the Socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries the creation of an Internationale, which will permit all the working classes of the whole world to struggle in concert for a general peace and break the bonds which unite them by force to the Governments and the classes imbued with imperialistic tendencies which prevent peace.

The Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates also considers it futile for parties to make it an absolute condition of their taking part in the conference that the preliminary consent of other parties shall be obtained to any obligatory decision, for that would give rise to irreconcilable contradictions on questions an amicable discussion of which might lead to a solution acceptable to both parties.

Regarding your desire to obtain a previous complete agreement between the allied Socialists, the way in which we put the problem renders futile any such understanding. We consider that the conference can succeed only if the Socialists consider themselves, not the representatives of the two belligerent parties, but the representatives of a single movement of the working classes toward a common aim of a general peace.

Teutonic Efforts for Peace

The Central Powers' efforts to bring about a separate peace with Russia failed, despite the fact that the peace sentiment among the Russian people is both intense and widespread. One of the most daring peace moves made by Germany was that disclosed by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 9. The council's statement read:

The Commander in Chief of the German armies on the Eastern front has sent to our troops a wireless message proposing to indicate to them a way toward an honorable peace and a means for ceasing to wage war without a rupture with the Allies. The German General talks this way because he knows that the Russian revolutionary troops would reject with indignation any overt proposal for a separate peace.

That is why the enemy Commander in Chief invites our armies to a separate armistice and proposes that we should enter into secret pourparlers with the German military leaders on the Eastern front. In his wireless telegram the German General declares that a separate armistice does not offer Germany any advantage. But this is untrue, for, in speaking of the inactivity of the German Army on the Russian front, the German General forgets what Russia cannot forget, notably the Russian defeat on the Stokhod. The German General has forgotten that the Russian troops know whither the divisions and heavy batteries are being taken from our front. The German General has forgotten that we in Russia hear the sound of the bloody battles which are being fought on the Franco-British front. He has forgotten that Russia knows that the overthrow of her allies would mean the overthrow of Russia and the end of her political liberty.

Further light was thrown on the peace manoeuvres of the Central Powers by the following dispatch, dated June 7, from Jassy, the temporary Rumanian capital, to The London Daily Chronicle:

Following up their earlier attempts in this region to seduce the Russian troops, the enemy on the Russo-Rumanian front has now sent delegates to demand an armistice preparatory to the discussion of peace terms. Over 100 delegates have arrived on the front of the Russian Ninth Army under the protection of a white flag. They include several officers—two of high rank, one being an Austrian Prince.

The delegates bore letters from General Roher, commanding the Austrian army group facing the Ninth Army, and also from German army commanders on the Rumanian

front, stating that the delegates are duly accredited, and that they have been dispatched with the full consent of the Austrian and German commanders. The peace envoys stated that they had been selected by the various Austrian divisions on the Rumanian front. There are no Germans among them.

The delegates, blindfolded, were taken into the Russian lines, where the regimental officers' and soldiers' committee claimed them, maintaining that it was the soldiers' right, under the new régime, to discuss and consider the question of an armistice. Ultimately the Russian soldiers' committee waived their claim, and the delegates were sent to the Ninth Army headquarters.

There the commander took a dignified attitude. He stated simply that he was a soldier and could therefore listen to no peace proposals, and said it was a matter for the Russian Government. He also refused the delegates' request that the Russians should appoint military delegates to arrange an armistice preparatory to the formulation by the Austrians of peace terms.

The Russian commander released two of the higher officers, including the Austrian Prince, and sent them back to the Austrian lines bearing a letter in which it was announced that he declined to entertain the request for an armistice, saying that he had no authority to negotiate, and adding that he intended to treat the envoys as prisoners of war.

Another peace move was that initiated by the German Catholic clergy. According to Mgr. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute in Paris, there was held at Olten on May 18 a meeting of Swiss Catholics summoned by the German Centre Deputy Erzberger, (Mathias Erzberger, leader of the Clerical Centre in the Reichstag.) The latter obtained the assistance of Swiss Catholics with a view to taking action with the Entente bishops in favor of an early peace. A professor of international law of Lausanne was charged with the task of sounding the French Catholics, and even some of the French bishops. Others declared themselves sure of obtaining the support of certain Italian bishops.

On the other hand, the newly appointed Governor General of Belgium, General von Falkenhausen, in an interview published in Berlin on June 5, took up the position that it was no time to talk peace.

The Kaiser, in a speech to the Brandenburg troops a couple of days later, said:

> The enemy is seeking a decision. We await it calmly, placing our trust in God, who heretofore has graciously protected and aided us. Our enemy will be compelled to sacrifice men until he is exhausted and lays down his arms.
>
> You must hasten his exhaustion. When this is accomplished you will have won for the German people the position which they are entitled to occupy. Peace will be dictated through you.

Russia's Perilous Transition Stage

The Paralysis of Military Operations

RUSSIA was the scene of dramatic episodes during the month ended June 20, 1917. At times the situation seemed so critical that all except the most sanguine lost hope of avoiding anarchy or civil war between the radicals and conservatives. The first comforting word came on May 26 in the report that the All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies, which consisted of real agricultural workers, with no politicians or professional agitators as members, had declared against a separate peace and demanded the vigorous prosecution of the war under a firm Government. Kerensky, Minister of War, the outstanding figure of the revolution in the firmness, consistency, and courage of his efforts for law and order and for fidelity to the Entente Allies, rose to the crisis; his eloquent patriotism aroused a popular response and prevented the complete collapse of the army and navy.

Complete economic collapse was threatened at the beginning of June by the exorbitant demands of labor. In many of the factories the demands by the workmen for increased wages were actually greater than the entire profits of the factories under the best conditions of production. The workmen, through their committees, were in virtual command of

the factories, and all business had to be submitted to them for approval. Wages in a majority of the factories were increased from 100 to 150 per cent. But there has yet been no offset by an advance in prices of the output.

In one of the works in Petrograd the workmen demanded the immediate payment of 13,000,000 rubles—normally $6,500,000—to cover an increase of 15 kopecks per hour for each workman since the beginning of the war. The Directors of the organization immediately communicated with the Government and asked to be placed under voluntary arrest as protection against the threats of the workmen, which, as usual, accompanied the demand. The Directors were for two days housed in the Ministry of Justice. The Government finally informed the Directors that the matter would be considered, and, with the demand of the workmen held temporarily in abeyance, the Directors returned to the factory.

An eight-hour day was everywhere established. In eighteen metal establishments in the Donets district, with a capitalization of 195,000,000 rubles and annual profits of 75,000,000, the workmen had demanded an increase of 240,000,000 rubles. The owners had agreed to 64,000,000, but the workmen refused to accept this. In some of the works the owners decided to cede all the profits to the workmen, but this did not meet their exorbitant demands. The demands in Southern Russian factories aggregate 800,000,000 rubles. In the Urals the increase in wages demanded reaches 30,000,000 rubles, while the annual business does not exceed 200,000,000.

New Army Regulations

The disciplinary regulations of the Russian Army, as promulgated May 27 by the new Government, constitute a document of historic interest as betokening the attitude of advanced Socialists toward a national army. They are entitled "A Decree Regarding the Fundamental Rights of Men in the Fighting Services." The wording throughout is so chosen as to include every one, from Generals and Admirals down to drummer boys, in an absolute equality of rights. The decree is a document of eighteen paragraphs. The first three lay down that all fighting services men shall enjoy all the rights of free citizens, but must regulate their conduct by the requirements of the service and of discipline. They are to have the right to belong to any political party and to speak, write, or publish anything whatsoever on any political, religious, social, or other subjects, within the scope of the ordinary laws. The fourth paragraph gives full religious freedom; no man is compelled to attend any forms of prayer anywhere.

The next two safeguard correspondence and printed matter: "All printed matter, periodical or otherwise, without any exception, must be delivered without hindrance to the addressees." The seventh allows the uniform to be discarded except when on actual service, with some exceptions as to garrisons in the war zone. The eighth paragraph runs: "The relations between fighting services men must be based, with strict regard for military discipline, upon the sentiment or dignity of citizens of free Russia and upon mutual confidence, respect, and politeness." The next three paragraphs abolish various details of service as formerly practiced, such as fixed formulas for replies to superiors, the use of soldier servants, orderlies, &c. The twelfth runs: "The compulsory salute, whether for individuals or commands, is abolished. For all fighting services men, in its place, is instituted a voluntary mutual greeting." Exception is made for such cases as parades and ceremonial occasions. The thirteenth gives freedom outside duty hours to quit barracks or ships on merely announcing such an intention to superiors.

The fourteenth says that no one can be subjected to punishment without trial, but in actual fighting conditions the superior has the right, on his own personal responsibility, to take all measures, even to the use of armed force, against such as do not fulfill his orders. The next three paragraphs relate to punishments, which must nowise offend against the sense of honor or dignity. A special note abolishes the form of punishment known as standing under arms. The use of any form of punishment ex-

cept such as is indicated in the code is a criminal act, for which the offender must be put on trial. No fighting services men can in any circumstances be subjected to physical punishment of any kind. The last paragraph alone contains some hint that commanding officers exist to command. By paragraph eighteen superiors have the right to make appointments and temporarily remove from appointments, and to issue orders concerning fighting activity or the preparations therefor, but all matters concerning the internal economy of the regiment or ship are in the hands of elective committees. These, by the regulations already published, consist of men and officers, the latter being limited to one-fifth of the number of men elected to a company or regimental committee.

Action of Soldiers' Delegates

On May 30 the Congress of Delegates from the front voted the following resolutions:

First, the army in the trenches declares that it is indispensable to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and conclude peace without annexation or indemnities, on the basis of the right of all nations to dispose of themselves, proclaiming at the same time the watchword, "Whoever wishes for peace must prepare for war."

Second, the army, pointing out that the Russian soldiers have been fighting hitherto under conditions infinitely worse than those of the Allies, that the Russian soldier has had to march almost unprotected against the enemy's bullets and break with bare hands the barbed wire entanglements, which the Allies and the enemy pass freely after artillery preparation, declares that the Russian front must be provided with munitions and everything necessary to maintain the principle, "The more metal, the less gun fodder."

In conclusion the congress declared that the army appealed to all to whom free Russia is dear to rally around the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Provisional Government and not to permit "adventurers to let the army become manure for foreign fields."

The Cossacks in the Ural district held a convention and passed a resolution to give their unqualified support to the temporary Government. They also issued an appeal to all citizens of free Russia to follow their example. Among the declarations contained in the appeal were the following:

"You must remember that the enemy is watching our interior disorganization. Away with fraternization and disorders! We have only one front—our own and that of our allies. The army must not remain quiet, but must help the Allies by advancing."

Seizure of Kronstadt Fortress

A most serious step was taken June 1, when the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates defied the Provisional Government and decided to assume control of Kronstadt, the great fortress which defends Petrograd. Two days later it was announced that the Provisional Government had decided that firm measures must be taken to compel the seceders to yield, and two Cabinet Ministers were sent to Kronstadt.

A few days later it was announced that the matter had been adjusted and that the Provisional Government had re-established its authority there. The climax was reached in the crisis June 2, when a parade of armed anarchists calling for the Commune and war on capitalists marched through the streets of Petrograd carrying black banners inscribed: "Down with Authority!" "Long Live the Social Revolution and the Commune!" There was no interference from the authorities.

This seemed the turning point of the frenzy of unrest, for from that time the news became more reassuring.

On June 5 it was announced that General Michael V. Alexeieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, had resigned. General Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the Southwestern Front, was appointed to succeed him.

General Goutor replaced Brusiloff as commander on the southwestern front.

General Alexeieff was appointed Commander in Chief on April 15, soon after the retirement of Grand Duke Nicholas from that post. General Brusiloff a few weeks previously resigned from his position as Commander in Chief of the Armies on the Southwestern Front, but withdrew his resignation after a conference at Petrograd.

People's Call for Action

On June 8 the alliance of all Russian commercial, industrial, and banking institutions held its first meeting. After a discussion of the politcal situation and speeches by the Belgian Minister to Russia and representatives of the French Embassy it was unanimously resolved to address to the Entente Allies a declaration rejecting emphatically all possibility of Russia concluding a separate peace. The resolution also expressed confidence in an approaching decisive victory over the Central Powers.

A resolution calling upon the army to submit itself to discipline and defend revolutionary Russia was adopted by the Congress of Peasants in session on June 8, in these words:

> The peasants aspire to an equitable peace without humiliating annexation or indemnity and with the right of each nation to dispose of itself. International relations and treaties should be submitted to the control of the peoples interested. Disputes should be settled by an international tribunal, and not by force. The congress approves the union of workers and appeals to the peasants of all countries to force their Governments to renounce annexations and indemnities.
>
> The congress considers that it is its duty energetically to defend its country, recoiling before no sacrifices in order to sustain the fighting strength of the army and the struggle for the safety of the patrimony of the Russian people. The congress summons the army to submit itself to discipline and defend revolutionary Russia, of peasants, and workers. It grants its benediction to this war, and will not forget the blood which has been shed.

Minister of War Kerensky ordered that the resolution be read to all ranks of the army and navy. Two hundred girl students of the Petrograd Technical Institute entered their names on the rolls of a female regiment which was raised by Ensign Butchkareff. The aim is to start to the front and to fight in all respects under the same conditions as men. Scores of girls and women, anxious to fight, appeared at the offices of the League of Equal Rights for Women, which has expressed its approval of Lieutenant Butchkareff's plan.

The Constituent Assembly

On June 12 a council of sixty-one members under the Presidency of Kokashkine, a member of the Duma, met to prepare for the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly will not only draft Russia's permanent Constitution, but will also solve certain immediate problems, the chief of which are the questions of nationalities and the conditions of the transfer of the lands of the nobles to the peasantry. In this preparatory council sat a group of constitutional specialists, also deputies from the army and from all the political parties, representatives of Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and other races, and also a representative of the women, the famous feminist, Mme. Shishkin Yavein.

The voting age was fixed at 20, with secret, direct voting by both sexes, and 18 years for soldiers.

An important reform proclaimed June 12 is the introduction of the small unit of local self-government, in which all classes may participate equally. Heretofore the smallest of such units was the district Zemstvo, which administered a very large area, cantons and communes having purely peasant administrations. Henceforth the cantons will be administered by representatives of all classes voting equally.

These reforms, though they were proclaimed autocratically by the Provisional Government, were enthusiastically received, as they satisfy the historic national demands, which the former Government repeatedly promised, but never fulfilled.

It was decided to allow the former Emperor and members of the imperial family the privilege of voting.

On June 14, as evidence of the growing confidence of the Government, a decree was issued declaring all acts of military disorder to be insubordination, including refusal to fight and also incitement to fight against the Government. Such acts, says the decree, are punishable by long sentence to servitude in the penitentiary and the deprivation of rights to property and also the right to receive land under the coming land redistribution.

General Denikine, former Chief of Staff, was nominated to succeed General Gurko who had resigned his command of the armies on the western front.

The conflict caused by Finland's claim that the rights of the former Emperor as Grand Duke of Finland did not pass automatically to the Provisional Government was satisfactorily settled by a new law which will be valid until Russo-Finnish relations are permanently regulated by the Constituent Assembly. The right to decide all State transactions, excepting affairs affecting Russian subjects, and also the right to fill the date for the opening and closing of the Finnish Diet is conceded to the Finnish Senate. Finland also gets the right of legislative initiative, the right to confirm the budget, revoke administrative decrees, summon the Ecclesiastical Council, and, finally, the right to pardon offenders, counted in almost all countries as a sovereign prerogative. The law practically confers on Finland complete internal autonomy.

The American Mission in Russia

THE American Commission to Russia headed by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, reached Petrograd via Vladivostok on June 13. The commission was cordially received and housed in the former Winter Palace of the Czar.

On June 15 the American Ambassador, David R. Francis, presented the Root mission to the Council of Ministers in Marinsky Palace, explaining that the members of the mission had come to Russia to discover how America could best co-operate with its ally in forwarding the fight against the common enemy. The presentation was very informal. M. Kerensky, the Minister of War, just back from the front, wore the khaki blouse of a common soldier.

Mr. Root's First Address

The Ministers listened with rapt attention to Mr. Root's address, which was as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the Council of Ministers: The mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and people of the United States of America with a message to the Government and people of Russia. The mission comes from a democratic republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a President who holds his high office as Chief Executive of more than 100,000,000 free people by virtue of popular election, in which more than 18,000,000 votes were freely cast, and fairly counted pursuant to law, by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.

For 140 years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we still have maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence. Under the security of our own laws we have grown in strength and prosperity. But we value our freedom more than wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed that America might be free.

We believe in the competence of the power of democracy and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

The news of Russia's new-found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land sympathy and hope went out to the new sister in the circle of democracies. And the mission is sent to express that feeling.

The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia a greeting of sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, godspeed. Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life which must give form to the Government and laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life.

As we look across the sea we distinguish no party, no class. We see great Russia as a whole, as one mighty, striving, aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, essential kindliness, strong common sense, courage, and noble idealism of the Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessing upon you all. We believe you will solve your problems, that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order everywhere has passed away and the world is free.

One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of a military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and the Allies. The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of

German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight for it now when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union, and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

So America sends another message to Russia—that we are going to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours, and, with a common purpose and mutual helpfulness of a firm alliance, make sure of victory over our common foe.

Mr. Root then added: "You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress, when on the 2d of April last he advised a declaration of war against Germany," and he quoted from that address, closing as follows:

That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest. Practical and specific methods and the possibilities of our allies' co-operation the members of the mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Terestchenko, who rose from a sickbed to attend the presentation, responded without notes, expressing great joy in welcoming the commission from America. He said that Russia's revolution was based on the wonderful words uttered by America in 1776. He read part of the Declaration of Independence and exclaimed:

"Russia holds with the United States that all men are created free and equal."

M. Terestchenko sketched the history of the Russian revolution briefly, saying that the Russians, enslaved for centuries, threw off all the old order just as the wind blows Autumn leaves from the forest. Russia now faces two problems, said the Minister, the necessity of creating a strong democratic force within its boundaries and the fighting of an external foe. Then he declared for war and expressed unbounded confidence in the power of Russia to meet the situation.

The text of President Wilson's note to the Russian Government explaining the aims of the Root Commission was made public June 18, and is as follows:

The High Commission now on its way from this country to Russia is sent primarily to manifest to the Russian Government and people the deep sympathetic feeling which exists among all classes in America for the adherence of Russia to the principle of democracy, which has been the foundation of the progress and prosperity of this country. The High Commissioners go to convey the greetings of this Republic to the new and powerful member which has joined the great family of democratic nations.

The Commissioners who will bear this fraternal message to the people of Russia have been selected by the President with the special purpose of giving representation to the various elements which make up the American people and to show that among them all there is the same love of country and the same devotion to liberty and justice and loyalty to constituted authority. The commission is not chosen from one political group, but from the various groups into which the American electorate is divided. United, they represent the Republic. However much they may differ on public questions, they are one in support of democracy and in hostility to the enemies of democracy throughout the world.

The commission is prepared, if the Russian Government desires, to confer upon the best ways and means to bring about effective co-operation between the two Governments in the prosecution of the war against the German autocracy, which is today the gravest menace to all democratic Governments. It is the view of this Government that it has become the solemn duty of those who love democracy and individual liberty to render harmless this autocratic Government, whose ambition, aggression, and intrigue have been disclosed in the present struggle. Whatever the cost in life and treasure, the supreme object should be and can be attained only by the united strength of the democracies of the world, and only then can come that permanent and universal peace which is the hope of all people.

To the common cause of humanity, which Russia has so courageously and unflinchingly supported for nearly three years, the United States is pledged. To co-operate and aid Russia in the accomplishment of the task, which as a great democracy is more truly hers today than ever before, is the desire of the United States. To stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder against autocracy, will unite the American and Russian peoples in a friendship for the ages.

With this spirit the High Commissioners of the United States will present themselves in the confident hope that the Russian Government and people will realize how sincerely the United States hopes for their welfare and desires to share with them in their future endeavors to bring victory to the cause of democracy and human liberty.

Fruits of Diplomatic Missions

Closing Addresses of French and British Envoys, and Summary of Their Work

MARSHAL JOFFRE and Vice Premier Viviani, with the other members of the French diplomatic mission to the United States, sailed secretly from New York in the night of May 15, and the world knew nothing of their departure until their safe arrival at Brest was announced on May 23. They traveled on the same French steamer that had brought them over, and were convoyed by a French warship. The State Department at Washington issued a note of appreciation to the press, which had imposed a voluntary censorship on itself, for having successfully withheld every detail of news that might have jeopardized the safety of the visitors.

The series of eloquent speeches delivered in the United States by René Viviani, head of the French mission, was recorded at length in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, with the exception of the final one in New York, delivered at the official dinner of the Mayor's committee at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Viviani's Waldorf Speech

After paying a graceful tribute to New York and to the American people, M. Viviani recalled again the deeds of Joffre at the battle of the Marne, and continued:

Well, what did we make manifest to the whole world? Two qualities: One which all men knew who know the glorious traditions of France throughout the ages—dash, intrepidity, valor, contempt of death; but another quality was denied us, that of endurance, that of patience, that of quiet courage; the steady heart and unshaken nerves under the storm of shot and shell. Now, in two battles we combined both qualities as if we would offer them up to the whole world as a homage and a lesson. In August, 1914, we showed what dash French troops possessed in spite of weariness, in spite of the heat of an endless Summer, the exhaustion of three weeks' incessant fighting. Suddenly, miraculously, the whole French Army stood at bay and turned upon its enemy.

And the man who commanded that army had remained calm and impassive. Every evening he telephoned to me, who was then Premier of France, the result of the military operations; at this very moment I can hear his voice come to me over the wires, quiet, grave, unbroken by the slightest emotion. And that voice spoke its unflinching confidence in final victory in spite of all. And when the hour had struck, the moment come, the order was issued, was forwarded to the armies, the Generals; every officer read it to his men: "My children, here we stand. Halt and face the barbarians. Die to the last man rather than retreat another step!"

Such was French dash, French valor. It counted for nothing in German eyes. But the day came when the other virtue was shown, that on which they relied yet less. One day they dreamed Verdun could be taken, not because it was in itself the greatest prize; it would have been no victory—but to drive into France and impose peace—for our enemies think they can let peace loose on the world as they unchain war. And so German armies were piled up on the French front. It was impossible for us to advance against such odds. Our Generals spoke: "Children, not one step back; if you yield a yard, let every yard have its bloody cost for your enemy." And through the endless days and nights, under shot and shell, under the avalanche of shells that tore up the very earth, among their falling comrades, led by their officers, our men held fast, contesting every inch of ground, fighting for months and months without an instant's respite, checking the whole weight of the German Army. And now when we leave our land, when we say those two names—the Marne and Verdun—we mingle in one the two master virtues of our race—valor and patience, courage and endurance.

What yet remains to be done? For three long years the English and the French, sword in hand, have fought, not for England alone, not for France alone, but for humanity, for right, for democracy. For three long years the Russian soldiers in the northern snows, victorious in southern Europe, have fought for the same ideal; for two years seductive, virile Italy has scaled the Alps and shattered with its hands the stony barrier that stifled its liberty; for three years Serbia, murdered, trampled under foot ruthlessly, has fought; for three years heroic Belgium has maintained her honor against a perjured foe. For three long years we have striven, face to face with our enemy, tightened our grasp upon her throat, held our own.

And now, when we are still strong and undismayed, neither worn out nor doubting, still full of force and resource, comes free America to our side, radiant with its democratic ideals and ancient traditions, to fight with us. She read in President Wilson's incomparable message which has gone to the heart of every Frenchman the deep reasons why she could not but enter into this war. Yes; doubtless you had your slaughtered dead to avenge, to avenge the insults heaped on your honor. You could not for one moment conceive that the land of Lincoln, the land of Washington, could bow humbly before the imperial eagle. But not for that did you rise; not for your national honor alone; do not say it was for that. You are fighting for the whole world; you are fighting for all liberty; you are fighting for civilization; that is why you have risen in battle. And just now Mr. Choate said: "The English and French Missions are here to tell us what to avoid and what to do."

And your Mayor expressed in an accurate formula his generous conception of our relations when he said: "America is founded on French idealism and English common law." Nothing could be truer; it is all the truth; I can add nothing to his words. But I will tell you what you can do. You are remote from our battlefields; no Zeppelins can fly above your towns and scatter their bombs over the cradles of your innocent children; German ships are blocked in the Kiel Canal; they cannot defile your waters; at this distance you cannot hear the roar of the cannon. But can you imagine that you are not, in sooth, as close to us, in spite of distance, as we are to you—that Germany is not as near you as she is to us, that the peril is remote! No. The menace of Germany lies where Mr. Balfour so philosophically defined it. He told you that the menace of Germany lies in her scientific organization, and I will attempt to interpret his words in the spirit that prompted them. We are all agreed Prussian militarism must be crushed; so long as the world contains it there is no safety in it for democracy. But what is Prussian militarism? It was not born yesterday; it was not born in 1914. It is an ancient sore. It is the bestial and inhuman expression of a philosophy, the outcome of a whole race so madly intoxicated with conceit, that it imagines it is predestined to dominate the world, and is amazed to see free men dare to rise and contest its rights. And if you had not risen against it, it is not with artillery, not with shells, not with submarines, not with Zeppelins, you would have been attacked.

It is by the methods and spirit of Germany gradually filtering into your brains, impregnating invisibly your hearts, and little by little violating your souls and consciences. That was the hidden danger, the menace of Germany. You realized the peril, and you have risen to face it, to fight a menace not to you alone, but to all civilization. Now all we free men are one in will. The hour for the liberation of all men has struck at last. All have risen in arms in the good fight, fought by us, by our children, to the bitter end. And we will never falter till victory crowns our aims. And when in far-off days after this war history shall tell why we fought, in days yet ringing with this strife, long after the voice of the cannon is silent, then impartial history shall speak. It will say why all the peoples arose in battle, why the free allied peoples fought. Not for conquest. They were not nations of prey. No morbid ambitions lay festering in their hearts and consciences.

Why then did they fight? To repel the most brutal and insidious of aggressions. They fought for the respect of international treaties trampled under foot by the brutal soldiery of Germany, they fought to raise all the peoples of the earth to free breath, to the ideal of liberty for all, so that the world might be habitable for free men—or to perish. And history will add: "They did not perish. They vanquished. They shattered the ponderous sword that German militarism aimed against the conscience and the heart of all free men." And thus together we shall have won the moral victory and a material one. It is that dawn I greet, that hour of fate I bow my head before. May the soul of Washington inspire our souls; may the great shade of Lincoln rise from its shroud. We are all resolved to battle till the end for the deliverance of humanity, the deliverance of democracy. Rise then, brother citizens, and lift your brows to the level of your flag!

Results of Conferences

Arthur J. Balfour, head of the British mission, delivered his farewell address before the National Press Club at Washington on May 24. The next day he and the other Commissioners crossed into Canada on their way home, after having spent six fruitful weeks in the United States, a longer period than any other Foreign Secretary had been away from London since the Napoleonic wars.

The situation in France depicted by M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre is believed to have been largely responsible for the American Government's decision to send at once an expeditionary force of about 25,000 men, a division of nine regiments of railroad engineers, and six base hospitals. The British visitors, having faced the same problems that now confront America in training large armies for foreign service, were able to clear away many doubts in technical matters.

The most important understandings arrived at were in trade matters. In general it was decided that the United States should give the Allies preferential treatment in commerce. It was agreed that all shipping, so far as possible, should be devoted to emergency transportation, with a view to defeating the German submarine campaign. British trade experts have worked out accurately the amount of ship tonnage needed to continue the flow of life necessities to England and France, and the Federal Shipping Board has a detailed program for meeting that need, with a priority schedule showing the order of importance of the various commodities and the minimum amounts necessary. A definite understanding was reached to cover both American and Canadian wheat for sale to the Allied Wheat Executive Committee, and arrangements were made for full Canadian co-operation through the proposed Food Administration Bureau.

Munitions control and purchase were similarly centralized through the Allied Buying Committee, although without price control. The Council of National Defense charged itself with so increasing manufacture as to provide for the American war army without cutting off exports vitally needed abroad.

It was agreed that the United States would co-operate as far as possible in maintaining the British blockade, and would participate through Consuls in the rationing of Holland and Scandinavia, with a view to preventing American products from reaching firms dealing regularly with the enemy.

The shipping problem, in view of the April ravages of submarines, was the most urgent of all, and the American shipbuilding program was speeded up as a direct result of the British representations on this subject. One of England's greatest shipping experts was summoned across the seas to supply more technical details than the mission possessed. Three members of the British party were left in Washington to continue work on trade problems. Conferences with General Goethals and Mr. Denman of the Federal Shipping Board helped to shape the plans of that body. Many of the seized German ships were turned over to the French, Italians, and Russians upon the British statement that England had enough tonnage for herself and was strained only to meet the needs of her allies. The Shipping Board, however, decided not to pool all American shipping with the other allies in the International Committee in London, owing to the need of American imports from outside the war zone. Means for curtailing the wasteful use of ocean tonnage, which were communicated by the British envoys, have been embodied in a bill on that and kindred subjects now before Congress.

Balfour in Canada

The British mission remained in Canada until the end of May. The most striking address delivered there by Mr. Balfour was the one before the two houses of Parliament at Ottawa, in which he declared that the British Empire had "staked its last dollar on democracy," and continued:

I know the democraries of the Old World and the New will come out of this struggle, not merely triumphant in the military sense, but strengthened in their own inner life, more firmly convinced that the path of freedom is the only path to national greatness.

Foreign speculators about the British Empire, before the war began, said to themselves that this loosely constructed State resembled nothing that ever existed in history before, that it was held together by no coercive power, that the mother country could not raise a Corporal's guard in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or wherever you will; that she could not raise a shilling by taxation.

She had no power except the power which a certain class of politician never remembers—the moral power of affection, sentiment, common aims, and common ideals. Even those of us who believed the new experiment of the British Empire was going to succeed felt it was difficult that so vast an empire, so loosely knit, should be animated by one soul, or that the indirect thrill of common necessity should go from end to end.

No greater miracle has ever happened in the history of civilization than the way in which the co-ordinated British democracies worked together with a uniform spirit of self-sacrifice in the cause in which they believed not merely their own individual security but the safety of the empire and the progress of civilization and liberty itself were at stake.

The Italian Diplomatic Commission

THE Italian War Commission, headed by the Prince of Udine, a cousin of the King, was officially received by President Wilson May 24. The members included the following: Prince Udine, eldest son of the Duke of Genoa; Senator Guglielmo Marconi, the inventor of wireless telegraphy; Marquis Birsarelli, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Maritime and Railway Transportation, a leading banker of Italy; General Gugliemetti, Military Attaché; Commander Vannutelli, representing the Italian Navy; Alvise Bragadini of the Transportation Department; C. Pardo of the Department of Industry and Commerce; Gaetano Pietra of the Agricultural Department, and Deputies Ciufelli and Nitti, former Ministers.

In his formal address to the President, the Prince of Udine said:

I am proud, indeed, Mr. President, belonging as I do to a house which has never conceived royal power otherwise than associated with the most complete liberty of the people, to have been chosen, together with the gentlemen of this commission, to greet you on behalf of my King and cousin. You will read the message which the King of Italy, a faithful interpreter of our country's thought, has addressed to you. Permit me, however, to express the great sympathy and deep admiration which I feel for this great and noble country.

As an Italian, a sailor and a Prince, I consider it a happy omen that I and my colleagues, who have been chosen by the Government from among the worthiest, should be the symbols of the fulfillment of a sincere aspiration of ours. I rejoice that Italy is now united in a brotherhood of arms with the American people and that it will always in the future be united with them by common ideals for the carrying out of the work of liberty and of civilization.

The first conferences with the American Government were held May 28.

The problem of transporting coal to Italy was the most important feature of the discussions. Italy, it was said, needed coal to assure the continued manufacture of guns and ammunition and the maintenance of war industries which had been created since the outbreak of hostilities with Germany. Italy, it was asserted at the conference, was not in urgent need of foodstuffs, but did need coal, iron, lumber, agricultural machinery, locomotives, and railroad equipment.

If Italy could obtain coal in the United States it was said that her problem of making brick for use in the construction of mountain dugouts and trenches would be solved. She had heretofore imported brick from the United States because she could not afford to utilize her meagre coal supply in their manufacture.

The American representatives were informed that the industries of Italy had grown during the war. Italy, it was said, was at this time making her own guns, and they had proved to be as effective as those manufactured by the French and Austrians.

Following the conference it was announced that an ample quantity of coal and some other supplies had been assembled at certain ports and were ready for shipment whenever vessels could be obtained.

Prince Udine to the Senate

The Prince of Udine and the Italian mission were received on the floor of the United States Senate May 31. In his address to the Senate he said:

The message of your President, as our sovereign has said, is worthy, by the nobility of its conceptions and the dignity of its form, to rank with the most inspiring pages in the history of ancient and immortal Rome. It was greeted with the enthusiasm of faith when it made clear the objects of the war and defined the aims of American action.

By proclaiming that right is more precious than peace; that autocratic Governments, supported by the force of arms, are a menace to civilization; by affirming the necessity of guaranteeing the safety of the world's democracies; by proclaiming the right of small nations to live and to prosper, America has now, through the action of her President, acquired a title of merit which history will never forget.

Italy entered into the war with aims equal to those which you pursue. Her territory had not been invaded, her insecure boundaries had not been violated. Our people understood that the sacrifice of free nations was the prelude to their own sacrifice, and that we could not remain indiffer-

ent without denying the very reasons of our existence.

Italy wants the safety of her boundaries and her coasts, and she wants to secure herself against new aggressions. Italy wants to deliver from long-standing martyrdom populations of Italian race and language that have been persecuted implacably, and are nevertheless prouder than ever of their Italian nationality. But Italy has not been and will never be an element of discord in Europe, and as she willed her own free national existence at the cost of any sacrifice, so she will contribute with all her strength to the free existence and development of other nations.

By increasing the ruthlessness of submarine warfare and thus rendering navigation unsafe and dangerous, our enemies hope to win the war by increasing misery and suffering. They hope that our powerful ally, Great Britain, will lack food; that France will lack food and men, and that Italy will lack especially food, and that which is more important, coal for the war, for industries, and for railways. The problem of shipping is for all of us the greatest problem of the war.

With our united efforts we shall vanquish all these difficulties, and that which the force of arms, secretly prepared and unexpectedly employed, was not able to accomplish, will not be accomplished by disloyal means on land and water. We shall triumph over all these difficulties if we continue our efforts in brotherly agreement, united by the great duty which we now have voluntarily taken upon us for a cause which is superior to all worldly interests, and which partakes of an almost divine nobility.

The mission of which I have the honor to be the head and in which there are representatives of the Senate of the kingdom, of the Chamber of Deputies, and members of the Government, desires to express through me the liveliest sympathy to the representatives of the American people.

The mission was officially received by the House of Representatives June 2 and the Prince delivered an address expressing warmest appreciation of America's entry into the war, which gave an assurance of victory. An address was also delivered by Senator Marconi.

The mission was hospitably entertained in various cities.

State of Italian Finances

A résumé of the Italian financial condition before the United States entered the war and granted a loan of $100,000,000 to the Government at Rome showed that Italy had spent up to Dec. 31, 1916, $2,783,075,040 for the War Department and $156,198,335 for the Navy. For the departments of Commerce, Agriculture, Transportation, Colonies, Interior, and Treasury the expenditures amounted in the same period to $3,200,000,000.

Comparing the future expenditures and the income of the nation, it was calculated that the income would be about $80,000,000 larger than the expenditures. This result was attained by sound financing, together with the imposition at that time of new taxes. The total loans raised by Italy up to June 15, 1917, during the war is about $3,000,000,000, chiefly at 5 and 5½ per cent.

Viterio Scialoia, a member of the Italian Chamber, in an address to the American people delivered at Rome June 7, expressed the warmest appreciation of the reception given the mission by the American people, closing with these words:

"The alliance between Italy and America will lead to new and greater commercial relations, new sympathy in spirit and in common political actions with a view to realization of conditions of liberty for the peoples who still suffer from the violence imposed upon heir nations by tyrannical Governments, such as Austria, or from violent conquest, such as the conquests of Germany. All this will be a solid basis for the relations of the future, which can never be shaken, as it is impossible to see how even the slightest of differences could arise.

The Facts Supporting President Wilson's War Message

THE historic message of President Wilson, delivered before Congress on April 2, 1917, has been officially published by the Government, with annotations giving the leading facts on which the rupture with Germany was developed, citing the issues in international law, and contrasting the spirit of Prussianism and Americanism. This publication is to be distributed to the schools throughout the country.

In a foreword it announced that the editorial annotations are the work of Professor William Stearns Davis of the History Department of the University of Minnesota, assisted by Professor C. D. Allin and Dr. William Anderson. The official sponsor for the publication adds:

The message is the best possible preparation for all loyal Americans who are studying the causes and justification for the present war, and who are trying to discover the proper mental attitude they themselves should take toward the personal part which they may be called to play in the struggle. * * * Mr. Wilson contrasts the American and Prussian political philosophy and methods of doing things in a way that would become even more convincing if he had been allowed time to enter into specific details. Solemn official promises made only to be broken, conspiracies to burn and blow up American industries, to hamper our manufactures and cripple our Government by strikes and riots, spies in every centre of political and industrial activity, plans made on American soil and financed by German funds to dynamite canals, bridges, and munition factories in Canada, invitations to Mexico in times of peace to join with Germany in dismembering our Union, have led people and President alike to see submarine warfare as but a more flagrant expression of a German State policy running amuck in absolute disregard of every sense of national and international morals and decency and callous to the claims of common humanity.

A military autocracy astride the ruins of Europe and dominant on the seas by virtue of an arm that both serves and reveals its ambitions and irresponsibility has forced America to accept its challenge. A new Monroe Doctrine must be defended on the pathways of the seas and in the fields of Flanders if the Western World is to be preserved as the citadel of a free-developing, forward-looking democracy.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, May, 1917, published the official text of the President's war message. Professor Davis's annotations are here reproduced, with brief references to the sentences commented upon. Thus the annotations are here woven into a consecutive thesis, elucidating and amplifying the war message. In explaining the President's opening reference to his choices of policy, which he could not adopt constitutionally without Congressional advice, the editors remark:

There had been only two other periods in the history of the country equally serious—1776 and 1861. Nobody can pretend that there have been any other crises in American history (barring the Revolution and the civil war) when so much that citizens of this country count dear has been at stake. The War of 1812, the Mexican and Spanish wars seem as child's play beside the present exigency. Now, as this message makes clear, the very liberties of the world and the possibilities of peaceful democracies are at stake. If Germany should win this war, and thus become supreme on land and sea, the very existence of free democracies would be imperiled.

President Wilson had the sworn duty to lay the facts before Congress and recommend to it the needful action. The Constitution of the United States prescribes his duties in such emergencies.

It is worthy of note that the Constitution lays this duty and power of declaring war directly upon Congress, and that it can not be evaded by Congressmen by any referendum to the voters, for which not the slightest constitutional provision is made.

Congress performed this duty by voting on the war question as requested. The vote of the Senate was 82 to 6 for war; of the House 373 to 50. Such comparative unanimity upon so momentous a question is almost unparalleled in the history of free nations.

Beginning of Ruthless Policy

The President's reference to the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare by the German Government is commented upon as follows:

The German Chancellor in announcing this repudiation of all his solemn pledges in the Imperial Parliament, [Reichstag,] on Jan. 31, frankly admitted that this policy involved "ruthlessness" toward neutrals. "When

the most ruthless methods are considered the best calculated to lead us to victory and to a swift victory * * * they must be employed. * * * The moment has now arrived. Last August [when he was, as he himself here admits, allowing the American people to believe that in response to its protest he had laid aside such ruthless methods] the time was not yet ripe, but today the moment has come when we can undertake this enterprise."

And the promise of the German Government, withdrawn on Feb. 1, is referred to in these terms:

The broken Sussex pledge. On May 4, 1916, the German Government, in reply to the protest and warning of the United States following the sinking of the Sussex, gave this promise: That "merchant vessels both within and without the area declared a naval war zone shall not be sunk without warning, and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

Germany added, indeed, that if Great Britain continued her blockade policy, she would have to consider "a new situation."

On May 8, 1916, the United States replied that it could not admit that the pledge of Germany was "in the slightest degree contingent upon the conduct of any other Government," (i. e., on any question of the English blockade.) To this Germany made no reply at all, and under general diplomatic usage, when one nation makes a statement to another, the latest statement of the case stands as final unless there is a protest made.

The promise made by Germany thus became a binding pledge, and as such was torn up with other "scraps of paper" by the German "unlimited submarine warfare" note of Jan. 31, 1917.

Regarding the President's references to the "cruel anl unmanly business" of sinking merchant ships, and the "certain degree of restraint" observed at that time, the editors cite these facts:

As to the proper usages in dealing with merchant vessels in war, here are the rules laid down some time ago for the American Navy, (a fighting navy, surely,) and these rules hardly differed in other navies, including the Russian and Japanese:

United States Naval War Code, on treatment of merchant vessels stopped or captured by American men-of-war, (1900 ed., P. 48:)

"The personnel of a merchant vessel captured as a prize are entitled to their personal effects.

"All passengers not in the service of the enemy, and all women and children on board such vessels, should be released and landed at a convenient port at the first opportunity.

"All persons in the naval service of the United States who pillage or maltreat in any manner any person found on board a merchant vessel captured as a prize shall be severely punished."

United States Naval War College, "International Law Topics," 1905, Page 6: "If a seized neutral vessel cannot for any reason be brought into court for adjudication it should be dismissed."

United States Naval War Code, on safety required for persons on a captured vessel, (United States Naval War College, "International Law Topics," 1913, Page 165:) "The destruction of a vessel which has surrendered without first removing its officers and crew would be an act contrary to the sense of right which prevails even between enemies in time of war."

And also Lawrence, (standard authority on international law,) "International Law," Page 406: "It is better for a naval officer to release a ship as to which he is doubtful than to risk personal punishment and international complications by destroying innocent neutral property."

Sinking of Hospital Ships

The President's reference to the sinking of hospital and relief ships was elaborated as follows:

Mr. Wilson was undoubtedly thinking of the cases of the British hospital ships Asturias, sunk March 20, and the Gloucester Castle. These vessels had been sunk although protected by the most solemn possible of international compacts. The Germans seem to have acknowledged the sinking of the Asturias and to have regarded their feat with great complacency. Somewhat earlier in the war the great liner Britannic had been sunk while in service as a hospital ship, and the evidence seems to be it was torpedoed by a U-boat, although the proof here is not conclusive. Since this message was written the Germans have continued their policy of murdering more wounded soldiers and their nurses by sinking more hospital ships.

The Belgian relief ships referred to were probably the Camilla, Trevier, and the Feistein, but most particularly the large Norwegian steamer Storstad, sunk with 10,000 tons of grain for the starving Belgians. Besides these sinkings, two other relief ships—the Tunisie and the Haelen—were attacked unsuccessfully.

And to his words, "I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations," this note was added:

No nation assuredly has made prouder claims than Germany to a superior "kultur," or made louder assertions of its desire to vindicate "the freedom of the seas."

His sentence referring to the "wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of

noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate," is elucidated in these words:

Mr. Wilson could have gone further back than "modern history." Even in the most troubled period of the Middle Ages there was consistent effort to spare the lives of non-belligerents. Thus in the eleventh century not merely did the Church enjoin the "truce of God" which ordered all warfare to cease on four days of the week, but it especially pronounced its curse upon those who outraged or injured not merely clergymen and monks, but all classes of women. We also have ordinances from this "dark period" of history forbidding the interference with shepherds and their flocks, the damaging of olive trees, or the carrying off or destruction of farming implements. All this at a period when feudal barons are alleged to have been waging their wars with unusual ferocity.

Contrast also with the German usages this American instance:

On May 12, 1898, Admiral Sampson with the American fleet appeared before Santiago, and conducted a reconnoissance in force to see if Cervera's squadron was in the port, but he did not "subject the city to a regular bombardment" because that "would have required due notice" for the removal of the women, children, and the sick. He did this notwithstanding the fact that a sudden attack, well driven home, would probably have given him the city. In the attack on the forts alone, which he actually made, his ship Captains were carefully charged to avoid hitting the Spanish Military Hospital. (See H. Doc. No. 12, Fifty-fifth Congress, Third Session, Page 368.)

No one certainly has ever accused the American Navy of "hitting soft" or of being unwilling to wage the most strenuous kind of honorable warfare.

American Vessels Destroyed

President Wilson's brief reference to the sinking of American ships calls for this definite list:

American vessels sunk by submarines following German decree of ruthless submarine policy, Jan. 31, 1917.

Following eight or more American vessels which had been sunk or attacked earlier, in most cases in contravention to international law, these ships also had been sunk following the repudiation of her pledges by Germany:

Feb. 3, 1917, Housatonic.
Feb. 13, 1917, Lyman M. Law.
March 16, 1917, Vigilancia.
March 17, 1917, City of Memphis.
March 17, 1917, Illinois.
March 21, 1917, Healdton, (claimed to have been sunk off Dutch coast, and far from the so-called "prohibited zone.")
April 1, 1917, Aztec.
March 2, 1917, Algonquin.

Furthermore, no American should forget the sinking of the William P. Frye on Jan. 28, 1915, by a German raider. This act under normal circumstances would be a casus belli. The raider, the Prinz Eitel Friedrich, then impudently took refuge in an American port.

And the American lives lost in such sinkings are summarized as follows:

American lives lost on the ocean during the war. (See Cong. Rec., 65th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1,006.)

American lives have been lost during the sinking of at least twenty vessels, whereof four were American, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. In one or two cases the vessel tried to escape and made resistance, and the loss of life was possibly excusable for the Germans. In the bulk of the cases the destruction was without fair warning and without reasonable effort to give the passengers and crew chance to escape.

Among the more flagrant cases were:
May 7, 1915, Lusitania, 114 Americans lost.
Aug. 19, 1915, Arabia, 3 Americans lost.
Sept. 4, 1915, Hesperian, 1 American lost.
Oct. 28, 1916, Marina, 8 Americans lost.
Dec. 14, 1916, Russian, 17 Americans lost.
Feb. 26, 1917, Laconia, 8 Americans lost.
March 16, 1917, Vigilancia, 5 Americans lost, (United States.)
March 21, 1917, Healdton, 7 Americans lost, (United States.)
April 1, 1917, Aztec, 28 Americans lost, (United States.)

Some on Aztec probably not American citizens, although she was a regular American ship.

In all, up to declaration of war by us, 226 American citizens, many of them women and children, had lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most instances without the faintest color of international right.

Losses of Other Neutrals

The President's reference to the destruction of "ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations" is supplemented with these facts:

The Norwegian Legation at London has announced that during February and March, 1917, 105 Norwegian vessels of over 228,000 tons have been sunk, and 106 persons thereon killed, and 222 are missing.

On Feb. 22, 1917, seven Dutch vessels which left an English port on promise of "relative security" from the Berlin authorities, were all attacked by German U-boats and six of them were sunk. Germany has admitted that its boats did the deed, and has expressed "regrets" to Holland, although adding blandly "the incident proves how dangerous it is to navigate the prohibited zone, and gives expression to our wish that neutral

navigators remain in their ports." As a result of this policy of terrorism, the ships of Holland have been practically driven off the seas. Many of them have taken refuge in the harbors of the United States.

Spaniards have been exasperated by the destruction of their vessels, the most recent instance being that of a Spanish ship, with a Spanish cargo, sunk in Spanish waters. Swedish oversea commerce is practically ruined by the fear of their owners at the indiscriminate ruthlessness of the submarine.

The United States Government made an official estimate that by April 1, 1917, no less than 668 neutral vessels had been sunk by German submarines since the beginning of the war. This did not include any American vessels. (New York Times History of the War, May, 1917, pp. 241 and 244.)

"The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it." To these words of the President's war message Professor Stearns adds this summary of what other nations have done:

Practically all the civilized neutral countries of the earth have protested at the German policy. Some, like Brazil, China, Bolivia, and Guatemala, have broken diplomatic relations with Germany.

The neutral States of Europe, fearful of being caught in the horrors of the great war, have protested just as far as they have dared. Holland and Denmark may, of course, at any time see a German army over their borders. Norway and Sweden are hardly in a safe position, but they have made their vehement protest at the German outrages. Spain, which had exercised a forbearance similar to that of the United States, has finally, after futile protests, been obliged (May 18, 1917) to send Germany a note in the nature of an ultimatum, demanding reparation for the past and guarantees for the future.

The statement that the motive of the United States in going to war would be "only the vindication of right" is elucidated thus:

Submarines are such exceptional instruments of warfare that it is held by authorities on international law that they ought never to submerge in neutral waters, otherwise it is impossible for a neutral to control them and be responsible for them as with ordinary visiting warships.

Says Professor Theodore S. Woolsey of Yale, a very high authority:

"I think there can be no doubt that the U-boat is to be regarded as a surface cruiser with no additional rights and privileges and with the same duties and liabilities. Hence in neutral waters it should not submerge. Submergence imperils neutrality by making the performance of neutral duties more arduous and the evasion of neutral rights easier." (American Journal of International Law, January, 1917, p. 139.)

Arming Merchant Vessels

Concerning armed neutrality and its present impracticability in defending our right to use the seas without suffering "unlawful violence," this comment is offered:

In 1798, on account of the attacks on our commerce by French cruisers and privateers, Congress empowered President John Adams to arm merchant vessels, to let them defend themselves, and to let our warships attack the offending French vessels.

There were several really serious naval battles, (especially when the U. S. S. Constellation took the French frigate L'Insurgente, 1799,) and international experts are of the opinion that very probably an actual state of war existed. In any case the country was headed straight into war, and preparations were being made to raise a strong army with Washington again as commander, with Alexander Hamilton under him, while an alliance was being discussed with England. Then at the last moment Napoleon, who had just come to power, had the wisdom to offer terms President Adams could accept. The German Imperial Government had no such wisdom or restraint.

"The German Government," said the President, "denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend."

Editor's annotation:

Before the outbreak of the war the following were the standing orders in the German Navy for dealing with even enemy merchant vessels, and if that was the case how much more consideration should be given to neutrals. The new German orders are a brazen contradiction of their own previous precepts. (German Prize Code, p. 75.)

General orders of German Admiralty staff, Berlin, June 22, 1914. (Note date.)

"If an armed merchant vessel of the enemy offers armed resistance, such resistance may be overcome with all means possible. The crew are to be taken prisoners of war. The passengers are to be left to go free unless it appears that they participated in the resistance." (German Prize Code, p. 68, par. 116.)

"Before proceeding to the destruction of the (neutral) vessel (which has been seized for proper reason) the safety of all persons on board, and, so far as possible, their effects, is to be provided for."

Dr. Wehberg, (great German authority on international law, quoted in American Journal of Int. Law, Oct., 1916, p. 871.)

"The enemy merchant ship has the right of defense against enemy attack, and this right it can exercise against 'visit,' (i. e., being stopped and investigated,) for this indeed is the first act of capture. The attacked merchant ship can indeed itself seize the overpowered warship as a prize."

And still again—

In Oxford, 1913, at a meeting of the Institute of International Law, at which the representatives of Germany, as well as of all other great nations, were present, it was decided as a firm principle:

"Private vessels may not commit acts of hostility against the enemy; they may, however, defend themselves against the attack of any enemy vessel." (American Journal of International Law, vol. 10, 1916, p. 868.)

The President's words, "we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated," are supported with these citations:

Right of American citizens to protection in their doings abroad and on the seas no less than at home. Decided by Supreme Court of United States. (Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wall., 36.)

"Every citizen has the right to demand the care and protection of the United States when on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of a foreign Government."

See Cooley's "Principles of Constitutional Law," third edition, page 273, (standard authority.)

Obviously a Government which can not or will not protect its citizens against a policy of lawless murder is unworthy of respect abroad or obedience at home. The protection of the lives of the innocent and law-abiding is clearly the very first duty of a civilized State.

Declaration of War

In regard to the President's advice that Congress pronounce Germany's action to be "nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States," the editors remark:

Wars do not have to be declared in order to exist. The mere commission of warlike or unfriendly acts commences them. Thus the first serious clash in the Mexican war took place April 24, 1846. Congress "recognized" the state of war only on May 11 of that year. Already General Taylor had fought two serious battles at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

Many other like cases could be cited; the most recent was the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia. In 1904 the Japanese attacked the Russian fleet before Port Arthur, and only several days after this battle was war "recognized."

If the acts of Germany were unfriendly, war in the strictest sense existed when the President addressed Congress.

With reference to "the granting of adequate credits":

Bills passed by Congress, with dates on which they were presented to President:

April 5, S. J. Res. 1—Declaration of war.

April 17, H. R. 12—Deficiency Appropriation bill for the year ending June, 1917.

April 23, H. R. 2,762—Bond Issue bill.

April 23, H. R. 2,339—Increasing number of midshipmen at Annapolis.

April 23, H. R. 2,008—Extending minority enlistments in the navy.

April 23, H. R. 2,338—Authorizing additional officers for Hydrographic Office.

April 23, H. R. 2,300—Increasing age limit for officers in Naval Reserve.

April 23, H. R. 1,771—Amending Naval Appropriations act for the year ending June, 1917.

May 5, H. R. 2,893—Permitting foreign Governments to enlist their nationals residing in the United States.

May 10, S. J. Res. 42—Authorizing seizure of interned German ships.

May 11, H. R. 13—Army Appropriation bill for the year ending June, 1918.

May 15, H. R. 2,337—Enrollments of aliens in the Naval Reserve.

May 16, H. R. 3,330—Increasing Navy and Marine Corps to 150,000 men.

May 18, S. 1,871—Conscription bill.

Bills in conference on May 17:

April 16, H. R. 11—Sundry Civil Appropriations for the year ending June, 1918.

April 16, H. R. 10—Military Academy Appropriations for the year ending June, 1918.

May 15, S. 2—Espionage bill.

Bills awaiting action of one house:

S. 383—Passed Senate April 9, punishing the destruction of war material.

H. R. 328—Passed House May 9, car shortage.

H. R. 3,971—Passed House May 2, Special War Appropriation bill.

The President said of the Entente Allies: "They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there." The editors make this comment:

To any one who will reflect upon the subject, it will soon appear to be preposterous folly to suggest that we "go it alone" against Germany, and to fail to give all possible aid to her original enemies. Obviously unless we send munitions, troops, submarine chasers, &c., to France, England, and possibly Russia, since the German high sea fleet does not at present come out, the war for us will mean little more than calling names across the Atlantic—until the European war is ended, and then if Germany has a pound of strength left (and very possibly she might be victorious) she can vent on us all her hate and fury, and exact from us the indemnities

she can not wring from a bankrupt Europe. So obvious is the military necessity of giving every possible help to the present enemies of Germany that those who try to thwart this are almost open to the very grave criminal charge of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.

Regarding the President's reference to his previous utterances:

On Jan. 22 Mr. Wilson spoke in favor of a league to secure peace. On Feb. 3 he announced he had broken diplomatic relations with Germany, but expressed the earnest hope that issues would not proceed to a clash of arms. On Feb. 26 he asked for "armed neutrality," but still avoided an actual state of war.

Menace of Autocracy

The reference to the menace of "autocratic Governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people," calls forth the following:

Contrast these two standards: Bethmann Hollweg addressing the Reichstag, Aug. 4, 1914:

"We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied (neutral) Luxemburg and perhaps already have entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we hereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained.

"He who is menaced as we are, and is fighting for his highest possession, can only consider how he is to hack his way through."

Or Frederick the Great again, the arch prophet of Prussianism, speaking in 1740 and giving the keynote to all his successors: "The question of right is an affair of Ministers. * * * It is time to consider it in secret, for the orders to my troops have been given," and still again: "Take what you can; you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back." ("Perkins, France Under Louis XV.," vol. 1, pp. 169-170.)

Against this set the words of the first President of the young American Republic, speaking at a time when the nation was so weak that surely any kind of shifts could have been justified on the score of necessity.

Said George Washington in his first inaugural address, (1789:) "The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality. There exists in the course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between honest policy and public felicity" [and] "the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a union [or government] that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained."

The present war is for a large part being waged to settle whether the American or the Prussian standard of morality is valid.

The phrase applying the same standards of conduct to Governments as to individuals calls forth a brief statement of the nature of the evil in Germany:

The autocratic spirit of the German Emperor is clearly revealed in his own utterances, (cf. p. 11.) The Imperial Government is in form a Government by the Emperor and the Imperial Diet. The dominant factor in the latter is the Federal Council, (Bundesrat,) appointed by the Kings and Princes. Here, as King of Prussia, William II. can make or break any policy. Prussia is the controlling factor, political, economic, and military, in modern Germany. In area it constitutes two-thirds of Germany, and five-eighths of its population and two-thirds of the members of the lower house of the German Congress are Prussians. Within Prussia there is little limit on the power of William II. In a Constitution which his great uncle "decreed" in 1850 the rights of the King and of the Junkers (the feudal military nobles east of the Elbe) are carefully guarded.

The Constitution of Prussia has remained practically unchanged and the electoral districts and three-class voting system of nearly seventy years ago still exist. Liberal industrial and socialistic elements in the great modern cities and manufacturing areas are without adequate representation in the Prussian Diet, and the old country districts are practically "rotten boroughs," where the peasant who votes by voice, not written ballot, is at the mercy of his feudal noble landlord. It is the latter who back the throne and its autocratic power so long as the policy suits their narrow provincial militaristic views formed in the days of Frederick the Great and his despotic father and revived and glorified by Bismarck.

Attitude of German People

It was not upon the impulse of the German people that the Kaiser's Government acted in precipitating the war. The editors of the war message cite the following evidence:

When the crisis was precipitated late in July, 1914, there was a strong peace party in Germany, and earnest protests were made against letting Austrian aggression against Serbia start a world conflagration. In Berlin on July 29, twenty-eight mass meetings were held to denounce the proposed war, and one of them is said to have been attended by 70,000 men. The Vorwärts (the great organ of the Socialists) declared on that day, "the indications proved beyond a doubt that the camarilla of war lords is working with absolutely unscrupulous means to carry out their fearful designs to precipitate an international war and to start a worldwide fire to devastate

Europe." On the 31st this same paper asserted that the policy of the German Government was "utterly without conscience." Then came the declaration of "war emergency," (Kriegsgefahr,) mobilization, martial law, and any expression of public opinion was stilled in Germany.

The German people had not the slightest share in shaping the events which led up to the declaration of war. The German Emperor is clothed by the imperial Constitution with practically autocratic power in all matters of foreign policy. The Reichstag has not even a consultative voice in such matters. The German Constitution (Art. 11) gives to the Emperor specific power to "declare war, conclude peace, and enter into alliances." The provision that only defensive wars may be declared by the Emperor alone puts the power in his hands to declare this and any other war without consulting any but the military group, for no power in modern times has ever admitted that it waged aggressive warfare. William II. declared this war without taking his people into the slightest confidence until the final deed was done.

The whole tendency of responsible German statesmen has been to ignore the people in foreign affairs. The retired Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, defended this policy bluntly on the ground that the Germans were not capable of self-government, saying, "We are not a political people."

As for William II., speeches without number can be cited to show his sense of his own autocratic authority—e. g., speaking at Königsberg, in 1910—"Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord, regardless of the views and the opinions of the hour, I go on my way." And another time: "There is but one master in this country; it is I, and I will bear no other." He has also been very fond of transforming an old Latin adage, making it read, "The will of the King is the highest law."

Other Wars of Aggression

"It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days," continued the President, "when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools." The editors add:

President Wilson probably had in mind such wars as those of Louis XIV., waged by that King almost solely for his own glory and interest and with extremely little heed to the small benefit and great suffering they brought to France. The War of the Spanish Succession (begun in 1701) was particularly such a war. History, of course, contains a great many others begun from no worthier motive, including several conducted by Prussia and earlier by Philip II. of Spain.

There is abundant evidence that the situation in Europe in July, 1914, was regarded by the German "jingo" party—von Tirpitz, Bernhardi, et al.—as peculiarly favorable. Russia was busy re-arming her army, and her railway system had not yet been properly developed for strategic purposes. France was vexed with labor troubles, a murder trial was heaping scandal upon one of her most famous statesmen, and her army was reported by her own statemen as sadly unready. England seemed on the point of being plunged into a civil war by the revolt of a large fraction of Ireland.

Such a convenient crippling of all the three great rivals of Germany might never come again. The murder of the Archduke of Austria at Serajevo came, therefore, as a most convenient occasion for a stroke which would either result in great increase of Teutonic prestige or enable Germany to fight with every possible advantage.

There is official Italian evidence that Serbia would have been attacked by the Teutonic powers in August, 1913, if Italy had consented to help the scheme. Her refusal made the Austro-German war lords wait until July, 1914, when they felt the situation favorable enough to be able to strike without waiting for the aid of Italy. (Signor Giolitti, in Italian Parliament, Dec. 5, 1914.)

Ems Incident Recalled

In confirmation of the statement that "a steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations," the method used by Germany to provoke the war of 1870 is cited:

The willingness of Prussian rulers to precipitate war and to throw aside ordinary considerations for peace is best illustrated, of course, by the famous "Ems incident" of 1870.

At that time Bismarck had decided that the quickest way to promote German unity and serve his political schemes was to precipitate a war with France. The inflamed state of public opinion in France against Prussia made the task easy for him. On July 13, 1870, he received a telegram from King William I., telling of an interview he had had with the French Ambassador about a very ticklish matter, and leaving it to Bismarck to decide what facts it was wise to give to the press.

Bismarck, after consulting von Moltke as to the state of the army, deliberately cut down and sharpened the wording of the telegram, very moderately phrased, from the King so as to make it appear that a deliberate insult had been offered the French Ambassador, and then gave out this text of the dispatch for publication. This so enraged Paris public opinion, that war was immediately declared.

Bismarck took great pride in this stroke, and the facts are related in all the standard German histories, as well as many others which copy them.

Bismarck always regarded the manner in which he precipitated this war as a masterpiece of statecraft. It remained a kind of glorious example of true public policy for the next generation of public men in Germany. (See the account by Bismarck himself in his memoirs translated as Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman.)

Germany at The Hague

"Only free people can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own."

The great humanitarian aims of The Hague peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 were the limitation of armaments and the compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Unanimity among the world powers was essential to the success of both. None dared disarm unless all would do so. The great democracies, Great Britain, France, and the United States, favored both propositions, but Germany, leading the opposition, prevented their adoption. She agreed with reluctance to a convention for optional arbitration, but refused at the second conference even to discuss disarmament. (See Scott, James Brown, "The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907," I., index, "Armaments" and "Arbitration.")

The President's statement that the Russian autocracy, now fallen, was not Russian in origin, character, or purpose, is confirmed with these facts:

The whole autocratic régime has been imposed on a people whose instincts and institutions are fundamentally democratic. The deposed Romanoff dynasty began in an election among the nobles. Peter the Great and the more despotic of his successors created largely by imitation and adaptation of German bureaucracy the machinery with which they ruled. Underneath this un-Russian machinery of despotism Russian communal and local life has preserved itself with wonderful vitality.

During the Russian revolution of 1905-1906 it was perfectly evident that the German Government was doing its uttermost to help the Czar and the old régime. The passage of revolutionary exiles into Germany was constantly hindered; many were arrested by the Prussian police, and all who succeeded in entering Germany were kept under constant espionage.

The Czar and the Kaiser were hand in glove to a large extent before the war broke out. The German White Paper, which was published at the outbreak of the war, containing telegrams which passed personally between Nicholas II. and Wilhelm II., gives repeated appeals from one to the other as representatives of a common interest.

Intrigues in United States

The reference to the Prussian autocracy's spies and intrigues in the United States is thus elaborated:

Besides undoubtedly many matters which from reasons of public policy the Government has still kept hidden, the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs when it presented the war resolution following the President's message, went on formal record as listing at least twenty-one crimes or unfriendly acts committed upon our soil with the connivance of the German Government since the European war began. Among these were:

Inciting Hindus within the United States to stir up revolts in India, and supplying them with funds for that end, contrary to our neutrality laws.

Running a fraudulent passport office for German reservists. This was supervised by Captain von Papen of the German Embassy.

Sending German agents to England to act as spies, equipped with American passports.

Outfitting steamers to supply German raiders, and sending them out of American ports in defiance of our laws.

Sending an agent from the United States to try to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me.

Furnishing funds to agents to blow up factories in Canada.

Five different conspiracies, some partly successful, to manufacture and place bombs on ships leaving United States ports. For these crimes a number of persons have been convicted, also Consul General Bopp of San Francisco (a very high German official accredited to the United States Government) has been convicted of plotting to cause bridges and tunnels to be destroyed in Canada.

Financing newspapers in this country to conduct a propaganda serviceable to the ends of the German Government.

Stirring up anti-American sentiment in Mexico and disorders generally in that country, to make it impossible for the United States to mix in European affairs.

[N. B.—This last; from a humanitarian standpoint, seems peculiarly outrageous. Germany had not the slightest grievance against the helpless Mexicans. To incite them to revolt against their own Government and to make war on the United States simply involved their misery and probable destruction, in return for a very doubtful and roundabout gain for Germany. The greatest wrong was not to the United States but to Mexico.]

German military usage has been quite in this spirit, however, and approves of such doings. (See German War Code, standard translation, p. 85.)

"Bribery of enemies' subjects, acceptance of offers of treachery, utilization of discon-

tented elements in the population, support of pretenders, and the like, are permissible; indeed, international law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of crimes of third parties."

This, of course, is an outrageous travesty of international law. As Holland ("Laws of War on Land," p. 61) said, speaking of such acts, The Hague Conference "declined to add to the authority of a practice so repulsive" by legislating upon the subject. What would the German people say of America, if our Government hired assassions to murder Kaiser Wilhelm or von Hindenburg?

The Zimmermann Note

The German Government's intrigues, including the attempt to embroil us with Mexico, "have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience." The facts underlying this statement are cited as follows:

A Prussianized Germany, triumphant in Europe and dominant on the seas, would find its occasion to strike down America in its isolation and make of us the overseas tributary of a new Roman Empire. There can be no question that the future of democracy and of independent national life is hanging in the balance in this struggle.

The famous "Zimmermann note," exposed by our Government March 1, is a document that should stick in the memories of all Americans. Remember, it was composed on Jan. 19, 1917, at a time when Germany and America were officially very good friends, and the date was just three days before Mr. Wilson appeared in the Senate with his scheme for a league to assure peace and justice to the world.

Zimmermann admitted the authenticity of the note, and only deplored that it had been discovered. The significant parts were these:

"Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

"On Feb. 1 we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to keep neutral the United States of America.

"If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement."

The rest of the dispatch tells the German Minister in Mexico to open secret negotiations with Carranza the moment war with us is certain, and to get Carranza to draw in Japan.

Germany has attempted to apologize for this note by saying that they did not intend to do anything unless we first declared war. It is a complete retort that decent nations do not go around preparing schemes for the dismemberment of other nations with which they are at peace, and that Zimmermann's whole proposal sprang out of an evil conscience, because he realized that the submarine policy projected was so vile that the United States could not submit to it without utter loss of self-respect, and he did us the justice of believing we were not such extreme cravens as to refuse to fight.

The whole dispatch was so gross a revelation of international immorality that German-American papers immediately denounced it as a forgery, only to have its genuineness brazenly acknowledged and defended by Berlin.

In the presence of such an organized power "there can be no security for the democratic Governments of the world. * * * The world must be made safe for democracy." Comment:

It is worthy of note that although nearly all the nations opposed to Germany concluded the so-called "cooling off" arbitration treaties with the United States, negotiated by Mr. Bryan, Germany, although indulging in certain meaningless talk about "approving the principle" of arbitration, &c., declined to join in the compacts.

There was no arbitration treaty that could be invoked when trouble arose with Germany.

On March 30, 1911, the German Imperial Chancellor had stated openly in the Reichstag that no general arbitration treaty would be useful for Germany, since it afforded no guarantee for a permanent peace. If conditions changed, from the time it was made, he said, then, "every arbitration treaty will burn like tinder and end in smoke." (Quoted in Bernhardi, "Germany and the Next War," p. 33.)

Germany and Fair Play

"We shall, I feel confident," said the President, "conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for." The editors add:

"Fair play" has small part in the Prussian military usage, however. (See German War Code, Introduction, par. 3; authorized translation, p. 52.)

"A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State, and the positions which they occupy, but will in like manner seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter. Humanitarian claims, such as the protection of men and their goods, can only be taken into consideration in so far as the nature and object of the war permits."

See also Clausewitz, (the Prussian military authority and oft-quoted oracle.) Treatise "On War" (Vom Kriege,) V.: Kap. 14, (3.)

Speaking of the desirability of crushing down a hostile country by requisitions, &c., he commends it because of "the fear of responsibility, punishment, and ill-treatment, which in such cases presses like a general weight on the whole population." This recourse (of requisitions) has "no limits except those of the exhaustion, impoverishment, and devastation of the country."

By this Prussian gospel, not merely is war inevitably "hell," but it is to be made deliberately the lowest stratum of hell, and the means of rendering it such are to be worked out with scientific precision.

Concerning Austria-Hungary's attitude on the submarine issue:

Austria had a serious clash with the United States in the Ancona case late in 1915, when Americans perished, thanks to the ruthless action of an Austrian submarine. In reply to American protests Austria promised to order her commanders to behave with humanity, and (compared, at least, to her German allies) she kept her word with reasonable exactness.

On April 8, however, Austria, probably acting under German pressure, broke off diplomatic relations with the United States without waiting for action by our Government, and the same was done a little later by Germany's other obedient vassal, the Sultan of Turkey.

The President's avowal of our sincere friendship for the German people, as distinguished from their Government, receives this annotation:

There are now two Germanies—the old noble idealistic Germany; the new hard, materialistic nation, created by Prussia. Americans would fain love and recall the former.

Here is what two of their own writers said, men of leadership and insight, speaking very shortly before the war:

Professor Rein of Jena: "A one-sidedness which only esteems material values and an increasing control over nature is destructive in its influence, and this one-sidedness set in during the nineteenth century in Germany. We Germans have ceased to be the nation of thinkers, poets, and dreamers, we aim now only at the domination and exploitation of nature."

And again Professor Paulsen of Berlin: "Two souls dwell in the German Nation. The German Nation has been called the nation of poets and thinkers, and it may be proud of the name. Today it may again be called the nation of masterful combatants, as which it originally appeared in history."

Proofs of President's Patience

"We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months, because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible." The facts back of this passage are thus arrayed:

No one can accuse Mr. Wilson of the least precipitancy in bringing matters to an issue. Of course, on the contrary, his persistent attempts to bring the German Government to recognize the claims of reason and humanity have caused him to be bitterly criticised. Despite this criticism he has patiently and steadily held to the policy announced a year ago, "to wait until facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation." (Sussex note, April 18, 1916.)

Here is a partial list of the stages in the U-boat campaign:

1. Dec. 24, 1914. Admiral von Tirpitz throws out hints in a newspaper interview of a wholesale torpedoing policy. He directly asks, "What will America say?" This was considerably before the so-called English blockade was causing Germany any serious food problem.

2. Feb. 4, 1915. German Government proclaims a war zone within which any ship may be sunk unwarned.

3. Feb. 10, 1915. Mr. Wilson tells German Government it will be held to "strict accountability" if any American rights were violated in this way.

4. April 22, 1916. German Embassy publishes in New York papers warning against taking passage on ships which our Government had told their people they had a perfect right to take.

5. May 7, 1915. Sinking of Lusitania.

6. May 13, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "first Lusitania" note.

7. May 28, 1915. Germany's reply defending the sinking of the Lusitania.

8. June 9, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "second Lusitania" note.

9. July 21, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "third Lusitania" note, (following more unsatisfactory German rejoinders.)

10. Aug. 19, 1915. Sinking of the Arabic, whereupon von Bernstorff gave an oral pledge for his Government that hereafter German submarines would not sink "liners" without warning.

11. February, 1916. (After still more debatable sinkings,) Germany makes proposals looking toward "assuming liability" for the Lusitania victims, but the whole case is soon complicated again by the "armed ship" issue.

12. March 24, 1916. Sinking of the Sussex, passenger vessel with Americans on board.

13. April 10, 1916. Germany cynically tells United States she cannot be sure whether she sunk the Sussex or not, although admitting one of her submarines was active close to the place of disaster.

14. April 18, 1916. President Wilson threatens Germany with breach of diplomatic rela-

tions if Sussex and similar incidents are repeated.

15. May 4, 1916. Germany grudgingly makes the promise that ships will not be sunk without warning.

16. Oct. 8, 1916. German submarine appears off American coast and sinks British passenger steamer Stephano with many American passengers (vacationists returning from Newfoundland) on board. Loss of life almost certain had not American men-of-war been on hand to pick up the refugees.

[From this time until final break several other vessels sunk under circumstances which made it at least doubtful whether Germany was living up to her pledges.]

17. Jan. 31, 1917. Germany tears up her promises and notifies Mr. Wilson she will begin "unrestricted submarine war."

18. Feb. 3, 1917. Mr. Wilson gives Count von Bernstorff his passports and recalls Ambassador Gerard from Berlin.

In all modern history it may be doubted if there is another chapter displaying such prolonged patience, forbearance, and conciliatoriness as that shown by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing in the face of a long course of deliberate evasion and prevarication to them personally, as well as outrage after outrage upon the property, and, still more, upon the lives of very many American citizens.

Germans in America

"We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test."

On April 6, 1917, President Wilson issued a proclamation in which he asserted that "alien enemies" who preserved the peace, kept the laws, and gave no aid to the enemies of the United States "shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations, and shall be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, and toward such [persons] all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States."

In May the Attorney General issued a statement congratulating the country on the friendly relations between Americans and German residents, the absence of disorders, and the necessity of interning only a very small number of persons, (about 125,) an insignificant fraction of the whole number of German citizens in this country.

At almost the same time the cables carried dispatches that the German police had ordered strict measures of oversight and restraint for the few Americans remaining in Germany, although all such persons were probably people whose ties with Germany made them almost more at home there than in their nominal country.

"If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression":

The treason statutes of the United States have seldom been invoked, but they exist and possess teeth.

It is treason to "levy war against the United States, adhere to their enemies, or give them aid or comfort." (Ch. 1, sec. 1, Rev. Stat.) The penalty is death, or imprisonment for at least five years, and a fine of at least $10,000.

It is "misprision of treason" to know of any treasonable plots or doings and fail to report the same to the authorities. The penalty is seven years' imprisonment. The penalty for inciting a rebellion or insurrection is ten years, and the crime of entering into any correspondence with a foreign Government to influence it in any dispute with the United States, or to defeat any measures taken by our Government, calls for three years' imprisonment. (Ch. 1, sec. 5.) There is also a penalty of six years' imprisonment for any seditious conspiracy to oppose the authority of the United States.

All these laws President Wilson has, by recent proclamation, (April 6, 1917,) reminded the people are in full force.

"Giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States" has been defined in the courts (30 Federal Cases, No. 18272,) as:

"In general, any act clearly indicating a want of loyalty to the Government and sympathy with its enemies, and which by fair construction is directly in furtherance of their hostile designs." Such deeds are, of course, liable to all the penalty of treason.

In extreme cases, also, of "rebellion and invasion" the Constitution specifically gives the Government power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, (Constitution, Art. I., sec. 9, par. 2;) in other words, to arrest and imprison on mere suspicion without trial, and this was actually done in the civil war.

In support of the President's statement that "the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts," the editors cite the following contrast:

Abraham Lincoln, (second inaugural address, 1865:)

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up another's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and

lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Friedrich von Bernhardi, (German Lieutenant General, and acceptable mouthpiece, not of the whole German Nation, but of the Prussian military caste which holds the German Nation in its grip:)

"Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war," (p. 23.)

["It is outrageous to presume that] a weak nation is to have the same right to live as a powerful and vigorous nation," (p. 34.)

"Which of these two national viewpoints," the editors ask, "is to be allowed to dominate the world?"

A Cry From the Canadian Hills

By LILIAN LEVERIDGE

The author of these heart-searching lines, a Canadian, wrote them for The Daily Ontario as a tribute to her brother, Private Frank Leveridge, a member of the Thirty-ninth Canadian Battalion, who died of wounds in France.

Laddie, little laddie, come with me over the hills,
Where blossom the white May lilies, and the dogwood and daffodils;
For the Spirit of Spring is calling to our spirits that love to roam
Over the hills of home, laddie, over the hills of home.

Laddie, little laddie, here's hazel and meadow rue,
And wreaths of the rare arbutus, a-blowing for me and you;
And cherry and bilberry blossoms, and hawthorn as white as foam,
We'll carry them all to Mother, laddie, over the hills at home.

Laddie, little laddie, the winds have many a song
And blithely and bold they whistle to us as we trip along;
But your own little song is sweeter, your own with its merry trills;
So, whistle a tune as you go, laddie, over the windy hills.

Laddie, little laddie, 'tis time that the cows were home,
Can you hear the klingle-klangle of their bell in the greenwood gloam?
Old Rover is waiting, eager to follow the trail with you,
Whistle a tune as you go, laddie, whistle a tune as you go.

Laddie, little laddie, there's a flash of a bluebird's wing,
O hush! If we wait and listen we may hear him caroling.
The vesper song of the thrushes, and the plaint of the whip-poor-wills,
Sweet, how sweet is the music, laddie, over the twilit hills.

Brother, little brother, your childhood is passing by,
And the dawn of a noble purpose I see in your thoughtful eye.
You have many a mile to travel and many a task to do;
Whistle a tune as you go, laddie, whistle a tune as you go.

Laddie, soldier laddie, a call comes over the sea,
A call to the best and bravest in the land of liberty,
To shatter the despot's power, to lift up the weak that fall.
Whistle a song as you go, laddie, to answer your country's call.

Brother, soldier brother, the Spring has come back again,
But her voice from the windy hilltops is calling your name in vain;
For never shall we together 'mid the birds and the blossoms roam,
Over the hills of home, brother, over the hills of home.

Laddie! Laddie! Laddie! "Somewhere in France" you sleep,
Somewhere 'neath alien flowers and alien winds that weep.
Bravely you marched to battle, nobly your life laid down,
You unto death were faithful, laddie; yours is the victor's crown.

Laddie! Laddie! Laddie! How dim is the sunshine grown,
As Mother and I together speak softly in tender tone!
And the lips that quiver and falter have ever a single theme,
As we list for your dear, lost whistle, laddie, over the hills of dream.

Laddie, beloved laddie! How soon should we cease to weep
Could we glance through the golden gateway whose keys the angels keep!
Yet love, our love that is deathless, can follow you where you roam,
Over the hills of God, laddie, the beautiful hills of Home.

The New Phase of Air Raids On England

BETWEEN May 23 and June 16, 1917, there were five aerial attacks on England in nearly all of which the Germans used airplanes instead of Zeppelins. Two of the raids were particularly serious in the number of civilian lives lost. The first of the series took place on May 23, when four or five German aircraft flew over the eastern counties of England and dropped bombs, killing one man. The second attack, on May 25, resulted in the killing of 76 persons and the injuring of 174; practically all the casualties occurred at Folkstone, on the southeast coast. The principal victims were women and children who had been standing in a long line in the town's busiest street waiting to buy potatoes.

It was 6:30 P. M. when a peculiar humming noise in the sky warned the people of the approach of danger. The German airplanes, numbering about sixteen, were not more than three minutes over the town before they passed away in the direction of the sea. Most of the bombs were dropped on Folkestone. Of the killed twenty-seven were women and twenty-three children; and of the injured forty-three women and nineteen children.

Airplanes of the Royal Flying Corps immediately went in pursuit and the German aircraft were also engaged by the Royal Naval Air Service from Dunkirk on their return journey. The Admiralty reported that three of the enemy airplanes were shot down in mid-Channel.

The attack was methodically organized. The first squadron of five airplanes was followed after short intervals by a second squadron and then a third and fourth, each of which repeated the tactics of the first. Scarcely any part of Folkestone escaped injury. At least sixty bombs were dropped, falling in a shower all over the town. The worst damage done was from a group of bombs which struck the business thoroughfare thronged with people. At one spot here sixteen women, eight men, and nine children were killed, and forty-two persons were injured. The intervals of comparative quiet after the departure of each squadron of raiders were only broken by the sound of distant firing of naval guns out at sea and were even more harrowing to the populace than were the brief periods when the bombs were actually bursting in the town.

After each visit the people in shelters or cellars asked each other whether this was the last. Hours after the last raider had gone many people kept to their shelters in the belief that more raiders were coming. There was much employment for voluntary relief workers. The hospitals were crowded not only with injured, but with women and children suffering from shock, while the police and constables had their hands full patrolling the devastated districts and attending to the work of rescue, identification, and the hundreds of odds and ends which such a crisis brings to an unprepared town.

Reports from the surrounding district indicated that there were some bombing of neighboring villages, even at some distance, inland. The bombs were dropped, for the most part, as the German airplanes were making a wide circle to approach from the land side.

The third of this series of air raids took place on the evening of June 5, when sixteen German airplanes came over the North Sea and dropped many bombs on the small towns and villages in Essex and Kent. Only fourteen of them returned to their home base, for two were brought down by British guns. Only two persons were killed and twenty-nine injured in the bombarded districts. The raiders met with a lively reception, extra precautions having been taken by the British authorities after the previous raid. The Germans were attacked by British aviators before they had an opportunity to carry out their raiding

intentions to any great extent, and the British anti-aircraft guns were very effective. The official statement said that the raiders also attacked the naval establishments in the Medway. A considerable number of bombs were dropped and a certain amount of damage was done to house property, but the damage done to naval and military establishments was practically negligible.

The worst raid of all was that made upon London on June 13 in the broad daylight of noon. A squadron of German airplanes bombed the East End and the business sections of the city, killing 97 persons and injuring 437. Many of the victims were women and children, 120 of the latter being either killed or injured. The large number of casualties was due to the fact that the eating places in the East End were crowded at the hour of the raid, schools were still in session, and large numbers of people were on the streets. Of the victims, an official announcement stated 55 men, 16 women, and 26 children were killed, while the injured comprised 223 men, 122 women, and 94 children. No damage of a military or naval nature was done. Only one of the attacking airplanes was brought down.

A supplementary official report stated: "The first bombs were dropped on the eastern outskirts of London at about 11:30 A. M. Numerous bombs fell in rapid succession in various districts in the East End. One bomb fell in a railway station, hitting an incoming train. Seven persons were killed and 17 injured here. Another bomb fell on a school, killing 10 and injuring about 50 children. A number of warehouses were damaged and fires were caused. A few bombs also were dropped near North Foreland and opposite the banks of the Thames, four persons being injured. The air raid over London lasted about fifteen minutes. The raiders were engaged by guns of the East London defenses and a large number of airplanes of the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Air Service were sent up as soon as the enemy was reported off the coast. Several engagements took place in the air."

The most tragic episode of the attack was the bombing of a London County Council School, of which the following graphic description was given by a soldier who went to assist the teachers:

"I found the class mistress, who had got the uninjured children into a passage where, if there came another bomb, they would be less likely to be hurt. She was all alone until I came. Then we both set to get out the uninjured. She brought down two or three from the upper room first, then we went into the classroom where the bomb had sunk into the earth when it exploded. The sight was a terrible one, and but for the excitement it would have been unbearable. Many of the little ones were lying across their desks, apparently dead, and with terrible wounds on heads and limbs, and scores of others were writhing with pain and moaning piteously in their terror and suffering.

"Many bodies were mutilated, but our first thought was to get at the injured and have them cared for. We took them gently in our arms and laid them out against a wall under a shed. I didn't count them, but I should think there were twenty or thirty. I was just wondering what we should do next when some more people came to help, including soldiers, naval cadets, police, and special constables. We were frantic for ambulances and it was impossible to carry them to the hospital, which was half a mile away. Just then two lorries drew up and the driver suggested that he should help. We packed the poor little souls on the lorries as gently as we could and he drove as if he was afraid of something giving away and so at last we got them to the hospital.

"While they were gone I put a sentry on the door, and I can tell you it was a tough job. The women were not in the slightest degree panicky, but they were selfish in their love at first and in their earnestness to get at their own babies endangered by others who were lying on the floor. Some mothers were almost insane with grief, and when they couldn't find their own children would rush through the bodies looking for them, and when you remember that there was a hole in the roof four feet deep and covering the whole area of the classroom it

will be understood what that meant. The worst part of our task was the last—that of picking up the mutilated fragments of humanity."

Two Zeppelins made an attack on the east coast of England in the night of June 16. The official report said that one of the airships crossed the Kentish coast at 2 A. M. and dropped bombs on a coast town, killing two persons, injuring sixteen, and wrecking a large number of houses. The second airship attacked a coast town of East Anglia, but did no damage before it was engaged by the Royal Flying Corps, brought down in flames, and destroyed.

Thousands of people witnessed the end of this Zeppelin. The attack by anti-aircraft guns on the dirigible lasted fully half an hour, and people ran from their houses half dressed to watch the fight. When the black object, drifting across the sky from the southeast to the northwest, was seen to burst into flames the spectators cheered tumultuously. It had been first winged by a land gun, and was then finished by an airplane, which the Zeppelin fought to the last with her guns. The dirigible dropped in a field of corn, far from any habitation, and was entirely destroyed. All of the crew were killed and their bodies badly charred. Some of the men appeared to have jumped from the airship.

1,430 Airplanes Shot Down in Two Months

THE intensity of the aerial warfare on the western front is indicated by the figures showing the number of airplanes lost in April and May. A compilation from the British, French, and German official reports shows that 717 airplanes were shot down during April, the Germans losing 369, the French and Belgians 201, and the British 147. During May 713 airplanes were shot down on the western front. The Germans lost 442 and the British and French 271, of which 86 were admitted to have been British and the remainder, by inference, French. Thus, in two months, 1,430 airplanes were destroyed.

How the British and French have gained the supremacy of the air was described by Major L. W. B. Rees of the British Flying Corps, during a visit to Washington. While the Allies' operations are conducted almost entirely beyond the German lines, the Major said, the German machines now cross over the allied lines only rarely in raiding parties. The British fly on three levels with three kinds of machines. The lowest are the artillery directors, who circle about in big figure eights about 6,000 feet above the enemy trenches and flash back directions to the British gunners by wireless. Above them, at 10,000 feet, are the heavy fighters with two men to a machine and able to keep the air for four hours at a speed of 110 miles per hour. At a height of 15,000 feet are the single-man light fighters, capable of 130 miles an hour and of ascending the first 10,000 feet in ten minutes.

The Germans have given up all attempts to guide their artillery by airplane and seek only to smash up the allied reconnoissance over their lines. Their machines are largely of one class, therefore, fast, heavy fighters, generally biplanes, which are continually seeking to swoop down on the British artillery observers and send them to the ground before the British fighting patrols can reach them. Recently, however, the Germans have developed another light fighting machine, which by climbing to 20,000 feet seeks to overtop the British light fighters and clear them out.

British losses have been running recently as high as thirty to forty machines a day, because of the extraordinary chances taken over the enemy's lines. As a rule they go out in squadrons of six, divided into three pairs and prepared to swoop down in unison on any German machine that may come up.

Major Rees gave it as his opinion that the British had defeated the Germans in every way in the air and deprived them of invaluable reconnoissance power. The

AMERICA'S CALL TO ARMS

One of the Most Striking Posters Used in Recruiting the United States Army Up to War Strength

(Poster by Frances Adams Halsted and V. Aderente)

THE NAVY'S APPEAL FOR MEN

A Poster Used by the Navy Recruiting Department to Obtain the Increased Personnel Required for the War Fleet

(Poster by James Montgomery Flagg)

Zeppelin is now practically useless as a military weapon. Germany's whole artillery observation is conducted by means of captive balloons. A short time ago the British and French made a combined attack at 4 P. M. and knocked down every captive balloon from the North Sea to Switzerland. Not for three days did another balloon appear in sight.

Pilots can be trained in about three months, according to Major Rees, and should be from 19 to 25 years old, weighing not much over 160 pounds. The supreme consideration he gave as intelligence and reliability, as the task intrusted to the airmen is of vital importance. Many American machines are in use in England for training purposes, but none on the fighting line.

The most brilliant of British military aviators has been officially reported killed. He was Captain Albert Ball, D. S. O., who was reported missing early in May and is now known to be buried at a place named Annoeullin. Captain Ball had brought down over forty enemy machines. He was only 21 years of age, was absolutely fearless, but never a reckless flier. General Trenchard of the Royal Flying Corps described him as the most daring, skillful, and successful pilot the Royal Flying Corps ever had.

The Death of Prince Karl Friedrich

When Prince Karl Friedrich, the Kaiser's nephew and royal airman, was brought down on the French front and held prisoner until he died of his wounds, he was visited every day by the Rev. M. Caldwell, a British Baptist minister, who is serving as official Chaplain to the German prisoners in France. The young Prince talked freely to him, describing his capture in these terms:

"I was doing important work for my commander when I was attacked by British aeronauts. I kept on my course at first, but soon found I had to defend myself against their determined onslaught. The contest was keen and exciting. I was hit on my foot, and the pain was intense, but that was not my undoing. My machine was hit in a vital part, and, although I did my utmost to get back to my lines, I was compelled to descend in full view of the Australians. I saw the predicament I would be in when I landed, so decided to burn my machine and run for it. The Australians were too clever for me, and gave me a warm time when I took to my heels. I had a sporting chance, and took it, but I was not a winner. I felt a twitching sensation in my back, and fell forward, done for. The Australians, whose prisoner I became, treated me with the greatest kindness. They are sportsmen, and great men. I have a wonderful admiration for them. If I am anything, I am a sport. I have played tennis with Wilding and other first-class players. I shall never forget the jolly time I had in England when I played them all."

The dying man added: "God is with me. When I was christened the pastor read out a text from the Bible, which he repeated at my confirmation, and gave me as my lifelong message from God. I fear I did not value it enough before I was wounded, but since then it has been a source of consolation to me. It keeps returning to my thoughts. It is, 'If God be with us, who can be against us?' What greater evidence could I have of its truth than the kindness which has been shown me? Now you come daily to speak of God and pray for me. I am grateful to you and all who wish me well. I lie here a helpless prisoner, but I have no regrets. I did my best for my country, and I am not sorry I am finished with the war. I want to live. I am young, and when the war is over, I shall go back and help to build up my nation again."

A Great Fight in the Air

Described by a British War Correspondent at the Front

THIS is the story of how five British airplanes fought twenty-seven Germans and beat them, sending eight to earth crashing, crippled or in flames. It was on Saturday, May 5, 1917, a day of great heat, when there was a haze so thick that you could hardly see the ground from a height of 2,000 feet. Our men had started fairly late in the afternoon, and at 5 o'clock were well over in enemy country, when, with the sun at their backs, they saw two enemy machines ahead. They tried to close with the enemy, who made some show of giving fight. It was only a show, however, for as our leading machine drew near the Germans turned and made with all speed for home.

The tactics suggested that the two enemy machines were only decoys, intended to lure our little flotilla as far as possible from its base—and the suspicion was soon confirmed. Even as we started to chase the two flying enemies, out of the haze and void on all sides new fleets came closing in.

The new arrivals flew in three formations, two of which contained eight machines, and the third contained nine, making twenty-five German airplanes, all of a uniform fighting type, to whom the other two, which now ceased to run away, joined themselves, making twenty-seven enemy machines in all.

One of the enemy fleets, taking advantage of the thick air, had passed behind our little squadron and came at it, as from the direction of our own lines, straight between it and the sun—an awkward direction from which to have an enemy flying at you in the late afternoon, when the sun is getting fairly low. The other two fleets came from the southeast and northeast. As they approached they spread out so that our men were ringed around with enemies on every side.

The fight began at about 11,000 feet; but in the course of the things that followed it ranged anywhere from 3,000 to 12,000, up and down the ladders of heaven. And an extraordinary fact is that, all the while that it went on, the German anti-aircraft guns below kept at work. Usually, as soon as airplanes engage overhead, the "Archies" are silent for fear of hitting the wrong man; and whether the German gunners were drunk with excitement at what was going on above them, or whether it was that our machines formed so isolated and compact a mass in the heart of the great maelstrom that it seemed still possible to shoot at them in safety, is not known. At all events, the tumult in the skies was increased by the constant pumping into the tangled mass of shells from the ground.

The actual fighting lasted for a full hour, from 5 to 6 o'clock, an extraordinary time for such a thing, and during all that hour our men fought tooth and nail. And the fight had lasted but a few minutes when we drew first blood, and an enemy machine which Captain A. had attacked went down in flames, with the wings of one side shot away. Then it was Lieutenant B.'s turn. He caught his adversary at close range fairly, and the German airplane went down, turning over and over as it fell straight down 11,000 feet, leaving a trail of smoke behind. Lieutenant C. scored next, his enemy's machine spinning plumb down to where, somewhere below the haze, it must have crashed.

Then, for a moment, it seemed that our luck was turning. Lieutenant B.'s engine gave out and he was "compelled to leave the formation." It is a simple phrase, but what it means is that, helpless and with engine still, the airplane dropped out of the fight from 11,000 feet down to 3,000 feet. It was a dizzying drop, and as he fell, an enemy, seeing him defenseless and scenting easy prey, went after him.

But other eyes were watching. Lieutenant C. saw his crippled comrade slipping downward and saw the German div-

ing after. Quick as a flash he followed, and before the German could do his work the British airplane was almost touching the tail of his machine, and in another second the German turned clean over in the air and then crashed nose foremost down into the abyss.

Then, almost by a miracle, B.'s engine caught its breath again. Once more the machine was under control, and B., who was one of those who were new to the game, climbed and rejoined formation. Some 8,000 feet he had to climb, with the baffled "Archies" blazing at him from below, up into the inverted hell above, where his four comrades were fighting enemies who outnumbered them six to one. Just as he "rejoined" another German fell. It was A.'s second victim of the day, and friend and foe alike saw the machine go, sheeted in flames, down into the gulf.

Then once again it seemed that a throw had gone against us, for, still under control, but with flames bursting from its reserve petrol tank, one of our machines began to drop. Again an enemy, glimpsing an easy quarry, dived for the flaming ruin as it fell, but, quicker than he, A. also dived, and while our crippled machine, still belching flames, slid off, with its nose set for home, the German, mortally hit, dropped like a stone.

It was just retribution. The unwritten laws of this marvelous game prescribe that no honorable fighter attack an enemy in flames. Such an enemy is out of the fight, and has trouble enough for a brave man. The German who dived for our burning machine knew that he was doing an unchivalrous thing, and it may be that that knowledge unnerved him so that he paid the penalty.

Strangely enough, our burning airplane got home. I have seen the wreckage, with the reserve petrol tank on the roof bearing two bullet holes on one side and great ragged tears on the other where the bullets passed out. The whole tank is scorched and crumpled. The flames had burned away the whole central span of the upper plane. The thick rear main spar was charred and burned through, and two ribs were completely severed and hung with loose, blackened ends. Yet, like a great blazing meteor, it crossed our lines and came to earth, not, indeed, at its own home, but on safe and friendly ground; and, as another airman said to me in admiration, "He made a perfectly topping landing."

Meanwhile the wonderful fight was drawing to a close. The British pilot, Lieutenant D., emptied a belt from his machine gun into an enemy when so close that his wings almost brushed the other's rudder; and the enemy turned turtle, clear over on his back, and, spurting out a thick column of black smoke, went down.

Some of the enemy were already drawing off, but our men were in no mood to let them go. It is harder to get out of a losing fight than it is to begin it, and before the enemy mob could disentangle itself from the battle two more of their machines had gone to earth—one, his third in the fight, falling to Lieutenant C. and one to Lieutenant E.

Then the last four of our machines, still lords of the air, came home.

How American Aviators Saved Verdun

The demand of the United States Government for the production of 3,500 airplanes before the end of 1917, the output to be doubled each succeeding year, as announced by the Council of National Defense, lends added interest to this statement of Leon Cammen, Vice President of the American Aeronautical Society:

ALL we hear of over here are the exploits of the daredevils of the air, the men who have brought down their nineteenth or their twentieth Boche. We don't hear of the less spectacular but fully as valuable work of the men who fly in squadrons against squadrons of the enemy, who do recon-

noissance work or who act as the eyes of the big guns and hover over the section under bombardment spotting the falls of shells and directing the gunners. And it isn't generally known that American fliers are ideal for such work, just as they are unsurpassed for the more thrilling task of single combat.

The point is that the French are not so. There is in France a class of men who are pre-eminent as individul fliers, whose skill and daring may be matched but cannot be excelled even by an American. But this class is limited in number, and back of it the average Frenchman does not make an ideal aviator. It is the American who has shown himself especially adapted to this work.

It was a group of American fliers, the Escadrille Lafayette, who saved Verdun. That surprises you? But it is true. I have it on authority of Frenchmen themselves, army men and fliers, and there is no doubt of the truth. It was at Verdun, too, that military men first realized the value of the airplane for something more than bomb-dropping work. For, you must remember, aviation abroad was not much further advanced at the outbreak of war than it is here today; not so far. At first the planes, just ordinary exhibition machines, were employed to carry bombs to be dropped on enemy territory. It was Verdun that taught their value for reconnoissance and gun sighting.

The attack on Verdun came so suddenly and so unexpectedly that for three or four days the French thought it a feint designed to force the withdrawal of their men from about Ypres so that the Germans might break through to Calais. When the French found that it was a genuine attack they faced, the Germans already had sent their airmen scudding over Verdun and its environs. They had mapped the two railroads—one a broad gauge, one a narrow gauge — that entered Verdun from the southwest and provided the only mechanical road for the entrance of munitions into the fortress and town. How thoroughly they had done their work has been disclosed to me by French officers, who have shown me photographs of the district, revealing that the German shells fell in squares, clearly mapped out by their aviators, so that almost undamaged sections of the town were surrounded by ruins where storehouses and depots had stood, the uninjured parts being residential sections on which the Germans had not wasted a shell.

But they destroyed the railroads, or, rather, made them incapable of service by almost continuous fire, so that when General Pétain undertook the defense of Verdun he found at hand munitions for less than ten days, and the only means of introducing more a motor road running south from Verdun to Buc. The salvation of Verdun, and probably of France, depended on keeping this road open, yet the German fliers had already begun to speed past Verdun, directing the shell fire of their big guns against just this road. Pétain sent an urgent call for aviators to drive off the German fliers and to confound their artillerymen by depriving them of the services of their flying "spotters."

And they sent him the Escadrille Lafayette, the American fliers who already had made a name for themselves by their daring and hardihood. The Americans went aloft over Verdun and gave battle to the Germans. They drove them back and kept them back so that no man might direct a gun against that road to Buc—"La Voie Sacrée," or the Sacred Road, as the French now call it.

And over it rolled the trains of motors bringing the munitions and supplies that made Verdun a turning point in the war. So much the Escadrille Lafayette accomplished. Do you wonder they want American aviators?

Downfall of King Constantine

THE long diplomatic struggle between King Constantine of Greece and the Entente Allies culminated on June 12 in the abdication of that monarch. He was at once succeeded by his second son, Prince Alexander, as King of the Hellenes.

The opposition of the Entente Allies to Constantine was based upon the allegation that he was not only pro-German in his sympathies, but that he repeatedly tried to bring Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers. The ex-King, on the other hand, declared that his sole aim was to preserve Greek neutrality and to spare his people from the horrors and miseries of war.

Early in June the Entente Allies had arrived at the conclusion that the time for decisive action had arrived. M. Jonnart, a former Foreign Minister and now a member of the French Senate, was appointed High Commissioner to represent France, Great Britain, and Russia, the three protecting powers of Greece. After visiting Saloniki, the Allies' headquarters and seat of the Provisional Government headed by M. Venizelos, M. Jonnart proceeded to Athens and, on June 11 placed before the Greek Premier, Alexander Zaimis, the demands of the allied Governments. The abdication of King Constantine was insisted upon, and the Crown Prince George was also ruled out on the ground that he shared his father's pro-German leanings. The second son, Prince Alexander, was indicated as acceptable. Alexander, who is only 24 years old, is amenable to the ideas of the protecting powers in regard to the part which Greece should play in the war. M. Jonnart informed the Premier that troops had been placed at his disposal, but that they would not be landed until the King had given his answer.

Premier Zaimis, in his reply to M. Jonnart, said that he recognized the disinterestedness of the protecting powers, whose sole object was to reconstitute the unity of Greece under the Constitution, and that a decision would be taken by the King after consulting with the Crown Council, composed of former Premiers. On the morning of June 12 Premier Zaimis communicated King Constantine's decision in the following letter to M. Jonnart:

> The Minister and High Commissioner of France, Great Britain, and Russia:
>
> Having demanded by your note of yesterday the abdication of his Majesty, King Constantine, and the nomination of his successor, the undersigned, Premier and Foreign Minister, has the honor to inform your Excellency that his Majesty the King, ever solicitous for the interests of Greece, has decided to leave the country with the Prince Royal, and nominates Prince Alexander as his successor.
>
> ZAIMIS.

The deposed monarch's proclamation announcing his abdication, which was posted throughout the streets of Athens, reads:

> Obeying the necessity of fulfilling my duty toward Greece, I am departing from my beloved country with the heir to the throne and am leaving my son Alexander my crown. I beg you to accept my decision with calm, as the slightest incident may lead to a great catastrophe.

Before King Constantine's decision was announced, many Greeks, loyal to the Crown, gathered for the protection of the sovereign. On the evening of June 11 2,000 reservists formed a cordon around the palace in his defense, if that should be necessary, and a delegation headed by Naval Commander Mavromichaelis was received by Constantine and pledged the devotion of the army and the people to his cause. The King's only reply was an appeal that they should remain calm. All efforts of agitators to start a manifestation failed, and the army officers announced their intention to obey the order of the Government to take no part in any demonstrations and to maintain peace.

The announcement of King Constantine's abdication made in the British House of Commons by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was received with cheers, but a less favorable reception was given his statement that Prince Alexander had succeeded his father. The Chancellor said that Alexander had taken the oath as King of

Greece. "We hope," added the Chancellor, "that this change may make for the restoration of the Constitutional Government of that country. Mr. Bonar Law was asked by Arthur Lynch, member for West Clare: "What does the Government expect to gain by the abdication of the King when it is perpetuating the same abuses under another name?" Mr. Bonar Law replied: "What we hope to gain is a Constitutional Government representing the whole of Greece." John Gordon Swift MacNeill, member for South Donegal, asked if in fact permission had been given to Constantine to abdicate and if, in regard to the fact that he had practically been expelled from the throne, he should be allowed to nominate his successor. The Chancellor replied that it would not be in the public interest to give any more information at present, but that Mr. MacNeill was wrong in saying that his successor had been nominated by Constantine."

Premier Ribot, addressing the French Chamber of Deputies on June 14, said conditions in Greece had become intolerable; that the attitude of Constantine had nullified the Constitution of Greece and amply justified the protecting powers in intervening in such manner as to secure the indispensable unity of the country. "Greece," said M. Ribot, "was divided into two hostile camps, one hostile to the Allies and the other supporting them courageously with Eleutherios Venizelos bearing aloft the real flag of Greece." Great applause greeted the mention of the name of M. Venizelos. M. Ribot then proceeded to explain to the Chamber the advantages which would arise from the new régime in Greece.

Military measures by the Allies were taken simultaneously with M. Jonnart's action at Athens. French and British troops were landed in Thessaly and Corinth, the French War Office announcement on the subject being:

The troops charged with control of the harvests in Thessaly have penetrated that province without difficulty as far as the region of Elassona.

The ex-King and all the members of his family, except the new King, left Athens on June 13, embarking at the Piraeus on a British warship. One of Constantine's private secretaries had previously arrived at Lugano, in Switzerland, to look for a large villa suitable for the exiled royalties. Prince von Bülow, the former German Imperial Chancellor, and several other German diplomatists are staying at Lugano.

A telegram from Berlin on June 15 stated that Emperor William had sent the following message (not confirmed) to one of the Greek diplomatic representatives abroad for transmission to former King Constantine:

I have heard with wrath of the infamous outrage committed by our common enemies upon you and upon your dynasty. I assure you that your deprivation can be only temporary. The mailed fist of Germany, with further aid from Almighty God, will restore you to your throne, of which no man by right can rob you. The armies of Germany and Germany's allies will wreak vengeance on those who have dared so insolently to lay their criminal hands on you. We hope to welcome you in Germany at the earliest opportunity. A thousand cordial greetings from your WILLIAM.

M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner who brought about the abdication of King Constantine, published on June 16 the following proclamation to the Greek people:

France, Great Britain, and Russia desire the independence, greatness, and prosperity of Greece. They intend to defend the brave little land they have liberated against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians, and Germans. They are here to checkmate the manoeuvres of the hereditary enemies of the kingdom. They will put an end to the repeated violations of the Constitution, of treaties, and the diplorable intrigues which led up to the massacre of soldiers of the Allies.

Yesterday Berlin was in command of Athens and was gradually leading the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans We resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The protecting powers, therefore, demanded the abdication of the King. They have no intention of tampering with the constitutional prerogatives; they have other aims, namely, to assure the regular and constitutional progress of the country, to which the late King George, of glorious memory, had always been scrupulously faithful, but which King Constantine had ceased to respect.

Hellenes, the hour of reconciliation has arrived. Your destinies are closely associ-

ated with those of the protecting powers, your ideals are the same as theirs, your hopes are identical. We appeal to your good sense and patriotism.

Today the blockade is raised. Any reprisal against Greeks, to whatever party they belong, will be pitilessly repressed. No breach of the peace will be tolerated. The liberty and prosperity of every one will be safeguarded. This is a new era of peace and labor which is opening before you. Know that, respectful of the national sovereignty, the protecting powers have no intention of forcing upon the Greek people general mobilization.

Long live Greece, united and free!

Following the ex-King's departure from Athens, Entente troops were landed at Piraeus and Castella. Some of the troops occupied the heights near Phalerum Bay, while others marched to Athens. The landing at Piraeus was effected in perfect order. At the suggestion of Premier Zaimis, the Greek superior officer was placed at the disposal of General Sarrail to facilitate the housing of the troops. Senator Jonnart said that they would remain ashore pending their return to resume the struggle against "Greece's traditional foes." He also informed Premier Zaimis that when the war was over and order which the Allies would exact had been re-established, Constantine would be permitted to resume his throne if such was the will of the Greek people.

The entrance of the United States into the war, it was stated on high authority in London, had a direct and important influence in bringing about the solution of the Greek difficulty. American influence was characterized by the authority in question as a fresh breeze of democracy sweeping out the corners where the autocracies which disregard the claims of their peoples have been sheltering.

Plans for dealing with the situation which King Constantine provoked first began to assume definite shape at the British, French, and Italian conference held in Savoy, when Premier Lloyd George and Paul Painlevé, the French War Minister, found themselves in entire agreement, and the Italian representative was seen to be nearly of the same mind. The execution of the details of the plan was placed in the hands of the French, of course in full collaboration with their allies, and Senator Jonnart was selected to take on the work with whatever support might be necessary from General Sarrail and the Admiral commanding the allied fleets in Greek waters.

Two Offers of Autonomy for Albania

AFTER the occupation of Serbia and Montenegro by the Central Powers in 1916 the northern portion of Albania was overrun by Austrian troops, while the Italian troops continued to hold the southern portion, including the important port of Avlona, (or Valona,) on the Adriatic. Both powers have since issued proclamations offering autonomy to Albania. On March 10, 1917, the official announcement was made in London that Austria-Hungary had issued a manifesto granting the Albanians autonomy under an Austrian protectorate. The London statement asserted that the purpose was to justify a levy upon Albanians for the Austrian armies.

Dispatches from Rome on June 4 contained the first intimation that Italy also was making a definite offer of this kind to Albania. A semi-official statement informed the world that a proclamation of the unity and independence of Albania—under an Italian protectorate—had been issued "in support of the principle of nationality, which is one of the objects of the Allies in the war." The statement added:

"Since the cessation of Ottoman dominion, Italy has aimed to reconstruct Albania, while Austria has used Albania

as a means to exercise dominion through the Balkans. She promised a deceiving autonomy, which, if accepted, would soon put the country under the Austrian yoke."

Italy has been co-operating in recent months with the British, French, and Serbian forces in the Balkans, and now

WHERE AUSTRIANS AND ITALIANS ARE FIGHTING FOR ALBANIA

has 300,000 men on that front, chiefly beyond the Albanian boundary, in Serbia, where the Allies' Saloniki forces confront the Austro-Bulgarians north of Monastir. This large army was transferred across the Adriatic into Southern Albania with the loss of only one transport and 400 men. Early in June the Italian forces renewed active operations against the enemy at Berat in Albania.

An Italian Deputy, Eugenio Chiesa, who recently journeyed across Albania and Northern Epirus to Saloniki, made this statement to a correspondent in Rome:

"The Italian occupation in Albania and Northern Epirus extends well into the Greek Kingdom. Not only have the Italians occupied Valona and its hinterland, but they have passed a long way to south of the boundary between Greece proper and Northern Epirus at Cape Stylos, and have extended in a northern direction as far as the River Kalamas, opposite the south end of Corfu, which was intended by the thirteenth protocol of the Berlin Congress of 1878 and by the Berlin Conference of 1880 to have been the northwestern frontier of Greece, but which, since the last Balkan wars, has been well within the enlarged northwestern boundary."

The trilingual proclamation of General Ferrero, of which Signor Chiesa gave the correspondent a copy dated April 1, informed the inhabitants that for purely military reasons the Allies had ordered their troops to occupy the region south of the frontier fixed by London. To the north of Valona the Italian occupation goes as far as the River Vojusa, while inland the Italian outposts are at Kalibaki, on the road from Janina to Premeti.

"I am opposed," said Chiesa, "to the permanent occupation of these places, nor do I believe the Italian Government intends to retain them. I consider as sincere the manifesto of the commandant of Valona, but Valona Kanina, the old Arta, north of Valona, the surrounding districts and the Isle of Saseto must remain Italian, not only for strategic but for sanitary reasons, owing to the necessity of draining the pestilential marshes which affect the health of Valona. Venizelos, with whom I spoke at Saloniki, frankly recognized this occupation of Valona, Saseto, and the territory of Valona.

"The Italians have already constructed over 400 kilometers of roads and opened over 125 schools where both Italian and Albanian are taught."

The New Republic of Koritza

Reorganization in Albania

FEW people know that the process of remaking the map of Europe has been begun already by the Entente Allies in Albania. As long ago as Dec. 12, 1916, they established the capital of a free and independent Albanian Republic in the Koritza district. This district at present marks the limits of the embryo State, for the Austrians still hold most of Albania; but it possesses all the machinery of a modern Government—a ruling council, an army 600 strong, postage stamps, paper money, a national flag, foreign alliances, even a budget that covers expenditures.

The French Army was the sponsor of this new-born State. The aim of its foundation was as much strategical as political. At the end of 1916 the Bulgarians were in occupation of the whole district south of Lakes Ochrida and Prespa, and their patrols came as far south as Koritza. The Greeks were in control of the town. They were Royalists, and Koritza was a centre of espionage and contraband. The German mail to and from Athens used to pass through there several times a week. The Austrians had bands of paid komitadjis (irregulars) ranging the whole district.

When the French patrols first reached Koritza they soon found that the hostility of the local Albanians was not so much love of the Austrians as resentment of any fresh incursion of foreigners into their country. By ousting the Royalist Greeks and allowing the proclamation of the independence of Albania with Koritza as capital, the French converted enemies into allies.

Themistocles Germeni, a Christian Albanian Nationalist, who was one of the principal chiefs of irregular bands in the pay of the Austrians, was won over so rapidly by this measure that he became Prefect of Police of the new republic. Authority is exercised by an elected council of fourteen members, seven Mussulman and seven Christian. They raise money by taxation—$9,000 a month; $7,000 of this goes to pay their Albanian gendarmerie, of whom a part are fighting by the side of the French against the Austrian paid bands and showing themselves of great use as guides.

The success of the measure of proclaiming, or rather reproclaiming, the independence of Albania is said to be complete. In fact, every power involved in Albania seems to be driven to the conclusion that the Albanians must be humored rather than dragooned. The Italians have proclaimed Albanian independence at Premeti, in their sphere, and the Austrians appear to have done something of the same kind on their side in the north.

It was the Conference of London in 1913 that first founded an independent Albania and put it under the Prince of Wied. He was driven out in May, 1914, by revolution, and succeeded by Essad Pasha as President of the Albanian Republic. In September, 1914, Essad declared war on the Austrians, and has throughout remained a loyal ally of the Entente, though, like other rulers of small States, he has temporarily lost his country and is now in Saloniki. Five hundred Albanians who have followed him are fighting at the front, brigaded with the French.

Though recognized as President of Albania and flying his standard—a black star on a red ground—over his house in Saloniki, Essad Pasha constantly maintains that the present is not the time to decide about the future of Albania. The task of the moment is to eject the Austrian invaders from the country, and the congress of allied powers who settle the terms of peace will do the rest. But he holds strongly the view, nevertheless, that the only satisfactory Albania will be one where the Albanians rule themselves.

Shipping Sunk by Submarines

Record From May 14 to June 13, 1917

THE destruction of merchant shipping by submarines continues to be very considerable. Adequate figures are not available, but the estimates of allied Government officials are alarmingly high. Thus, in the French Chamber of Deputies on May 25, M. Cels, a member of the Marine Committee, gave the following striking figures to show the growing menace of submarine warfare:

	Tons of Shipping Sunk.
1915	1,204,000
1916	2,079,000
1917—first four months only	2,400,000

M. Cels said that one method of meeting the submarine menace was to build ships, but in 1916 the whole world's shipbuilding only reached 1,780,000 tons.

Admiral Lacaze, the Minister of Marine, the same evening made a statement supplementing that of M. Cels. With the captured enemy tonnage and the tonnage purchased and constructed, he said, the allied and neutral tonnage at the beginning of 1917 was about the same as at the beginning of the war. For the first four months of 1917 the total losses might be put at 2,500,000 tons. Taking into account the rate of construction, without being unduly optimistic, the losses for the year, if the submarine warfare continued with the same intensity, would be 4,500,000 tons out of a tonnage of over 40,000,000. With what the Allies were doing in restricting imports they could, with their present tonnage, meet the requirements of the country and assure the transport of war material. The Minister pointed out that the figures of tonnage sunk up to May 23 showed a marked decrease, being only 290,000 tons, and he then gave statistics proving that the German blockade had never been effective, since up to the present the French ports had received as many ships as they could accommodate. These vessels had brought everything of which the country stood in need. During the month of March 4,200,000 tons of goods entered French ports, and during April 4,300,000 tons.

The most recent British Admiralty figures show that while there was a decrease in the number of ships sunk for a few weeks, there has been a fresh burst of destructive activity on the part of the German submarines. Continuing the official weekly record of British merchant ships destroyed, as published in the June issue of this magazine, we find:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended May 20..	18	9	3
Week ended May 27..	18	1	2
Week ended June 3..	15	3	5
Week ended June 10.	22	10	6
Total for four weeks.	73	23	16

For the previous four weeks the totals were: Ships over 1,600 tons, 120; under 1,600 tons, 55; fishing vessels, 36.

Norway's losses in May also showed a decrease as compared with March and April, the number of ships sunk being 49. Denmark's losses since the war, according to a Copenhagen dispatch of May 22, place the number of ships sunk by submarines or mines at 150, with the death of 210 Danish seamen. A number of Swedish ships have been sunk during the month, but details of size are not available. The Athens newspaper, Patris, on May 28, printed a list of 102 Greek ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 300,000, which had been sunk by German submarines, thus leaving to Greece only 149 ships with a total tonnage of 500,000.

Among the larger ships reported sunk during the month have been the British transport Transylvania, 14,000 tons, with the loss of 413 lives, mainly soldiers; the British steamer Southland, 11,899 tons; the British transport Cameronia, 10,963 tons, with the loss of 140 soldiers, and the British hospital ship, Dover Castle, 8,271 tons.

Among American ships sunk were three sailing vessels: The Dirigo, 3,005 tons, with a cargo valued at $500,000, on

May 31; the Frances M., 1,229 tons, on May 18, and the Barbara, 838 tons, on May 24. According to the skipper of the American schooner Margaret B. Rouss, after that vessel was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, the crew of the German submarine robbed him and his crew of every article they possessed when they were in the lifeboat.

Methods of Fighting U-Boats

Admiral Lacaze, in the French Chamber of Deputies, May 26, threw some light upon the methods employed to counterattack the submarines. He said:

I see no reason why I should not speak of these methods in public. It would be childish to think they are unknown to the enemy. They consist of a system of patrol boats, of arming merchantmen with guns, and fitting them with wireless; of seaplanes, nets, mines, smoke-raising devices, and dragnets.

I sought to get patrol boats built here and buy them abroad. I scoured the world over with missions, covering the ground from America to North Cape, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, but England had been beforehand. When I entered the Ministry I found 243 patrols. Now we have 552. I have drawn up a scheme which will increase the figure to 900. I continue to buy in London, the world's centre for shipping. I am obliged to do so because our shipyards had been almost completely abandoned; because, as a result of that short-war theory which weighed so regrettably upon all decisions taken at the outset of the war, the yards had been transformed into war material factories to meet the pressing need of the national defense. We have now got back most of the arsenals and a number of private yards, together with skilled workmen.

The guns we mount on the patrol boats have been referred to disdainfully, but you cannot put ten-centimeter guns on a small vessel. A patrol boat on guard, armed with 95-millimeter guns, met two submarines armed with 105-millimeter guns, sank one and put the other to flight.

We have 1,200 dragnets as well as 170,500 curtain nets and 5,000 20-foot float nets, which indicate the presence of submarines. We have special bombs for submarines and apparatus to throw them.

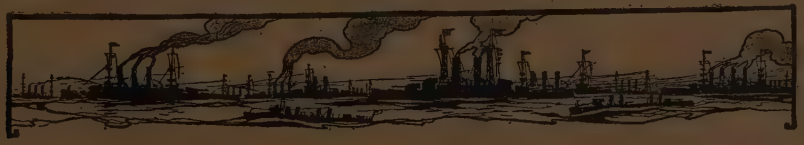
We have organized seaplane posts all around the coasts, so that the zone of action of each post joins that of its neighbor on either side. By October all merchantmen and patrollers will be fitted with wireless and all merchantmen supplied with guns of as heavy calibre as possible, for which measures programs have been drawn up even beyond what was thought possible.

For building the plates and frames required M. Loucheur, Under Secretary for Munitions, in charge of the manufacturing sections, has started up again all the rolling mills. They will be able to supply us with the plates I asked for, and we hope that the merchant marine will also be able to obtain the quantity of plates to which it is entitled.

Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies again on June 7, Admiral Lacaze said that the proportion of submarines sunk had increased to a marked extent. "We are employing," he added, "a very efficient method, and we are able to see the possibility of developing this method so as to render it more efficacious." The Minister, reviewing the submarine situation, said that Germany had announced a blockade and had fixed a certain date. The result had been that the Allies were not blockaded. Their ships had gone wherever it was necessary to go. At no moment could any one say that France had been blockaded, either near at hand or at a distant point.

The Navy Department at Washington has received reports stating that more submarines are being run down, captured, and destroyed than ever before, and although the exact details cannot be divulged, it is known that the American destroyer flotilla, under Rear Admiral Sims, has been playing an active part in the work with the British and French fleets. Recently twenty-eight German submarines were captured or destroyed in a single week.

The increased success of the campaign against the U-boats is attributed more to improvements in organization than to any new devices. It is said the presence of American destroyers has enabled the British and French to send some of their small craft to their bases for docking and sorely needed repairs, after virtually continuous service for the last two years.



Hardships of the U-Boat Service

Captain L. Persius, Leading German Naval Critic, Praises the Men Who Torpedo Merchant Ships

This article from the Berliner Tageblatt has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, both on account of its human interest and because it reveals the prevailing German mental attitude toward ruthless submarine warfare.

AT present the crews of the German submarines are the objects of particularly warm interest. Of course, their heroic activities have been followed with undiminished attention ever since that notable 22d of September, 1914, when the never-to-be-forgotten Weddigen sent three English armored cruisers to the bottom of the North Sea with well-aimed torpedoes from the U-9. That the "David," the little submarine, is able to give the deathblow to the huge "Goliath," the battleship, and that it possesses powers far exceeding the expectations placed upon this most modern instrument of battle before the war, has been proved by the torpedoing of the ships of the line before the Dardanelles, which put an end to the entire Anglo-French undertaking, in particular, and furthermore by the sinking of many other enemy warships.

But the U-boats have made themselves the centre of attraction only since they have shown their effectiveness in the warfare on commerce. Here an entirely new field was opened to them. On Oct. 26, 1914, the British merchantman Glitra fell a victim to a U-boat (U-17) southwest of Skudenaes on the Norwegian coast. This was the first destruction of a merchant ship by a submarine. Soon others followed on the Atlantic coast of France, in the Irish Channel, &c. The world stared in surprise. The U-boats were attacking the enemy's commerce. That was a novelty never anticipated. During the two and a half years that have passed the feeling of certitude has grown more definite from month to month that the U-boat may be destined to cut off the main artery even of Great Britain, ruler of the seas, through the tying up of her imports, and that thus the U-boat points to the way in which the "freedom of the seas" may be insured in the future.

If the nation whose existence is most closely connected with the uninterrupted importation of foodstuffs sees that for its own life it must move for the undisturbed peaceful use of the seas even in war times, then the last barrier will fall—i. e., all the paragraphs contrary to civilization, those speaking of prizes, privateering, contraband, &c., must be removed from sea law; in short, the principle that ought to be taken for granted by civilized nations that private property may not be destroyed on the water, as it may not be infringed upon on land in time of war, will be recognized.

The men who are helping create this condition desired in the interests of humanity and the development of culture are the crews of the U-boats. Of course, in order to carry out their task, they need instruments, vessels, and weapons of the most cunning construction. The creators of these things, the shipbuilders and engineers, must not be forgotten when the triumphs of the submarine weapon are brought to mind. Only after the war will the world recognize to its full extent what the German people owes to its U-boat builders and to the constructors of the many pieces of machinery concealed in the U-boats, and what almost incredible technical progress has been made in Germany since the Fall of 1914, not only in the perfection of products, but also in the rapidity with which the desires of the front have been fulfilled. Any one who might be permitted to raise the curtain just a little and to penetrate the veil that now naturally covers everything

connected with U-boat construction would be overwhelmed with the extent of what has been created by German science in every necessary line.

A seaman's lot is never easy. Night and day he is separated from a watery grave only by a thin plank. And yet his existence seems like paradise compared with that of the U-boat man. This man dispenses with what every one regards as indispensible for life—light and air. When the road to hades gapes for the U-boat man it leads through darkness and torment. He knows that he is threatened most by a slow death through suffocation. Everybody else—with exceptions like stokers, men in the magazines, and some others—enjoys the fresh air and looks up and sees above him the broad canopy of heaven when in the roar of the battle he must enter the gates of the Great Beyond. Indeed, in every case, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." But our sympathies will be more deeply moved when we think of the death of the U-boat man.

Of course the U-boat man also sees some of the bright side of life, and it would be wrong to pass by without noting this. On board a big battleship the individual is more or less lost in the crowd. He is only one among the more than 1,100 men composing the crew of a modern ship of the line. On board the U-boat every one is an important personality. There are rarely more than thirty men in a high seas U-boat. So every one, be he sailor or oiler, has several duties to perform; so every one is fully acquainted with all the numerous mechanisms and expert in their use. The commander, watch officer, and chief engineer know every one of their men thoroughly. They stand in a comradely relationship to them, they share their sufferings and joys in every way. Their food is all cooked in the same kettle and gift cigarettes of the same brand are found between their lips when the boat bobs up for a brief rest and the weather permits. Below decks smoking is not allowed. To be sure, the commander has a tiny room of his own—in which to write his official reports, &c.

But the lack of light and air, the absence of every comfort, the dangers that menace them every hour, yes, every minute, are the common lot of all U-boat men. There is, however, greater responsibility upon the officers and the chief engineers, although every single U-boat man, sailor and oiler alike, knows that oftentimes a slight oversight or a false move will seal the fate of himself and his comrades.

The most careful selection among the volunteers, who are always offering themselves in great numbers for the U-boat service, is just as important as the long period of training during which the U-boat aspirants are schooled in every branch of their difficult service. They must all be in superior health and be what they call "fixe Kerle"—i. e., quick in perception and decision, never timid or hesitating, skilled, and also infinitely serious in their conception of duty, dependable and steadfast. The sailor must be a "thoroughbred seaman," the oiler a perfect mechanic.

The members of the crews are trained at the U-boat school. There they became acquainted with all the complicated apparatus, the expert use of which forms the basis for every success. The pupils are made familiar with the instruments that show the condition of the atmosphere, the trim of the boat and the height and depth, with the functions of the numerous valves, slides and levers, &c., and with the safety and life-saving apparatus, a thorough knowledge of which is indispensable for every U-boat man. In addition to these general points, the submarine sailor must have skill in navigation, in signaling, in serving and launching torpedoes and in handling the deck guns and their ammunition, while the oiler must understand the care of the engines that drive the U-boat above and below the water well enough to enable him, in case of necessity, to take the place of the engineers and, if possible, that of the chief engineer.

Correspondingly greater demands are made upon the officers and the engineers. Every U-boat commander is almost a "superman." He must possess extraordinary gifts of both an intellect-

ual and physical kind if he wants to fill his post with success. To him belongs a quite special talent. The officers' corps of the German Navy includes a number of such "supermen." These commanders are reinforced by an excellent body of engineers, whose loyalty and knowledge already in times of peace had more than once demanded unlimited recognition.

The U-boat commander and chief engineer, manager of the boat and commander of the weapons on board and manager of the engines—that is, the forces that give life to the boat—are supported by a personnel of sailors and oilers capable and filled with the joy of service. They all blend in a whole that firmly binds "a row of brothers" in danger and distress, and that, if a pitiless fate so decides, maintains its firmness in loyal comradeship in death itself.

The Heroic Men of the Athos

By Hughes Le Roux

To the soul of America, on the eve of her entry into the world war, this stirring tale of heroism was dedicated. Printed in Le Matin, Paris, it has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

IT is not enough to say: "Such a liner has sunk, gutted by a German torpedo. * * * The conduct of the crew and of the passengers was splendid. * * *" It is necessary to go further and set forth before the eyes of the world certain explanations which will show what, in this third year of the war, the expression "splendid conduct" means in French.

I wish to place on record the story of how the Athos died, with the tricolor floating from her mizzenmast. The affair took place on Feb. 17, 1917. Launched by an attacking submarine which remained unseen, the torpedo penetrated the liner. The Captain calculated that he had ten minutes to save whatever could be saved.

A torpedoed steamship does not simply sink; she often blows up. She tosses into the air men's bodies, smashed, dismembered, shot forth by the explosion like stones from a sling. On board the Athos there was an engineer officer who made up his mind: "At least, I will prevent that!"

The liner was listing frightfully. By the narrow steel stair, slimy with oil, the officer, whose hand was already mutilated, made his way down into the engine room, from which he knew he would never come forth again. He shut off the valves; he handled the control levers; he checked the explosion. He sleeps now in the abysses of the sea. This was his choice. His name was Donzel. Let us salute him!

At Hongkong the Athos had embarked a thousand Chinese coolies, the sallow-faced workers who come to France to replace our lacking workmen. They begin their journey under contracts worthy of France and of themselves—a part of their earnings is kept back for their wives, their parents, their children, those whom they love as we love our own kin. These Asiatics were in charge of a French Captain and a dozen Corporals and interpreters.

These officers and interpreters did not say to themselves: "There are four hundred million more Chinese in China! Let us think first of our own lives. They are more valuable." Until the last second they worked to secure the safety of these foreign laborers who had intrusted themselves to Fance. For themselves, the ship was their coffin. We salute Captain Silvestre and his valorous aids!

The Athos was bringing back to France three German prisoners. They had been taken aboard at the port of Indo-China. They had wormed their way into our colony to whisper words of treason and of hate in the ears of the natives whom France is governing in friendship, guiding them toward a higher justice. Pris-

oners below decks, they were in charge of a Sergeant.

At the moment when the German torpedo pierced the hull of the French ship, this Sergeant thought: "These Germans are human beings. I will not leave them in their cells simply because their fellow-countrymen are infamous." He went below. He had time to open two cabins. He set free two Germans, who succeeded in getting up on deck and jumping into the sea. They were picked up. He, the French Sergeant, was drowned while opening the door of the third cabin to save the third of his enemies.

Dear friends in America, would you not wish, in the list of your Laconia dead, to write the name of Sergeant Moujeau between those of Mrs. Hoy and Miss Hoy—of Sergeant Moujeau, who died in order to bear witness, before the world, that France is the fatherland of honor for all men, good and evil equally?

Further, the Athos had taken aboard a battalion of Senegalese sharpshooters, under the orders of Major Colonna d'Istria. Paris and France know them well today and love them, these black soldiers. In our field hospitals, the hands of our wives and of our daughters have dressed their wounds. France has taught them to live and die with joy, for a bit of ribbon, for a ray of honor.

They were in numbers on the Athos, and inevitably in the ship's boats and on the rafts there was not room for every one. Their officers organized the work of rescue under rigid discipline. Naturally, these officers elected to remain with those for whom there would not be room, and to go first into the abyss. This, then, is what happened: At the moment when the liner sank, drawn up in ranks as though on parade, Major Colonna d'Istria's Senegalese sharpshooters presented arms. They sank with their hands upon their rifles, with bayonets fixed. They were saluting France. Commandant Dorise, Captain of the Athos, had not left the bridge. He dominated this scene of death by the calmness of his voice and orders. When the sinking ship went under he was thrown from a height of sixty feet. But his soul remained with his ship. He was already a dying man. He was kept afloat in the water by Maurel, the supervisor of the mails, and Ensign Verdelhan, as a bit of glorious wreckage. He was dead when they landed him in Malta, where his grave will be.

This, then, is what did not sink with the Athos!

A Harrowing Sea Story

Captain Chave's Report

ONE of the most heroic and terrible sea episodes of the war is enshrined in the report made by Captain Benjamin Chave to the owners of the British merchant steamer Alnwick Castle, which he had commanded. The Alnwick Castle was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine 320 miles at sea, off the Scilly Isles, in April, 1917, and the crew were left in six open boats at the mercy of wild North Atlantic gales. Some of these boats were never heard of again. The one with Captain Chave contained twenty-nine men, and their awful sufferings are an index to what the missing ones endured before they perished.

The Captain's boat soon lost sight of the others. There were only three men with him who could help him to steer, and one of these soon became delirious. The wind and waves were unsafe for sailing. There was a terrible fight with the sea, and the men were constantly soaked with spray and pierced with the bitter north wind. Water was served out twice daily—each portion about one-third of a condensed milk tin. A can of milk was divided among four men once a day, and a six-pound can of beef was apportioned daily among twenty-nine persons. The men's thirst became terrible, and pitiful appeals for water were made. An

extra ration was served to a few of the weaker men.

The ship had been sunk on a Monday, and on Thursday morning the wind fell for a couple of hours, and several showers of hail fell. The Captain continues:

"The hailstones were eagerly scraped from our clothing and swallowed. I ordered the sail to be spread out in the hope of catching water from a rain shower, but we were disappointed in this, for the rain was too light. Several of the men were getting light-headed, and I found that they had been drinking salt water, in spite of my earnest and vehement order.

"It was with great difficulty that any one could be prevailed on to bale out the water, which seemed to leak into the boat at an astonishing rate, perhaps due to some rivets having been started by the pounding she had received.

"Our water was now very low, and we decided to mix condensed milk with it. Most of the men were now helpless, and several were raving in delirium. The foreman cattleman, W. Kitcher, died and was buried. Soon after dark the sea became confused and angry. I furled the tiny reef sail and put out the sea anchor. At 8 P. M. we were swamped by a breaking sea and I thought all was over. A moan of despair rose in the darkness, but I shouted to them to 'Bale, bale, bale!' and assured them that the boat could not sink. How they found the balers and the bucket in the dark I don't know, but they managed to free the boat while I shifted the sea anchor to the stern and made a tiny bit of sail and got her away before the wind.

"The wind died away about midnight, and then we spent a most distressing night. Several of the men collapsed, and others temporarily lost their reason, and one of these became pugnacious and climbed about the boat uttering complaints and threats. The horrors of that night, together with the physical suffering, are beyond my power of description.

"When daylight came the appeals for water were so angry and insistent that I deemed it best to make an issue at once. After that had gone around, amid much cursing and snatching, we could see that only one more issue remained. One fireman was dead and another nearly so. My steward was almost gone. We tried to pour some milk and water down his throat, but he could not swallow. No one could now eat biscuits, it was impossible to swallow anything solid, our throats were afire, our lips furred, our limbs numbed, our hands were white and bloodless. During the forenoon on Friday another fireman died and my steward died, also a cattleman collapsed and died about noon.

"To our unspeakable relief we were rescued about 1:30 P. M. by the French steamer Venezia. A considerable swell was running, and in our enfeebled state we were unable properly to manoeuvre our boat, but the French Captain, M. Paul Bonafacie, handled his empty vessel with great skill and brought her alongside us, sending out a lifebuoy on a line for us to seize. We were unable to climb the ladders, so they hoisted us one by one in ropes until the twenty-four live men were aboard. The four dead bodies were left in the boat, and she was fired at by the gunners of the Venezia, in order to destroy her, but the shots did not take effect."

An illustration of the spirit that animates officers of the British merchant service is found in the concluding words of Captain Chave. In spite of the fact that when he was torpedoed he had survivors of another vessel on board, which in its turn had observed another steamer blown up, and that he himself witnessed a further steamer sunk, in spite of the terrible sufferings which he had experienced, he adds: "At present I have not regained fully the use of my hands and feet, but hope to be fit again before arrival in England, when I trust you will honor me with appointment to another ship."

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

Pioneer of Wireless Telegraphy, Who Is a Member of the Italian War Mission to the United States

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

LORD NORTHCLIFFE

The Noted British Newspaper Owner, Who Has Come to America to Act as Head of the British War Mission

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

Adventures of Submarine Victims

Eight Spanish sailors from the crew of the British vessel Gravina, which was sunk by a German submarine on Feb. 7, 1917, reached their homes in Barcelona in April. One of them gave the following account of their remarkable experiences:

THE Gravina was struck by a torpedo amidships, and broke in halves. The fifteen survivors were able to keep afloat by clinging to two bales of corkwood. In about half an hour's time we saw a submarine coming toward us. We shouted, "We are Spaniards, we are Spaniards! Save us!" The submarine came near to us, and many of the crew were on its platform looking at us and laughing at our struggles. We expected to be picked up quickly, but, no, we still had to remain in the water another ten minutes while the submarine officers prepared their cameras to photograph us. Having done this, they proceeded to save us. They threw lifebelts attached to ropes and got us on board. We had been fighting against death for three-quarters of an hour.

We were immediately made to go below through the afterhatch to the part of the submarine used for discharging torpedoes and storing ammunition. In this floating prison we found two companions in misfortune, the Captains of two English steamers sunk by the same submarine.

The monotonous but not tranquil life was disturbed from time to time by a rapid manoeuvre. Some vessel was in sight, and it was necessary to sink it. They forced us to load the torpedo, an operation which was performed with all the repugnance of honorable men. They opened the chamber of the tube, made us lift the torpedo and put it in. Afterward they gave the order to fire, and after a few seconds of anxiety we heard a formidable explosion. The German seamen jumped, laughed, and sang. They had hit the target. During the twelve days that we were on board they sank five vessels, among them a Swedish sailing ship which was sunk by cannon shots. Generally speaking, we went down at night time, and, although submerged, we always navigated. In the daytime we came up on to the surface of the sea, which, however, they never allowed us to see. We were aware of it by the change of motors. Our region of operation (that is, of the submarine) was for nine days south of Ireland.

On Feb. 15, 1917, we started on the homeward trip to the naval base, as the German seamen informed us. We went up the west side of England, round the north, and then to Jutland, always on the surface, and in three days arrived in the waters of Heligoland. One of us managed to see the engineer's diary, where the following particulars appeared: "Eighteen miles speed on the surface and thirteen miles submerged; 12,000 tons. Crew of thirty," and in each page was noted U-81. Four hours before arriving at the Island of Heligoland they made all the prisoners go up on the deck platform, and they photographed us. They then ordered us down below again to the torpedo room. The port where we landed was not very large. There were about a dozen submarines and four or five destroyers there, but all the quays and jetties bristled with seamen with bayonets fixed. * * *

Three days after our arrival in prison camp we were awakened by cries from the Russians who slept in the hut. Fire had broken out in one hut apart from the others, which served as a dungeon where they shut up prisoners who were rebellious. That day six Russians, one Frenchman, and one Englishman were undergoing this punishment. The prisoners naturally called to be let out, but in vain. The sentry remained unmoved. No doubt he was awaiting orders from his superiors. Those inside the dungeon were being stifled. The Englishman broke the panes of a small window, with the idea of freeing himself and his companions. The sentry, seeing him leaning out of the window, gave him a tremendous bayonet thrust in the chest. The wounded man

fell like lead. A small but revolting struggle then took place. The prisoners attempted to get out, and the German soldier reddened his bayonet again and again with the blood of the men shut up, who saw with horror that the fire was increasing. The conflagration could not be extinguished by the other prisoners until it had done its work. The eight unhappy individuals who occupied the dungeon were corpses. For an hour afterward nothing was heard but shouts of indignation. It looked as if a formidable outbreak would take place. The guards were immediately reinforced, and we were surrounded by a number of German soldiers. The commander of the camp issued an order stating that he was sorry for what had occurred, and that on the following day he would allow the funeral of the victims to take place with ceremony.

It was not all the prisoners who resigned themselves to suffer what was imposed on them. The English, above all, were the most rebellious. One day we were present at a scene which was celebrated with great rejoicing in all the camp. An English seaman, who already had one eye blind as a result of blows they had given him on a previous occasion, refused to obey two officers who ordered him to go to work. They reviled one another mutually, and finally the Englishman invited them to fight, giving them such punches that as a consequence we saw them for days afterward with their heads bandaged. The German soldiers were the first to scoff at the cowardice of their superiors. The English sailor was condemned to bread and water until the end of the war.

What saddened me most were the seventy old men and thirty children of 12 to 14 years of age, all English except one, who was French; they were youngsters who had been captured on board the vessels sunk, and ran from hut to hut asking for sweets and tobacco. Another day I also suffered a great shock on seeing the English Captain of our steamer Gravina, who had so far received no news from his family, who came up to us to beg bread. "I have always been good to you. Have compassion on me. Give me a little piece of bread, if you can spare it." We certainly had no reason to complain of his treatment of us, and we respected him. We gave him all we could.

[On April 14 the eight Spanish seamen were entrained for the Swiss frontier. All the way they were much struck by the number of wounded and by the general air of depression among the people.]

Come Into the Garden, (of Eden,) Maude

(With Apologies)

[Contributed to The Times of India on the occasion of General Maude's victorious advance in Mespotamia]

Come into the garden, Maude,
For the black-browed Turk hath flown;
Come into the garden, Maude,
For the fall of Kut atone;
And the "Woodbine" spices are wafted abroad
And the bluff of the Hun is blown.
For the screen of darkness moves
And your star of Glory's high,
Beginning to glow in the light we love
In the light of victory.
To shine in the folds of the Flag we love,
To fight for till we die.

The Threat of "Mittel-Europa"

By Thomas G. Frothingham

"The perennial conflict between land and water transport, between natural and artificial conditions, in which the victory is likely to rest, as heretofore, with nature's own highway, the seas."—Mahan.

GERMANY attained one of her most coveted aims—the "bridge to the East"—when, early in the war, Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, and General von Mackensen swept through Serbia, opening up the last European section of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway. The world at once recognized a menace in Germany's possession of this coveted commercial weapon. It so happens that Admiral Mahan has left on record a dispassionate estimate of the measure of this menace, and his words are of vital interest at this stage of the war.

The Teutonic desire to control the Near East is only a modern form of one of the oldest problems in the world, a legacy of the ancient empires and of the Middle Ages, the dream of Napoleon. Seizure of this source of power by some rival has long been the dread of England. To combat imagined attempts at such control on the part of Russia was Great Britain's self-imposed task for three generations.* The great Slavic Empire, though vainly attempting to find an outlet to the sea, was never a real danger; yet to guard against the imaginary threat of this impending avalanche England unwisely built up Germany into a dominating power and retained Turkey in Constantinople, both designed to be barriers against Russia. Both are now united against Great Britain.

It is this union of Germany and Turkey that makes the present Teutonic control of the passage to the East a serious matter for the whole commercial world. No longer is it a question of the great undeveloped Slavic empire seeking an outlet to the sea; it is a new military and trade weapon already firmly in the grasp of the most efficient military power ever developed. The Teutons at present dominate the whole Balkan Peninsula, as well as the Dardanelles; Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania have been overcome in detail and are out of the running. Russia has passed through a revolution, and at present is not to be considered as an active military factor.

The Russian Empire, before the sudden collapse of its armies that came with the revolution, had given promise of checking, and even cutting off, Teutonic domination through the Russian advance in Asia Minor and north of Bagdad. Now all this is at an end—at least for the present. It is true that Bagdad is in British hands, but the consolidation of the great strip of territory from Germany, through Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States, and Asia Minor, to the East may be called an accomplished fact from a military point of view.

Teutonic control of these territories implies ownership of long lines of land transportation and domination of commerce through them. What danger is there for the rest of the commercial world in this situation, with so great a power ready to use such control to its own advantage? Even under such efficient control, can artificial conditions of land transportation compete with the great natural lanes of the sea? Never in history has this proved possible, yet here are all the elements of the most efficient machinery ever devised to build up such a structure. The foundation of this Germanic edifice is the Bagdad Railroad, originally projected as a line from the Levant to the Persian Gulf, now enlarged into the railway systems reaching from Hamburg on the North Sea to the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys in Asia Minor.

In a paper by Admiral Mahan, published in 1902, from which was taken the quotation at the head of this article, is a most interesting discussion of the military and commercial values of this rail-

*British Foreign Policies and the Present War.—CURRENT HISTORY, May, 1917.

road as originally planned. He sums up the merits of the railway in words that are well worthy of study in the present circumstances:

> This new line will have over the one now existing the advantage which rail travel always has over that by water, of greater specific rapidity. It will, therefore, serve particularly for the transport of passengers, mails, and lighter freights. On the other hand, for bulk of transport, meaning thereby not merely articles singly of great weight or size, but the aggregate amounts of freight that can be carried in a given time, water will always possess an immense and irreversible advantage over land transport for equal distances. A water route is, as it were, a road with numberless tracks. For these reasons, and on account of the first cost of construction, water transport has a lasting comparative cheapness, which, so far as can be foreseen, will secure to it forever a commercial superiority over that by land. It is also, for large quantities, much more rapid; for, though a train can carry its proper load faster than a vessel can, the closely restricted number of trains that can proceed at once, as compared to the numerous vessels, enables the latter in a given time, practically simultaneously, to deliver a bulk of material utterly beyond the power of the road.

These wise conclusions were drawn from the first project of the railway from the Levant to the Persian Gulf—and these fixed conditions, with which a railway has to contend, are multiplied by length. So it must be kept in mind that even German efficiency has a hard problem to solve in the railroad from Berlin to the East.

A study of the map will show that the proper economic uses of these railway systems are the normal functions of any railroads, to distribute goods brought by water, to deliver goods for shipment by water, and to connect neighboring countries. Under such natural commercial conditions, as pointed out by Admiral Mahan, the great bulk of freight shipped for long distances would not use the railways, but no matter what concessions might be made in rates, would be carried over the seas. Railways can never compete with waterways.

So the conclusion is obvious that, under natural conditions, even though these railways may be under Teutonic control, they are of great value to the countries through which they run; but that, while of great advantage to German trade, they are not a source of undue power to Germany. Such power, which Germany has unquestionably sought, can therefore only be founded on artificial conditions.

Is there, then, any dangerous power in the conditions which have been created by Germany? That there is a danger would only be denied by one who is blind to German methods and German ambitions. This should be stated as baldly as possible. Germany aims to establish such a control over these regions that all commercial gains shall be hers, and the other nations be excluded. The ruthlessness and tenacity of purpose of Germany have been so plainly shown that it is no wonder Germanic control of "Mittel-Europa" is widely held to be the greatest menace of the war.

But, as is often the case, this dread has become exaggerated. In fact, it has been allowed to grow out of all proportion to the other great interests at stake in this war. There are counteracting forces that tend to make the situation normal. There has been so much fear of Germanic control of the passage to the East that the hardships for Germany and her allies of such enforced conditions have not been considered.

Germany's commerce would suffer from this restricted traffic. To hold their own, even with all possible favoritism shown to them, the German merchants must make proper use of the waterways or submit to a ruinous tax on their trade. The same is true of Germany's friends and allies—and this leads at once to natural conditions of commerce.

With German merchants and the merchants of her friendly States the worst sufferers, how is it possible to attempt to confine traffic to the railways? Yet such must be the basis of any abnormal German domination in the East. Consequently, leaving all the other nations out of consideration, the interests of Germany and her allies are against the misuse of control that has been so widely considered the dangerous threat in the present conditions.

There is another restraint on this much-feared Teutonic influence. To be

maintained at all such a central control must be that of nations closely united and unanimous in purpose. Where can this be found in these regions? With all the diversities of interest, with the antagonisms of races and religions, is it possible that Germany has built a harmonious machine that has accomplished what has never been done in history—diverted the bulk of commerce from the sea to the land?

Studying the question in this way from conditions that have prevailed throughout all history—and still exist—we realize that this issue must not be magnified and allowed to cloud our minds. The military results secured by Germany should not be underestimated, but neither should they be misunderstood. In 1915 the Teutonic allies were practically besieged. Since then Hindenburg and his lieutenants have not only raised this siege, but have conquered great areas of territory rich in much-needed supplies. With Russia paralyzed by revolution, all serious opposition to the German armies in the East is for the time ended. These are serious and far-reaching military conditions, but they must not be distorted into anything worse.

Prices in 1914 and 1917

IN the United States Senate on May 2 Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire presented a table prepared by the Old Dutch Market Company showing a comparison of prices in April, 1914, with those of April, 1917. It revealed the fact that the average increase was 85.32 per cent. The table is as follows:

COMPARISON OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOODS DURING APRIL, 1914, BEFORE THE WAR, AND APRIL, 1917

	April, 1914.	April, 1917.	Inc. P.C.
GROCERIES			
Sugar, granulated, lb.	$0.04	$0.09	125
Flour:			
Gold Medal, lb.	7.25	14.00	93
Hecker's, lb.	6.50	13.50	107
Milk:			
Condensed, can	.09	.15	67
Evaporated, tall can	.07½	.12	65
Evaporated, small can	.03½	.06	70
Tomatoes, standard, 2½'s, can.	.07	.17	142
Corn, standard, 2½'s, can.	.07	.13	85
Peas, D. J.	.07	.10	45
Baked beans	.08	.13	65
Cornmeal, lb.	.02½	.05	100
Hominy, lb.	.03	.05	66
Rice, best, lb.	.08	.09	12
Oatmeal, lb.	.03½	.06	70
Macaroni, spaghetti, bulk, lb.	.08	.13	65
Prunes, small, lb.	.05	.08	60
Salmon:			
Chum, can	.08	.14	75
Red Alaska, can	.14	.23	64
Soups, can	.08	.13	65
Navy beans, best, lb.	.07½	.18	140
Lima beans, dried, lb.	.07	.20	185
Catsup, bottle	.08	.12	50
Syrup, can	.08½	.12	41
Corn flakes, (Quaker,) pkg.	.04½	.08	78
Split peas, lb.	.06	.12	100
Scotch peas, lb.	.05	.09	80
Black-eyed peas, lb.	.04	.08	100
Butter, first grade, lb.	.30	.55	83
Eggs, fresh, dozen	.21	.38	80
VEGETABLES			
Potatoes, peck	.23	.90	291
Kale, peck	.20	.40	100
Spinach, peck	.20	.40	100
Onions, yellow, lb.	.04	.13	250
Lettuce, head	.05	.10	100
Sweet potatoes, peck	.35	.75	114
Cabbage, new, lb.	.03	.15	400
Yams, peck	.40	.60	50
BEEF			
Rib roast, lb.	.20	.25	25
Chuck roast, lb.	.17	.22	30
Plate (soup meat)	.13	.16	23
Porterhouse steak, lb.	.28	.37	32
Sirloin steak, lb.	.24	.34	42
Round steak, lb.	.20	.32	60
Chuck steak, lb.	.18	.25	38
Hamburg steak, lb.	.15	.20	33
PORK			
Fresh hams	.15	.27	80
Fresh shoulders	.13½	.22	58
Fresh pork chops, lean	.16	.28	80
Fresh pork chops, loin	.18	.32	80
Fresh pork roast, lean	.16	.28	75
Fresh pork roast, centre	.18	.30	66
Corned shoulders	.13½	.20	50
Corned hams	.15	.24	60
Smoked hams, whole	.17	.25	47
Smoked hams, sliced	.28	.45	60
Smoked shoulders	.13½	.21	50
Smoked bacon, sliced	.24	.34	42
Smoked sausage	.12½	.25	100
Lard:			
Pure, lb.	12½	.25	100
Compound, lb.	.10	.20	100

Total of items, 60.

Total increase, 5,119 per cent.

Average increase on all items shown on this list, 85.32 per cent.

China and the World War

By Gardner L. Harding

Author of "Present Day China"

THE months following Feb. 1, 1917, not only—by bringing America into the great war—changed the face of the Western Hemisphere; they made a lasting alteration in the Far East also. On Feb. 9, Wu Ting-fang, Foreign Minister of the Chinese Republican Government, handed a note to Admiral von Hintze, the German Minister to Peking, that made a rupture between the Chinese and German Governments ultimately inevitable. Six days before President Wilson had issued an appeal urging neutral powers everywhere to show their abhorrence of Germany's new campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare by breaking off relations with the German Government. China's response was therefore of special interest to Americans, especially as, accompanying a copy of the note to Germany, a special note was handed to Dr. Reinsch, the American Minister to Peking, in which there appeared the following significant words:

China, being in accord with the principles set forth in your Excellency's [President Wilson's] note, and firmly associating itself with the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to Germany against the new blockade measures. China also proposes to take such other action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

The sentences of greatest weight in Dr. Wu's first note to Germany were these:

The new measures of submarine warfare inaugurated by Germany are imperiling the lives and property of Chinese citizens even more than the measures previously taken, which have already cost China many lives and constitute a violation of international law. * * * If, contrary to expectation, this protest be ineffective, China will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever diplomatic relations.

China's reasons for taking this stand were amply covered by specific ills and grievances at Germany's hands, and by the wider strategy of China's own political position. For specific grievances, China had a death roll of over 200 peaceful merchant seamen, lost on neutral and belligerent ships at the hands of German submarines. In principle also the ambitious and rapidly developing Chinese mercantile communities, whose cornerstone of commercial progress is unrestricted access to the high seas, had begun to distinguish sharply by Feb. 1 between the salutary restraint of allied policing and the indiscriminate outrages of German piracy. The Allies, furthermore, were the principal guarantors of China's integrity and autonomy, and in the closer association with them which thus became so opportune, China's assurance of a place at the peace conference, which she might expect as an actual and belligerent ally, was the third major element which induced her Government to take its first step toward war.

Influenced by America

Lastly, China's move was due to her increasing and always sympathetic responsiveness to the foreign policy of the United States, the only power which today holds no concessions or spheres of interest in her sovereign territory, and has exacted no punitive indemnity from her Government. For China, on America's invitation, capably and energetically presented to the Peking Government by Dr. Reinsch, not only took the first step toward breaking off relations with Germany, but incidentally, for the first time in her modern history, assumed in a diplomatic note a position of active interest and presumptive interference in the affairs of European nations.

The German answer to China's note did not reach Peking till the first days of March, though by Feb. 25, Dr. Yen, China's Minister to Berlin, announced that the German Government had assured him orally that Germany could not alter her submarine campaign. By March 9, however, Admiral von Hintze had handed to the Chinese Government a

formal refusal to accede to China's demands, offering merely the barren assurance that Germany was willing to open negotiations so as better to "respect the lives of Chinese and their property," * * * "hoping" that China would not break off diplomatic relations, and "promising" that Germany would do her utmost to secure China's participation in the peace conference if friendly relations between the two countries were maintained.

China's attitude, in the meantime, had substantially matured toward the final rupture. Three factors, in the main, brought her to this decision. The Japanese Government, through Baron Motono, its Foreign Minister, had publicly announced that it would put no obstacle in the way of China's independent action. Tuan Chi-jui, then Prime Minister of China under President Li Yuan-hung, had assured the nation that the Allies were prepared to guarantee China adequate concessions upon her becoming a belligerent. Chief among these concessions, as stated by Premier Tuan, were the abrogation of the Boxer indemnities (roughly, $15,000,000 in 1916) for the period of the war, and possibly for an even longer period; the extension to China of the right to raise her customs duties above the statutory 5 per cent. now allowed on a diminishing scale of price levels dating back more than ten years, and the removal of the foreign troops installed after the Boxer outrages along the Peking-Mukden Railroad. And, thirdly, under the influence of these guarantees and the possibility of gaining even further concessions, and encouraged by relief from Japanese constraint, China's disputing factions took a larger view of their country's welfare and gave the issue with Germany a clear field for immediate decision.

Diplomatic Relations Severed

That decision was a foregone conclusion. Every politically important element in China's limited but energetic sphere of public life was in favor of breaking off with Germany. The President and the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the military parties of the north, and particularly the radically inclined Parliament, largely representing the ideas of the southern parties, all decisively ratified this momentous step. Scattered elements opposed it, such as a group of radicals led by the famous ex-President Sun Yat-sen, but the southern parties as a whole approved it and backed it. This was clearly shown when, on March 11, Premier Tuan Chi-jui appeared before both houses of Parliament and put the question of rupture with Germany to a final vote. The outcome, a majority of 158 to 37 in the Senate and 331 to 87 in the House, or a joint support of the Premier's policy by 4 to 1, manifested impressively the decision of liberal China and gave the Government an immediate mandate to break off relations with Germany.

Thereupon, on March 14, Dr. Wu Ting-fang handed to Admiral von Hintze a final note, of which the closing words effectually put China's position as follows:

> It [the German reply] is therefore not in accord with the object of that [the Chinese Government's] protest; and the Government of China, to its deep regret, considers its protest to be ineffectual. It is therefore constrained to sever the diplomatic relations at present existing with the Imperial German Government.

Admiral von Hintze was at once given his passports, and China inaugurated her new status toward Germany by seizing German merchant ships at her ports, including six at Shanghai, and interning their crews on shore. Germany's immediate loss through her rupture with China went much further than this, however. China had been the centre and the base of extensive plotting and propaganda in the German cause throughout the Far East. The mutiny at Singapore, seditious propaganda in India, and the mysteriously financed Mongolian bandits who roved along the Siberian border during the first two years of the war are instances of Germany's opportunity, if not of her actual achievements, in the way of using China's neutrality as a safe and convenient shield for the virtual war measures with which we became somewhat earlier so disagreeably familiar in America. With the loss of China's friendship, all this was substantially curtailed.

Loss of Trade Advantages

There is still to be considered Germany's loss of an economic base there. Germany had 244 companies in China at the beginning of the war, with a total capitalization of over a quarter of a billion dollars. Her trade had increased by 120 per cent. in the eight years preceding the war, years in which American trade had remained practically stationary. It was also of a carefully planned strategic quality, specializing in engineering afield in inland China and in representing the firms of many other nations as middlemen in the treaty ports. It had ballasted its favored position everywhere with special concessions; thus it had to lose not merely its own material substance, but just the sort of imponderable advantage derived from long penetration which is hardest to recover; and which China's unfriendliness at once enormously accentuated.

The positive advantage to the Allies of China's rupture with Germany was much less obvious, but it was by no means insignificant. China had by Feb. 1 already sent some 100,000 of her sons as industrial workmen in Government shops, controlled establishments, and war munition factories in general behind the battle lines in France. The closer association with the Allies that became opportune after March 14 opened the way immediately to increase this service far beyond previous plans; so that China's vast labor supply was again drawn upon, and estimates were made for its utilization by the allied Governments in a non-combatant army of 200,000, or even 250,000 men. England also commenced to recruit Chinese labor, in close co-operation with the Chinese Government, not only for service in the factories—and on the farms—of Europe, but for her great construction works in Mesopotamia; while in another extreme of the world's climate Russia, too, enlisted thousands of Chinese woodsmen and northern peasants to serve her agricultural needs as loggers and farm hands in Siberia and Russian Mongolia.

Though there was no immediate prospect, or desire, even after China might declare war on Germany, of sending Chinese troops to Europe, the prospective disposal of China's enormous stocks of iron and coal, as well as those of tin and antimony, of which latter China produces a substantial portion of the world's annual yield, constituted a really estimable allied advantage. Her 500,000-ton* production of iron ore and her 13,000,000-ton* production of coal, both of excellent quality, were each factors in the economic scale in a world reduced to the ultimates in men and metal.

Beginning of Internal Disorder

China's own domestic political situation, stabilized by the crisis of March 14, became less and less stable, however, as that crisis receded. In that situation there were three capital factors. Dominance in China in a military sense was held by the Prime Minister, Tuan Chi-jui, who was also Minister of War and leader of the conservative party of the Generals and old officials generally known (though the designation is not quite accurate) as the northern party. Dominance in a political sense was held by the liberals, led by the President, Li Yuan-hung, an ex-General of the first revolution and a mid-Chinaman from the Yang-tse Province of Hupeh, and backed up by a Cabinet representing the constructive and liberal forces, as distinct from the radicals, of the Republican Government. The third major force, the radical element which was mainly responsible for the first revolution, in 1911, was intrenched in control of the Senate, and held the balance of power, with the assistance of so-called independents, in the House of Representatives.

As the question of China's entrance into the war drew, during April and May, more and more urgently to a decision, sharp and irreconcilable differences between these parties began to be revealed. Already there had been one crisis, between March 6 and 8, when the Prime Minister, in the heat of a disagreement with the President, had left the capital and conducted the Government indepen-

*Approximate estimates. See China Year Book, 1916.

dently from Tien-tsin. The issue then was whether or not Tuan Chi-jui had the right to send a telegram to Tokio which virtually broke off relations with Germany, without consulting Parliament, through the agency and under the tutelage of Japan. President Li eventually induced him to return to the capital and submit the question to Parliament, with the result that China broke with Germany quite as decisively, but independently, with respect to any foreign advice or control whatsoever.

Early in May the Prime Minister began to press for China's immediate entrance into the war. The President's party and the radical parties demurred, first, because they professed not to know positively what guarantees the Allies were prepared to give, and, secondly, because they feared—so they asserted—the plenary powers which a state of war would place in the hands of the Premier and his reactionary followers. A military conference of the chief northern Generals, which had been summoned to the capital in April, gave color to the general fears of a reactionary ascendency by making frequent and vigorous demands for intervention. At length the Premier invited them to meet with the Cabinet, and on May 2 it was announced that the Cabinet was unanimously committed to an immediate declaration of war against Germany.

Drifting Toward Rebellion

On May 10 the Premier appeared before Parliament, and amid scenes of great disorder, and in a session surrounded by soldiers and crowds friendly to the northern party, vehemently urged an unconditional and immediate declaration of China's belligerency on the side of the Allies. After stormy sessions lasting the greater part of the night, Parliament voted down the Premier's policy. The press of the southern parties thereupon directly accused the Premier of seeking the war only as an excuse for instituting martial law and assuming control of the Government. The Premier rejoined by summarily arresting the editor of the leading radical paper in Peking, the bilingual English and Chinese Peking Gazette, who had also accused Tuan of conniving at Japanese ascendency over China's war policy. On this the President acted with equal promptness, and on May 23 dismissed Tuan Chi-jui from office.

Tuan's dismissal was the signal to the northern Generals not merely to endeavor to recover their lost prestige, but to rise in actual rebellion against the Government. President Li attempted to conciliate them by appointing as Premier on May 29 Li Ching-hsi, nephew to the great statesman Li Hung Chang and one of their own leaders; and Parliament ratified his nomination by a decisive and obviously conciliatory majority. But the northern Generals, after seizing every trunk railroad to Peking and after placing their own soldiers around the President's immediate person in Peking, declared on June 3 that they no longer recognized Li Yuan-hung's authority and appointed a Provisional Government, with Hsu Shih-chang, former Premier under Yuan Shih-kai and Viceroy in Manchuria under the Imperial Government, as Dictator. They then issued a proclamation from Tien-tsin reiterating their demand for China's immediate entrance into the war, but insisting that that action must be accompanied by the dismissal of Parliament, the extinction of the almost completed liberal Constitution, and the reinstatement of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. They disclaimed vigorously any desire to set up a monarchy and professed themselves on June 5 to be loyal to the republic.

The situation remained a complete deadlock. On June 7 the American Government dispatched the following note to Peking, the first word to be received from any of the powers, which lent the full weight of American influence to the cause of conciliation:

> The United States Government learns with the most profound regret of the dissensions in China and expresses a sincere desire that tranquillity and political co-ordination be forthwith established.
>
> The entry of China into the war, or the continuance of the status quo in her relations with the German Government, are matters of secondary importance. China's principal necessity is to resume and continue her political entity and proceed along the road to national development. In China's form of govern-

ment, or the personnel which administers the Government, America has only the friendliest interest, and desires to be of service to China.

America expresses the sincere hope that factional and political disputes will be set aside and that all parties and persons will work to re-establish and co-ordinate the Government and secure China's position among nations, which is impossible while there is internal discord.

On the same day Secretary Lansing added to the salutary impression of this note by vehemently disclaiming the statement that America had given any aid or encouragement to the rebellion. On June 11 Dr. George Morrison, British adviser to the Chinese President, added an intimation of the policy of his Government by urging "in the strongest possible manner the retention of Parliament" and by saying directly to President Li Yuan-hung, "You must retain Parliament." Professor Ariga, the Japanese adviser, gave the less decisive advice that President Li had the right to dismiss Parliament if he wished to do so.

The American adviser, Dr. W. Willoughby, interviewed in Tokio, summed up the situation in the following words: "I look for turmoil of long duration between militarism and constitutionalism"; during which, it would seem to be inferred, China's genuinely serviceable participation in the war will be indefinitely delayed.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—A dispatch from Peking, dated June 13, announced that the Presidential mandate dissolving Parliament had been signed by Ching Chao-chung as Acting Premier, and that it was believed that the dissolution would bring about civil war, as the leaders in the southern provinces had telegraphed President Li Yuan-hung that they no longer recognized his authority, despite the fact that the President had accompanied the dissolution mandate with a long statement attempting to justify his action. The President again called into conference at the palace Dr. George Morrison and Professor Nagao Ariga, who repeated the advice they had previously given. The President said that he had already placed his seal on the mandate, and asked what he could do, declaring that he could not obtain the signature of any of the members of the Cabinet to the document. Dr. Morrison replied that the President had better tear it up. Professor Ariga said that if the President was unable to obtain a countersignature of a member of the Cabinet he should get one from the head of the judiciary.

A Tokio dispatch of June 12 stated that the alleged failure of the United States Government to consult Japan before presenting its note to China had caused considerable resentment in Japan. Secretary of State Lansing on June 13 authorized the statement that the text of the note as first published in Japan was false and that the irritation expressed by the Japanese press had been caused by the fabricated text. The correct text was obtained later and accurately printed in the Japanese newspapers. Nevertheless, the latest dispatches show that Japanese opinion holds that the United States should be asked to recognize Japan's special position in China in order to prevent future misunderstandings.]

Better to Die

By FLORENCE EARLE COATES

Better to die, where gallant men are dying,
Than to live on with them that basely fly:
Better to fall, the soulless Fates defying,
Than unassailed to wander vainly, trying
To turn one's face from an accusing sky!

Days matter not, nor years to the undaunted;
To live is nothing,—but to *nobly* live!
The poorest visions of the honor-haunted
Are better worth than pleasure-masks enchanted,
And they win life who life for others give.

The planets in their watchful course behold them—
To live is nothing,—but to nobly live!—
For though the Earth with mother-hands remold them,
Though Ocean in his billowy arms enfold them,
They are as gods, who life to others give!

[OFFICIAL REPORT]

Story of the Russian Upheaval

By Christian L. Lange

Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union and Correspondent of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dr. Lange, a resident of Christiania, has served in the Norwegian Parliament, and was a member of the Second Hague Conference. The report here printed (with minor omissions) is the result of a special investigation in Russia undertaken by Dr. Lange at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment. It was written April 20, 1917, before the resignation of Milukoff and the reorganization of the Provisional Government.

I LEFT Christiania on March 12, when as yet nothing was known at all about what was going on at Petrograd. At Stockholm, where I stopped two days to meet the Interparliamentary Group of the Riksdag, I read telegrams about the riots in the Russian capital. I also learned of the adjourment of the Duma.

The journey to Russia is now [Spring of 1917] very long, the Baltic being impassable. One has to go north by rail for forty hours. I left Stockholm Wednesday, March 14, in the afternoon, and only Friday morning I reached the frontier at Haparanda. In the train I had already seen the first communication from the Executive Committee of the Duma that it had seized the reins of Government, that the Czar's Ministers were in prison, that the Petrograd garrison had joined the Duma, and that the town was quiet.

At Tornea, the Finnish railway terminus, we were examined by the Russian gendarmerie, as usual at European frontiers during the war. I had a laissez-passer from the Russian Minister at Christiania and was not even searched, and I heard from my fellow-travelers that their examination had also been very lenient. The people at the station knew less of what had passed at Petrograd than we. They had not seen the first communiqué, and the Finnish woman who kept the bookstall at the station was delighted when I slipped to her a Swedish paper which gave the text of the document.

Our excitement reached its pitch when we slowly came up to the platform at Bielo-Ostrov, where the customs and passport examinations take place. We were standing ready with our bags, luggage tickets, passports, and everything—the platform was empty, not a human being to be seen. Then, all of a sudden, the carriage door opens, enters a little dwarf, no taller than my writing desk, and he cries out as he rolls down along the corridor: "Liberty is supreme. All the gendarmes are sent to prison to Petrograd. No more passports, no customs. Only liberty reigns!"

He was our herald of the revolution! And he proved true. The train left at once, without any examination at all, and within two minutes we all carried, God knows how, red badges in our buttonholes. I got mine from the carriage maid, who tore asunder a piece of red flag cloth and freely distributed the pieces, and she at once became very communicative. There had been a strike for some hours on the railway lines, a strike of pronounced political character. The men had insisted on the removal of some high Russian officials in the railway administration. As soon as they had obtained satisfaction, they returned to work. This accounted for the delays we had had and still had.

Conditions in Petrograd

On our arrival at Petrograd we found the city quiet. We met some soldiers patrolling the streets; here and there we saw groups of young students with white bands around the left arm bearing in red the letters G. M. (Militia Guard) and a gun thrown across the shoulder. Once or twice we met some persons returning from a dinner party. Otherwise the streets were as if dead, not a horse and carriage, nor a tram. When we had crossed the

great bridge we saw the dreary ruins of the big police court on the Lieteny Prospect, (one of the main thoroughfares.) It had been burned, but otherwise no traces of destruction were to be seen so far. The popular exasperation had turned against the police and its headquarters. Unfortunately, some very important documents were destroyed at the same time; not only the états civils, the registers of the population, their age, status, and so on, but also the archives of the secret police have in part been destroyed, so it is now one of the difficult tasks of the new administration to trace the agents provocateurs, who were everywhere.

As I walked along the Nevsky, I met a procession of workmen, soldiers, and women singing the revolutionary hymn—an old song, I was told—sung to a tune evidently borrowed from the "Marseillaise," but in rather a depraved setting. The text may be rendered as follows

Let us give up the ancient world.
Let us shake its dust from our feet.
We want no idol in gold.
We hate the palace of the Czars.
We will go to our suffering brethren.
We will go to those who are starving.
With them we execrate the felon,
And we will challenge him to fight.
March, march, workmen, forward!

The procession carried red banners, on which was written "Land and Liberty," "Down with Autocracy," &c. It was a revolutionary sight, but at the head of the procession in the very middle of the street I saw a strange sight. High up in a car drawn by a horse a man was standing, turning, turning incessantly his cinematograph, preparing his "Films of the Russian Revolution." Then I understood that I was really a witness of historic events, but also that all danger was passed. Petrograd had settled down to civilized life.

Czar's Dread of War

The revolution of 1917 was inevitable. I remember very well that, when at Petrograd in February, 1914, I was told by Milukoff that the Czar Nicholas had "une peur bleue de la guerre," because he very well realized that there had been an intimate connection between the war with Japan and the ensuing revolution of 1905-1906. This dread of the Czar was in Milukoff's eyes one of the guarantees of European peace, at any rate a security against aggressive tendencies on the part of Russia. On the other hand, there was then in Russia great apprehension of German and Austrian aggression, especially in connection with the negotiations which were to come as to the renewal of the Russo-German Treaty of Commerce, which was to expire in 1917. War with the Central Powers was considered as inevitable, and it may have served as an argument for war in 1914 that Russia at any rate had strong allies.

I was told now in 1917 that there had been divided counsels in the Government of 1914. The majority of the Ministers favored war; a minority, represented by Sazonoff, the Ministers of Finance and of Agriculture, Bark and Kriwoshein, were for peace, and the Rietch, which supported the peace policy of Sazonoff, was even prohibited for a time. The Czar was, as usual, vacillating; fits of seeming restiveness alternated with periods of complete apathy, and as it happened his "peur bleue de la guerre" had no decisive importance. Sazonoff was, however, at any rate able to take up an attitude which left the responsibility of aggression with the other side. But there is no doubt that also at Petrograd—as indeed in all capitals—there was a military party pushing toward war. The responsibilities for the war are divided, European, but they should evidently be apportioned in different degrees.

But when the war came, it was immensely popular in Russia. Slavonic nationalism, which was an important element in aristocracy and among the great landowners, turned against Austria-Hungary and Germany, who were bent on crushing the Slavonic sister State, Serbia. The progressive elements saw the immense importance of the dissolution of the league of the three Emperors, formed around the pactum turpe of the partition of Poland, which had held good for upward of a century and a half, and no less the great potentialities which might flow from the alliance with Western democracy. Their hopes were high during the

first year of the war, as letters from Efremoff and from Milukoff at that time testify. They saw in Germany the stronghold of reaction and of militarism in Europe, and trusted that its downfall would be followed by that of Russian autocracy. It has happened otherwise. But at any rate this feeling created a widespread feeling of responsibility for the war, of the necessity of supplementing, as far as in them lay, the shortcomings of the administration and of the bureaucracy.

Work of the Zemstvos

Thus was called into being a spontaneous participation in the war work from the best and most healthy elements within Russian society. The Association of the Zemstvos on one side, a voluntary institution formed by the members of the Municipal Councils of the "Gouvernements," consequently by men versed in local government and in public affairs, combined with the leaders of the great commercial and industrial enterprises to form all sorts of committees outside the administration. In a hundred ways they have been able to help and to prove their efficiency. When Brusiloff prepared his great offensive, he had, of course, to secure his rear. Trenches were to be dug for the eventuality of a retreat. But he could not use his own soldiers, as their offensive force might be sapped if they knew that positions were prepared for a retreat. Then the Association of the Zemstvos at once mobilized 500,000 peasants, who did the work. Another General complained that his companies were suffering through the fact that so many soldiers were called off to become cooks. In a very short time 50,000 men, not fit for military work, but able to do service as cooks, were put at his disposal. In innumerable ways the Industrial Committee has helped to organize the importation of munitions and of raw materials for the war industries.

Middle Class's Influence

Quietly the direction of Russian life and activity during the war was more and more taken over by the middle class itself, and its services appeared all the more brilliant against the dark setting of the incapacity, the corruption, not to mention the occasional treason, of the old administration. It is, so to speak, the leaders of this activity who have now undertaken also the nominal direction of Russia. The new Premier, Prince Lvoff, was President of the Association of Zemstvos. Gutchkoff, [then,] Minister of War; Konovaloff, [then,] Minister of Commerce and Industry; Chingareff, [then,] Minister of Agriculture, all played leading or prominent parts in the different organizations and committees controlling the private activity for the war, while Milukoff, [then,] Minister for Foreign Affairs, has represented the Russian people before the world, through his work in the press or through his numerous addresses abroad during the war. A new official Russia was silently in formation. It has now risen, shaking off the feeble fetters which Czardom, bureaucracy, and police were trying to lay on a people prepared to work out its own salvation, while the powers of old manifestly proved incapable of their task.

It is impossible to rate highly enough the importance and the influence of the Duma in this silent preparation of the momentous revolution of 1917. If a better horoscope is undoubtedly to be cast for this revolution than for its predecessor of 1905-1906, it is chiefly because the Duma, through its existence alone, has educated Russian public opinion toward common national aims. In the Duma the Russian Nation has found a common symbol, and through the speeches there, especially during the war, the silent desires and hopes of the masses and of the classes have found expression and distinct objects for a national policy. Some of these speeches are so characteristic that they may be cited even here.

Spirit of the Duma

When Milukoff had made his famous attack on Stürmer, an attack which led to the Minister's fall and to the abandonment for the time being of the policy for a separate peace with Germany, Efremoff, leader of the Progressives—an intermediary party between the Octobrists and the Cadets, these latter not by far a radical party—made a speech

in which he said: "There is little use in removing the mushrooms from a rotten trunk, they will sprout again, as soon as weather favors. The only efficient cure is to cut down the rotten trunk." This is pure revolutionary doctrine. And Kerensky once took for his text the famous sculptural groups on the Anitchkoff Bridge on the Nevsky, representing four tamers of horses in different attitudes. He said:

"In the first group you see the tamer dominating his horse; in the second and third group, the horse is more and more freeing itself from its master; in the fourth group the man is on the ground under the hoofs of the horse, who is galloping freely along. The tamer is the Bureaucracy, the horse is the Russian people. It will know how to obtain its liberation."

It would be a great mistake to think that the Fourth Duma was anything resembling a revolutionary assembly. As will be known, the reactionaries and Nationalists, together with the Centre, formed a solid majority against any evolution, even toward Parliamentary Government; even the Octobrists were against Ministerial responsibility. But so glaring was the incapacity of the old régime that a bloc was formed during the war by all the bourgeois parties from the Cadets to the Nationalists. This group united on the single aim of pushing on the war and silently preparing for the moment when the catastrophe to Czarism was to come. The reactionaries dwindled down to insignificance. Even the notorious Purishkevitch, who took service in the army, joined the bloc, and the still more notorious Markoff II. was pictured in a cartoon sitting sulking in his corner as the "only Russian conservative."

This was long before the revolution. The Cadets had to make sacrifices in order to keep this bloc together. Thus they voted, and Milukoff himself spoke, against a proposal of raising the question of Ministerial responsibility before the Duma. "The time was not ripe." Miluokff's attitude then impaired his popularity with the radical elements, and this fact, together with his imperialistic attitude with regard to the objects of the war, may compromise his position. As a matter of fact, he is rather isolated in the Government. But the bloc was maintained, and the way paved for a united advance, when the movement of action was to come.

Czar Like Louis XVI.

It is doubtful whether the Duma would ever have taken an initiative of revolution, but the fact that even Rodzianko, the moderate Octobrist President of the Duma, was ready to take the chair in the new Executive Committee; that the still more conservative Shulgin was ready to go with Gutchkoff to force Nicholas to abdicate, shows how far the conviction of the necessity of a profound change had spread. Everybody saw that a catastrophe was coming. But they did not know when. Would it be during the war, would it be after? Nobody was able to tell. But they saw the necessity of preparation, of, so to speak, mobilization for the eventuality. The Executive Committee was secretly formed; even the Ministers were designated long ago. Therefore, the decisions could be made so quickly when the supreme moment arrived.

Czardom took upon itself to force matters to an issue. Nicholas Romanoff will probably figure in history as no less a tragical personality than Louis XVI. Indeed, there are several points of resemblance. But above all they are alike in having had consorts whose influence became fatal to them; both partook of the intense unpopularity their wives had incurred. The Empress Alexandra has not been wasteful or extravagant as Marie Antoinette, but her connection with the notorious Rasputin, to whom in her hysteria she became quite submissive, sapped no less the last remnants of loyalty to the dynasty. Rasputin's corpse was buried in the imperial park at Tsarskoe Selo, and it was told that the corpse had been removed to be burned; in order to put an end to this sordid story and to any attempt at beatification of the "Starest," an ikon (a saint's image) was found with the corpse, on the back of which were written the names Alexandra, Olga, Tatyana, &c.—the whole family.

But the supreme trait of similarity between the two ill-fated Queens is their "enemy connection"—Marie Antoinette "l'autrichienne"; Alexandra the German, female cousin of Wilhelm the Kaiser. And unfortunately there is no doubt that the Czaritsa's "enemy connection" was far from innocent. She has not only been active in all the tentative efforts for a separate peace, but I was told in diplomatic circles that on one occasion an offensive movement, fully prepared, had been stopped by a telegram signed by her name. A wireless was in function at Tsarskoe Selo, corresponding with Nauen.

Anybody can see how all this must have killed the last remnants of loyalty, already undermined by the notorious incapacity of the administration to cope with the problems of the war. The continual changes of Ministers proved the vacillation at the head of affairs. Czarism was evidently tottering to its fall.

Quem Deus perdere vult, prius dementat. The Government, in an act of sheer desperation, added open provocation to its glaring faults and shortcomings. By stopping the transport of food to Petrograd it intended to call forth riots in the capital; they were to serve as pretexts for an adjournment of the Duma, for the creation of a practical dictatorship probably in the hands of Protopopoff or of a "strong" General, and lastly for the conclusion of a separate peace. Efremoff told me that one was on the track of a telegram to this effect: "Almost all transports to Petrograd stopped. Everything goes well." Under it the signature of a Minister.

Power of the Proletariat

The form which the provocation took called in the element which made the revolution. The Duma would perhaps have been capable of a coup d'état, and Efremoff told me that in fact this had always been the favorite hypothesis. But the proletariat are willing to pay with their lives. And the proletariat found an associate in the garrison of Petrograd. These two facts are of capital importance; the latter gave the victory to the revolution; both together determined the democratic character of the events, and it seems as if this characteristic has come to stay. The democratic elements have been very strong in the revolution itself, and these forces are organizing themselves in order to maintain their influence.

The troops at Petrograd combined with the workmen refused to shoot at the people, and turned their guns against the police. The explanation of this extraordinary fact is to be found in the composition of these troops. They were not real garrison soldiers; they were partly older reserve soldiers, recently called to the colors after having passed years in their villages, partly young recruits, who had not yet undergone the influence of the barracks. They were really a peasant democracy, who through their stay in the regiments had developed a certain class feeling, not as soldiers, but as peasant laborers having interests in common with the Petrograd proletariat, among whom many of them probably have found friends or relatives from their own villages. When ordered to fire on the people they immediately protested and fired on the police instead. And the two popular forces then turned to the Duma as the representative of the Russian Nation, asking the National Assembly to take the lead which had fallen from the hands of the Government.

In order to co-operate, the soldiers and workmen organized their council, to which each regiment and each factory sent a delegate. Through an Executive Committee and a delegation they opened negotiations with the Duma, whose Executive Committee, as stated above, was ready to act.

Kerensky Chief Figure

The central figure in this situation became the Duma member for Saratoff, Kerensky, a young barrister. This remarkable man is the leader of the "Revolutionary Socialists"—thus far a misnomer, as they are revolutionary only as the word applies to the method of their action. As long as the autocracy existed they approved of terroristic attempts. After the revolution they declared for parliamentary action and popular propaganda alone, and one of Kerensky's first decrees as Minister of

Justice abolished capital punishment. In their program they can hardly be said to be Socialists; it is rather an agrarian party aiming at the creation of a class of small proprietors, and most of their adherents are peasants and land laborers, while the workers of the towns rally round Tscheidze, who is an orthodox Marxist and whose program appeals to the industrial workingman.

Kerensky was the link between the bourgeois Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Through his unique eloquence and moral courage he was able to exert an enormous influence during these first difficult weeks, and the state of his health is a serious matter. It is bad, for he is suffering from tuberculosis of the kidneys, one of which has been removed, alas, very late, for the Russian surgeons had not discovered what was really the matter; it was during a visit to Finland that the very serious state of his health was discovered and the necessary operation undertaken.

He is sitting in the new Government as the representative, but at the same time as the hostage, of democracy. It would be most difficult to find a substitute, and every well-wisher for Russia will hope and pray that he may be spared for the great mission awaiting him. He made an extraordinary impression on me during my conversation with him; a soul of fire, sincere, and truthful to himself, at the same time a powerful intelligence and a born leader. His powers of work are said to be extraordinary. * * *

The Constituent Assembly

The big question, besides the prosecution of the war, is the organization and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The Government program says the assembly was to meet "as soon as possible." I suppose the Ministers are likely to put the stress on the last word. Indeed, I hardly spoke with one bourgeois politician without his shaking his head over the impossibility of coordinating the working of this assembly with the active prosecution of the war. They, therefore, sincerely hope to see the end of the war in the Autumn. But if the end does not come, they are likely to insist on the necessity of postponing the assembly.

On the other hand, the more extreme elements wish to strike the iron while it is hot, and the last proclamation from the council requests the immediate organization of the assembly. The Premier, Prince Lvoff, has said it was to meet within a period of at least three, at most six, months. The problem is not only one of organization; for instance, how are the soldiers at the front to vote, the vote being not only the act of putting a ballot in a box, but a method of contributing to form a real public opinion on a series of very grave questions? There is also the serious difficulty of having a deliberative assembly sitting discussing intricate constitutional and social problems while the greatest war in history is being waged at the frontier. Indeed, it is highly to be desired that the bloodshed might come to an early end, if for no other reasons, lest the future of Russia should be compromised.

Outlook for the Republic

As to the future constitution, there is officially and outwardly absolute unanimity; the cadets, even the progressives, have put the democratic republic on their program. Indeed, no sane politician, at the present juncture, considers any other solution as possible. Monarchy, and especially the dynasty, is compromised beyond remedy; none of the Grand Dukes is to be thought of as Czar, because it would imply dangerous family connections. But bourgeois politicians are far from enthusiastic republicans. They see the danger in such an enormous empire passing at one single step from an autocracy to a republic, and they are not blind to the advantages of monarchy as a symbol of the unity and the indivisibility of the nation. This did not imply any sentimentalism toward the Little Father, and I was told that the existence of this sentiment even among the peasants was greatly exaggerated. There was only cool political calculation in it. Efremoff went to the length of saying to me: "If we only had had a very popular General—"

This would seem a most dangerous experiment. And I know that Milukoff and other cadet leaders reluctantly approved of the republic being admitted to their program.

I imagine that the solution contemplated is a sort of federal republic, based on the nationalities and races within the enormous empire as constituent parts, probably supplemented with local divisions in the Great Russian provinces. This solution, more or less on American lines, can, as in the United States, be combined with a strong executive power. It sounds like a prophecy that the American Constitution has sometimes been defined as a "Czaristic" republic.

Already the Government program had outlined large liberties of speech, of association, even of strike—the first instance, I believe, in history. The last point is of special importance to the industrial workman, and through his participation in the revolution he has also obtained another advantage—the eight-hour day. It is interesting to note that one of the Frères Nobel expressly stated that they were delighted with the result of this régime. Its efficiency was better than the former one with the long hours, which had tempted to passivity and even to sabotage.

These problems of industry are, however, not by far so important to Russia as the all-dominating agrarian problem, which will absorb a great part of the activity and the interests of the Constituent Assembly. In his heart of hearts every Russian is an agriculturist, in his dreams a landed proprietor. "Land and liberty" was written on every second red banner. The soldiers, peasants themselves or peasants' sons, voiced this desire, and everybody realized that it had to be satisfied on a very large scale.

Rural Conditions

The state of the Russian countryside during the war is very curious, and in a certain respect an unexpected one. The absolute prohibition of vodka—very strictly executed—in the Petrograd hotels I saw no stronger drink than kvass, a sort of ginger beer—has stopped the chief expense of the peasants toward luxury; the soldiers' wives and mothers receive Government support; the absence of workmen creates a great demand for laborers, with a consequent rise of wages; all this combines to create an unknown prosperity in the villages. The peasant girls are able to buy a greater number of those gowns which, hanging new and not yet used in the large wardrobe, are to impress their suitors. They are now said to decline work offered to them with the remark: "I have got gowns enough." The peasants, among them the soldiers on returning from the front or from captivity, will be able to buy land. On the other hand, the great landowners are often unable to work their fields because of the scarcity of labor. They will, therefore, be willing to sell land. So far all seems well.

The danger is that there may be ideas of the laborer's right to own the land he till now has been working on. There will be hot debates about the principle of expropriation and its application. The landowners will say: "Why shall landed property alone be considered as more or less liable to confiscation? Why not as well the industrial plant, or personal property?" Fortunately, immense tracts of land will be at the disposal of the nation in the form of public domains or of land belonging to the monasteries. Here thousands on thousands of peasants can be made proprietors without any great difficulty, and means can perhaps be found of financing also the transfer of private land from the great owners to small holders. Everybody will see the great seriousness of this problem and its bearing on the future of Russia. In this new class of small farmers new Russia will find the basis of its democracy, just as the French Revolution found it for France.

Difficult Racial Problems

The Government program proclaimed the abolition of all disabilities for racial and religious reasons. This principle, loyally executed, will automatically take away the sting in the otherwise so thorny questions of delimitation within the empire, especially in the west, where on the wide plains the different nationalities—Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Ests, and other Baltic races—merge imperceptibly one into the other, or in the Caucasus,

where the motley diversity is as great. No doubt, however, there will still be great difficulties in this respect, and more especially this will be the case with the Jews. I had no special opportunity of studying the Semitic problem, and therefore shall only give one piece of information, which shows on one hand its acuity, on the other the apprehensions as to the future.

The leading inspirer of the cadets is said to be an Israelitic Petrograd barrister, Vinaver, a close friend of Milukoff and an exceptionally able man. The Government had nominated him a Senator, member of the High Court, but he declined, because he would not expose the revolution to the risk of being dubbed a "Semitic machination." Generally the Jews took up an attitude of great reserve. Pogroms were still considered as possible.

To return to the problems of nationality, there are two questions under this head which require special treatment, namely, Finland and Poland.

The complete liberation of Finland, the reversal of all laws and decrees issued contrary to the Finnish Constitution, and the proclamation of the right of the Finnish people to decide, through their own representatives, the future relations between Finland and Russia, was on one hand the fulfillment of an old pledge from Russian liberals to the Finns. Especially Milukoff, Rodicheff, now Secretary of State for Finland, and Stakhovitch, now Governor General, had engaged themselves strongly on this line. It was, moreover, a sort of morning gift to Western democracy which has always taken a special interest in progressive Finland. And it was—last, but not least—a stroke of generous and far-sighted policy against the German machinations in Finland, which surely in certain contingencies might have been extremely dangerous: Finland is the glacis of Petrograd.

The Case of Finland

It is no secret that during the war numerous young Finns have crossed the frontier to go to Germany, where hundreds of them have been trained as officers to lead an eventual Finnish insurrection. It is said that thousands of young men in Finland itself have been equipped in secret for military service: two pairs of boots, a Winter coat, a gun, &c. But it was understood that no movement was to be initiated if the Germans did not succeed in throwing artillery across the Gulf of Finland. Hence the extreme importance of the Riga front.

This movement found chiefly its adherents among the Swedish party in Finland, a political faction decidedly on the wane, but still important because of its strong intellectual and economic position. However, only part of them favored this policy of despair, which really amounted to a driving out of the devil by Beelzebub. Some adherents were also said to have come from the "Old Fennomans," a conservative party which often has been very weak-kneed toward Russia. Their belief in authority as the supreme prop of social life may have brought some of them to admire the Prussian spirit. * * *

[The Swedish Party late in May issued an address demanding a separate republic for Finland, but it received no approval at Petrograd.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Finns very well see the realities of the problem—that Russia and Finland are indissoluble for plain geographical reasons. It would be sheer insanity for Finland to rely on the support of Germany, from which it is divided by the sea, while Russia dominates its entire land frontier to the east, while the Russian capital is situated at a distance of only a few miles. Moreover, Finnish industrial merchandise and dairy produce are dependent on the Russian market.

The Finns do not desire their country to be merged in the Russian Empire as one of its constituent parts. They demand a separate existence, a Finnish State at Russia's side, united with the empire through a sort of loose union, giving to Russia only the direction of foreign affairs. The problem is a delicate one, besides entirely new in the history of constitutional law, if Russia is to become a republic, and as the Finns are a difficult race to treat with, tenacious,

sometimes revengeful, it may tax the powers of statesmen on both sides.

Free Poland Possible

The proclamation from the Russian Government to the Poles is the highest bid made during the war for the sympathies of this people, which, after a tragedy of more than a hundred years, can at last look forward with certainty to a future of political independent life for part, if not for the whole, of the race. And this bid is not only a clever diplomatic device made to win the sympathy of the Poles, it is a sincere application of the principle of nationalities. The Russians, of course, wish to see a reunited Poland, including the Polish—but not the Ukrainian—part of Galicia, the whole of Posnania, and the Polish parts of Silesia and West Prussia. Only this enumeration suffices to show what problems will be raised in connection with this program. Germany is far from entertaining any idea of this sort. But if an independent Poland were formed, say, out of Russian Poland and Western Galicia, it would certainly exercise a most powerful attraction on the Poles in the Prussian irredenta. It is incomprehensible how Austria and Germany have been capable of creating their "Kingdom of Poland" after the experience of Austria with an Italian and a Serbian irredenta. The need for Polish soldiers must have been enormous, indeed.

Many will doubt the sincerity of Russia in giving full freedom of action to the Poles as to the future of their new State. I had an opportunity of discussing the question with Efremoff, now a member of the Executive Committee, consequently in close touch with the Government, and his opinion was that, after all, an entirely independent Poland would perhaps represent the best solution for Russia. A buffer State might be useful against Germany, though he saw the danger of the absence of military frontiers, if the principle of international anarchy were still to prevail. But he added that a complete severance from Poland would present certain inner advantages to Russia. Polish nobles had bought land in Russia, and they were hard masters to the Russian peasants. Many Poles had obtained high situations in Russian administration, and after a very short time their offices had been filled with Poles. It is curious to observe this animosity against a seemingly subject race which has been able to obtain a superior social position. There are parallels in the relation between English and Scots, between English and Irish.

It goes without saying that full separation would raise most difficult problems; Polish industry is dependent on the Russian market; a tariff arrangement would at any rate be necessary. A connection between Poland and Germany would spell economic ruin to Polish industry, as it could not withstand German competition. For this reason alone no Pole in his senses can have seriously entertained the idea of looking westward.

In any case, whether the solution is to be one of complete separation or one of a connection with Russia, there will be the most difficult problems of delimitation. * * *

Able to Keep War Going

There is no doubt that Russia is still able—from an exclusively military point of view—to prosecute the war. Its offensive powers are impaired through lack of munitions and guns. But the new régime has, at any rate, done away with the artificial impediments created by the late Government and the dynasty, and Russia still disposes of great reserves in man power—it was said about forty divisions, at least one million of fully trained men, besides the young recruits now being trained, and one year gives another million—and in officers. Especially there is a large reserve of cavalry officers who might be used also as leaders of infantry. Besides, a potential reserve is to be found in young cultivated Jews who have been trained as soldiers but have not been admitted to serve as officers. They would be able—if need be—to act as garrison officers and in other subsidiary military situations.

The financial position is far from good. The debt is enormous, the paper money

flooding the country is daily increasing in bulk, and the foreign exchange is deplorable, because the exports have practically ceased. But, economically speaking, the position of Russia is probably better than that of any other European country now at war. Agriculture is Russia's chief pursuit; in consequence it is suffering far less than highly industrialized countries like Great Britain, Germany, or France. It can find within its own borders nearly everything it may want. The problem is one of transportation and of organization.

Russia, then, still can certainly go on with the war for years. And its present Government is firmly determined to remain true to the London agreement, and to conclude peace only in common with the other allies. It must not be forgotten that the support of the Western Powers was decisive for the very success of the "miraculous" revolution, that Russia financially is dependent on France and Great Britain, tied to them by "golden chains." The Government and the Duma both are bent on prosecuting the war as one of liberation for Europe in general. Russia has freed itself; now Germany and Austria are to follow suit. This is a conception common to bourgeois liberals and to Socialist workingmen. Both regard the two Central Powers as the props of reaction in Europe. The middle classes and the peasants, moreover, consider the war as a means of liberation from the commercial domination of Germany, established by the treaty of 1907.

[Dr. Lange concludes his report with the prediction that Russia will remain true to the Allies.]

The Career of Kerensky

ALEXANDER KERENSKY, the real leader of the Russian revolution, first became Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government and recently succeeded Gutchkoff as Minister of War, achieving wonders in reviving the army as a fighting force during May and June. He was born about thirty-five years ago in Tashkent, a Russian town in Middle Asia. Although of small means, he succeeded in obtaining a university education and becoming a lawyer. From the beginning of his practice he was an energetic defender of workmen and peasants, appearing in their interest when they were arrested and oppressed by agents of the Czar's Government. He included the Jews among his clients, and fought for the rights which the anti-Semitic powers denied them. The climax of his legal career came in 1912, when he represented the workmen in an investigation following the shooting by the police of some sixty strikers in the gold fields along the River Lena. His work in this case made him famous throughout Russia as a friend of the revolutionary forces and an enemy of the autocratic Government.

The lawyer entered public life about four years ago and was elected to the Duma, where he became the leader of the Socialist labor forces. He was constantly under the eye of the Czar's police, who dared not touch him, however, without real provocation, because of his membership in the national body. They thought they had this provocation shortly before the revolution, when Kerensky attacked the Government in a speech in the Duma, and, according to information, the order for his arrest had been prepared when the revolution nullified it.

As a member of the Duma, Kerensky strengthened his attack upon the Czar's Government by exposing the corruption and pro-Germanism among the ruling powers. The Black Hundreds of Russia were so German in their sympathies that they were called the "Prussian leaders," instead of the "Russian leaders," and they were the most intolerant and autocratic of all the factors in the old régime. Kerensky investigated their conduct during the war and made public exposure of their sentiments.

He also turned the spotlight upon wholesale corruption among the officials

who purchased supplies for the army, and by this work did much to hasten the revolution.

When the revolution was making its first rumblings heard, the Czar ordered the dissolution of the Duma, and Kerensky, rising in his place, said: "We will not go. We will stay here." And the Duma stayed.

Kerensky was made Minister of Justice in the original Provisional Government, and one of his first official acts was to issue an order releasing all the political prisoners in Siberia.

His friends testify that one of his outstanding qualities is tact, and it was by this that he was able, they say, to assist materially in reconciling disputing factions and persuading them to form the present Provisional Government.

Kerensky is described as a slight, moderately tall, blonde man who looks more like an Englishman than a Russian. He is said to be one of the most forceful public speakers in Russia and a clear-thinking man, possessing ability to present his thoughts with compelling logic. His popularity among the masses, according to report, amounts to enthusiastic faith.

Details of the Czar's Abdication

Nicholas II. abdicated the throne of Russia at Pskof Station on March 15, 1917. *A correspondent of the Paris Temps has obtained from M. Choulgine, one of the actors in the memorable scene, the following detailed narrative of what took place:*

AS our train stopped in the station of Pskof, one of the Emperor's Aids de Camp entered our carriage and said: "His Majesty is awaiting you." We only had to go a few steps to reach the imperial train. I was not in the least moved. We had reached that extreme of physical tension after the days which we had just lived in Petrograd, when nothing can either astonish or seem impossible.

We entered a brightly lighted saloon carriage upholstered in pale green. The Court Chamberlain and General Narischkine were there and the Emperor entered immediately; he was wearing the uniform of one of the Caucasian regiments. He seemed quite calm and shook hands with us; he was in fact more cordial than cold. He sat down and told us to do the same. Gutchkoff sat by him near a small round table; I sat opposite Gutchkoff, Freedericks sat a little further along, and General Narischkine took his seat at a table, ready to take down all that was said, as he had been asked to do by the Emperor. General Russky entered at that moment, apologized for not having been there when we arrived, bowed to us and took his place next to me, that is, opposite the Czar.

Gutchkoff spoke. I was afraid that he would be pitiless and that he would say something cruel to the Emperor. But I soon felt reassured. Gutchkoff spoke at length and quite easily. The parts of his speech seemed to come in perfect order. He did not refer to the past, but spoke of the present, trying to make his hearer understand how far the country had fallen. He spoke with lowered eyes and his hand on the little table, and so he could not see the face of the Czar, and this made it easier for him to finish his painful speech. He ended it by stating that the only way out of the situation was for the monarch to abdicate in favor of the little Alexis, with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent. At the moment when Gutchkoff was saying these words, Russky leaned toward me and whispered: "This has already been decided."

Then the Emperor spoke. His voice and his gestures were much calmer, much more simple than Gutchkoff's manner and speech had been. Gutchkoff was deeply moved by the momentous nature of the interview, and this made him emphatic. "I have thought a great deal yesterday and today," said Nicholas II., in the same tone of voice as if he had

been speaking of some ordinary business. "Up to 3 o'clock today I was prepared to abdicate in favor of my son, but I have since realized that it would be impossible for me to be separated from him." The Czar here paused slightly, and then continued as calmly: "You will understand me, I hope! That is why I have decided to abdicate in favor of my brother." He was then silent as if he expected some reply.

I then said: "This proposition is a surprise to us; we only considered an abdication in favor of the Czarevitch Alexis. I therefore request to be permitted to have a few minutes' private conversation with Alexandre Ivanovitch (Gutchkoff) so that we may give a considered reply. The Czar consented, and I forget now how the conversation was resumed, but it is a certain fact that we made no difficulties in accepting the objections which were set before us. Gutchkoff said that he did not feel he had the courage to combat the feelings of a father, and considered all pressure impossible on that point. It seemed to me that, on hearing this, a trace of satisfaction passed over the face of the sovereign whom we had just dethroned. * * * We therefore accepted, under these conditions, the Emperor's solution.

He then asked us if we could guarantee with certainty that the act of abdication would bring peace to the country and not provoke further effervescence. We replied that, as far as it was possible to foresee the future, we did not expect difficulties of that kind. I am not quite certain as to when exactly the Czar retired into the next carriage to sign the act. He came back at about 11:15, holding a few small-sized pieces of paper in his right hand. He said to us: "This is the act of abdication, read it." We read it in low tones. The document was in noble language. I felt ashamed of the text which we had rapidly written down. I, however, asked the Emperor to add to the phrase, "We request our brother to govern in full unity with the representatives of the nation sitting in the legislative assemblies," the following words: "And to give assurance of this on oath to the people." The Czar consented and immediately added what I asked, changing, however the alteration, which finally read, "And to enter with them upon a sworn and inviolable agreement." Thus Michael Alexandrovitch was a constitutional sovereign in the full acceptation of the term. Events have gone beyond the form of government which we were considering.

The act was copied in type on small sheets of paper. * * * Two or three copies were made. The Emperor signed in pencil. * * * When I looked at my watch for the last time it was 11:48.

What Has Paralyzed Russia's Armies

M. Tscheidze's Political Ideal

A British newspaper correspondent recently talked with M. Tscheidze, head of the Petrograd Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the central revolutionary organization that has its network of committees throughout Russia and the Russian Army. Coming from the man who, with Kerensky, may be said to control Russia's war policy, his ideas may be of far-reaching importance. The correspondent wrote:

M. TSCHEIDZE, in appearance, is our own John Burns in duodecimo. He is a highly educated man and a lawyer. After courtesies, this brisk little gentleman, sitting sideways on an upright chair, with both hands clasped on the back of it, announced that while with all the will in the world he would answer any question about Russian socialism which I cared to put to him, he would first of all be greatly obliged if I would allow him to address a few questions to me on a matter of very first-rate importance.

His questions did not at that time seem to me of very first-rate importance. I now realize how important they were—nay, how important they are still. Indeed, the future of our relations with

democratic Russia may turn upon the answers which Britain makes by her policy to these questions of M. Tscheidze.

Briefly, his questions come to this: Is it not true that the war has destroyed English liberalism? Is it not a fact that we have surrendered all those liberties for which we profess ourselves to be fighting? What has happened to our right of public meeting, our free speech, our liberty of the press, even to our right of trial by jury? In a word, has not this war forced us to abandon the democratic principle of government which has been Britain's glory for so many years, and obliged us to adopt the Prussian system of a military dictatorship, which we denounce?

Very earnestly did I seek to persuade M. Tscheidze that there is all the difference in the world between democracy's deliberate choice of a certain curtailment of its liberties, in its own general interests, and an absolutist system of government holding in its iron grip a nation which has never been free to decide under what form of government it will live. He saw what I meant, but was not convinced.

His point was that Britain's course had acted as a check to the democratic movement all over the world; that it had tended to discredit the democratic principle, and that those men who were fighting for freedom in other nations felt themselves depressed by Britain's submission to a virtual dictatorship.

"Is it not true," he demanded, "that your soldiers decide what shall be printed and what not?"

"Only in the interests of our strategy," I replied, believing at the time that what I said was true.

"Is it not true," he demanded, "that your soldiers decide what meetings should be held and what suppressed?"

I made a like answer.

"Is it not true that your soldiers seize people and lock them up in prison without trial?"

I flatly denied this, not knowing at the time that Miss Howson, for one, had been so treated—she has now been nineteen months in prison without legal advice and without a trial.

M. Tscheidze then held forth to me on the general question. War, he declared, is the most dangerous enemy of freedom. Rights are surrendered which may never be regained. The man of thought is displaced by the man of action. Reason gives way to force. The destinies of the human race are taken out of the hands of the thinker and intrusted to the soldier. With the soldier in power no one knows what may happen—no one is permitted even to discuss what ought to happen. The soldier only thinks in slaughter and destruction. He has no political instincts, no sense of statesmanship. His one business is to kill. He kills, and keeps on killing till there is nothing more to kill. It is not safe to trust the world to such a man. The thinkers must continue to think. Discussion must be free, so that truth may emerge.

It is a dangerous policy to dismiss the Russian Socialist as a dreamer or to lament, as is done in some quarters, that the people of Russia have fallen victims to the sentimental idealism of Tolstoy. * * * The Rusisan Socialist believes that the Germans themselves will destroy Kaiserism. He is not, believe me, false to our ideals in this war. The trouble that he causes springs only from the fact that he hungers and thirsts with all the force of his idealism to get what we want by reason and not by force.

The Russian and French Revolutions

1789—1917: Parallels and Contrasts

THE clamor in the fortress of Kronstadt for the immediate trial and punishment of the deposed Czar is a vivid reminder of the French Revolution, in the perilous days at the close of 1792, when Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, the leaders of the extremists, were debating the punishment of Louis XVI., who was condemned to death and executed on Jan. 21, 1793. The charge against Louis XVI. was "treason against the nation"; he had been proved guilty of treasonable communication with Leopold, Emperor of Austria, whose armies were threatening the very life of revolutionary France. The parallel is made closer when we compare the rôle of the former Russian Empress—a German Princess, at heart devoted to the German Emperor and the German cause—with the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, sister of the Austrian Emperor, fanatical upholder of despotic government and fatal counselor of Louis of France. And, just as Marie Antoinette had, with blind and ruinous obstinacy, exercised her baneful fascination over the French King, most of all in the selection of Ministers, so Alexandra of Russia, prompted thereto by Germany's tool, Rasputin, in fact brought about the fall of Nicholas II. by leading him to appoint men like Stürmer and Protopopoff to rule the Russian Empire.

Louis XVI., faced by national bankruptcy brought on by the excesses and fiscal follies of his predecessor, had chosen at first wise men like Turgot and Necker; Turgot, of whom Carlyle said that there was "a whole pacific French Revolution in that head," might have saved France from a revolution of violence by his wise reforms and economies—abolition of the corvée, of the internal tolls on the transport of grain, of the ancient guilds which strangled labor; equalization of burdens, abolition of feudal dues, systematized public education. But all this was brought to nought through the fanatical hostility of Marie Antoinette, whose sulking and pouting induced Louis XVI. to betray and dismiss Turgot. Necker followed, advocating similar reforms, but once more the Queen demanded and obtained his dismissal; and, with the appointment of Calonne and his successors, unscrupulous favorites of Marie Antoinette, the revolution of violence became inevitable. These men were the Stürmers and Protopopoffs of revolutionary France.

Duma and Constituent Assembly

There is a parallel equally close between the succession of assemblies in the two countries. Louis XVI., after Turgot and Necker had been dismissed, tried to govern through the Notables of France, a body of men of the privileged classes, not elected but in effect nominated by the sovereign, who bear a close resemblance to the old Council of the Empire in Russia. When the Notables accomplished nothing, but, on the contrary, blocked every project of reform, there was a general outcry for the summoning of the States General; and from this body was evolved the revolutionary Constituent Assembly. In the same way, the Council of the Empire in Russia gave way before the Imperial Duma, and the Duma did much to bring about the Russian revolution.

The French States General was a reversion to an older form of government that had gradually been forced out of existence by the growing autocracy of the Kings of France. It had been summoned last in 1614. By a curious coincidence, the last great representative assembly in Russia met almost at the same time—in 1613—this being the Constituent Assembly which elected the house of Romanoff. And, as the States General had at first no intention either to dethrone Louis XVI.

or to bring about a revolution, so the Russian Duma expected to open the way not to a republic but to a constitutional monarchy. And in both countries it is practically certain that, had the sovereign wisely and loyally yielded at the critical moment, establishing genuine representative institutions and a Ministry responsible to the representatives of the nation, no revolution would have taken place. In both countries, likewise, the final and fatal opposition came from the foreign Queen and through her dangerous power over the sovereign.

Voltaire and Tolstoy

In Russia, as in France, there was a long preparation for the coming revolution, carried out not by politicians and statesmen, but by a brilliant and impassioned group of philosophical essayists and writers. There is, at first blush, small resemblance between Voltaire, "that leering old mocker," as Lowell called him, and the grimly serious, almost lugubrious Count Tolstoy; but the contrast between them is largely the difference between the Gallic and the Slavonic genius.

We think of Voltaire as an iconoclastic philosopher, jeering at churches; he valued himself rather as a dramatist, a poet, a writer of imagination, and was, without doubt, far prouder of his plays than of his theories. Tolstoy had a like twofold influence. Transcendently great as an imaginative writer, the author of "Anna Karénina," of "War and Peace," of "The Resurrection," he himself held, in his later years, that these things were valueless; that only his moral and political theories had real worth. History has, in a way, indorsed his judgment; for it is to the philosophic anarchism and pacifism of Tolstoy that we owe much of the dominant mood of Russia at this moment, from the seizure of land by the peasants of Pskov and Bessarabia to the dangerous "fraternization" in the trenches, where the youthful soldiers believe that they are carrying out Tolstoy's interpretation of the command "Love your enemies." Tolstoy wrote the gospel which the revolutionaries of Kronstadt and Schluesselburg are trying to carry out. His tracts are the inspiration of the Lenins and Lomanoffs who are urging Russia to make peace with her enemies, to open the era of universal brotherhood.

But, just as against the philosophical aloofness of Voltaire stood the impassioned anarchism of Rousseau—Rousseau with his "Social Contract," opening with the words, "Man was born free, but he is everywhere in chains," which inspired the opening phrase of the American Declaration of Independence, has his Russian counterparts in Herzen and Bakunin, the real fathers of Russia's revolutionary socialism. Tolstoy, while preaching against political, social, and economic injustice, also preached pacifism and absolute nonresistance; his doctrines, logically followed, could never have led to armed revolt, though they might have inspired and reinforced it. But Herzen and Bakunin were all for action; for the forcible seizure of power by the proletariat, for the formation of such an internationale as the extremists in Petrograd are advocating today. It is true that many of the phrases of the Russian extremists were created by Karl Marx, when he wrote "Capital"; such ideas as the description of the present world conflict as "a capitalistic war"; but the real drive and force of these ideas in Russia is due to the influence and writings of men like Herzen and Bakunin, and their disciples, Prince Peter Kropotkin and Maxim Gorky. It is quite true that Kropotkin's long sojourn in England has made him enthusiastically pro-ally, but that does not cancel his earlier preaching of anarchism. In one sense he is pro-ally because he sees that the democracy of England and France is far closer to the absolute liberty which is his ideal.

Feudalism and Bureaucracy

To a very large degree the French Revolution was a passionate uprising against feudal privilege; against the terrible oppression and depression of the peasantry of France. Immediately after the taking of the Bastile, on July 14, 1789, the downtrodden peasantry throughout France rose in armed insurrection; roving bands plundered and demolished the châteaux of the nobles, filling the

land with a carnival of bloodshed and outrage.

Here we have the first sharp contrast. Russia had no feudal system. And while in France hardly one-fifth of the land was in effective possession of peasant proprietors, in Russia much less than one-fifth was in possession of hereditary landlords who might be compared with the feudal nobles of France. This, because, as a result of the great Act of Emancipation carried out by the Czar, Alexander II., in 1861—two years before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—large masses of the Russian peasantry became landowners, while some four-tenths of Russia's arable land formed the Crown demesne, having, therefore, no landlord but the Czar himself. And, as one of the first acts of the revolutionary Government of Russia was to declare the Crown demesne forfeit, there were, for this enormous tract of over a million square miles, no land-owning nobles to dispossess.

There was an equally sharp contrast between the methods of procedure in the two countries. While France saw wild excesses of outrage and bloodshed in every province, in Russia the very small fraction of the land seized by the peasants was taken without brutality on the one side, without resistance on the other. So far, not a single murder has been attributed to this cause in Russia, though there have been many cases of plunder and incendiarism. The real enemy in Russia was not feudalism, but bureaucracy. It follows that one chief cause of later disorder in revolutionary France—the creation of the class of emigrés, or exile nobles—can have no existence in Russia. The French emigrés, the land-owning nobles who survived the first uprising and massacre in the Summer of 1789, fled across the eastern frontier, largely to Austria and Prussia, and did everything in their power—and successfully—to incite these strongholds of despotism to make war on revolutionary France. One group of emigrés went to Russia.

"*The Cause of Kings*"

With the emigrés there is another striking contrast between revolutionary France and revolutionary Russia. In France, war, the tremendous cycle of wars lasting for nearly a quarter century and involving all Europe, Western Asia, Egypt, and, ultimately—in 1812—the United States also, sprang directly from the French Revolution and primarily from the Declaration at Pilnitz, in which the Austrian Emperor and the King of Prussia united in announcing that the cause of Louis XVI. was "the cause of Kings," and that, therefore, revolutionary France must be crushed into subjection. In Russia, on the contrary, the revolution sprang from the war, and directly from the belief that the imperial house of Russia was planning to make common cause with the Austrian Emperor and the King of Prussia—who had become the German Emperor—against the people of Russia and against the democracy in all lands. But in both countries the link between the throne and the central despots was the foreign consort of the sovereign: Queen Marie Antoinette in France and the Hessian Princess who became Czarina Alexandra in Russia.

Moderates and Extremists

In April, 1792, revolutionary France declared war against Austria, Louis XVI. being still nominally King, while Francis II. had succeeded Leopold as Austrian Emperor.

There is a striking resemblance between the parties in the revolutionary France of that year and those in revolutionary Russia today. The Girondists, so called from the Gironde, the department on the Bay of Biscay with Bordeaux as its capital, from which its leaders came, who were also called the men of the Plain, because their seats were on the main floor of the assembly, correspond pretty closely to the group of the Duma, led by Milukoff and Rodzianko, who really planned for Russia not a republic but a limited, constitutional monarchy after the English model; while the Jacobins, so called because they met in a building formerly held by the Jacobin or Dominican friars of Saint Jacques, pretty closely correspond to the extremists who, in Russia, fulminate in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The

initial policy of Rodzianko and Milukoff was exactly the policy of Mirabeau; though matters have not reached the point in Petrograd which they had reached in Paris when Mirabeau wished to raise the provinces against the capital, to check the drift toward anarchism.

The parties in the Duma, in fact, adopted the names created in the Assembly of revolutionary France, and there has been exactly the same shifting of the centre of gravity from right to left. And, just as, by 1792, the old party of the Extreme-Right had practically gone out of existence in Paris, so the old Petrograd Extreme-Right has ceased to exist. The Girondists, who had begun as the Constitutionalist Left-Centre, became the party of the Right; just as the Constitutional-Democrats of Petrograd, called, from the initial and final letters of their name, the C-D-ts or Cadets, who, under the leadership of Milukoff, were the Left-Centre Party in the Imperial Duma, have now become the party of the Right, with the extreme revolutionary Socialists and even the Anarchists, ranged against them on the Left.

Exactly in what way these extremists got hold of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is not yet clear; but it is quite clear that, in the acts of that body, the soldier delegates have very little part, since, being mere boys without anything more than the most rudimentary education and with no experience of life, they could, in the nature of things, play no real rôle in complicated political discussions. All real power is in the hands of a small group of leaders like Tscheidze and Tseretelli—both of them natives of the Caucasus, of non-Russian origin—while it seems clear that many of their decisions, such as the formula, "Peace without annexations or contributions," are directly inspired by German agents.

It is worth noting that the pacifist-extremists have their exact parallel in revolutionary France: Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were all in favor of peace and very active in opposing the declaration of war against Austria, which virtually opened the great epoch of the Napoleonic wars.

And, just as Danton upset the Girondist Moderates and established the radical Government of the Commune of Paris, so the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd has attempted to upset the Provisional Government of the Duma Moderates, though so far unsuccessfully, the expedient of a Coalition Government being at present tried. But the council has just issued a manifesto declaring that, by forming this Coalition Government, they have not, in fact, abated any of their original demands. Danton's ominous words, "The allied Kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gauntlet of battle, the head of a King," find their echo in Kronstadt's demand for the "punishment" of Nicholas II.; but it is entirely possible that the Kronstadt demand is simply a German scheme, intended to plunge Russia into a civil war between the extremists and the wiser moderates.

Gallic and Russian Temperament

The moment we try to pair off the leaders in the two revolutions, we are confronted with the fundamental differences in temperament between the Gallic and Slavonic races. That difference has already been strikingly manifested in three things: in the fact, already noted, that confiscation of land in Russia has been carried on without brutality on the one side, and without resistance on the other; in the second fact that, while Louis XVI. fought against the revolution openly and secretly, fairly and treacherously, and owed his death to that resistance, Nicholas II. frankly accepted the Russian revolution at once, never contemplating resistance, but, with evident loyalty and sincerity, wishing Russia all success in her new venture, publicly praying for the welfare of the Government which had deposed him. Thirdly, revolutionary Russia began by abolishing capital punishment, while revolutionary France invented the guillotine. On the one hand, a fiery people, instantly leaping to action, easily rushing into wild, even ferocious, excess; on the other, a people singularly gentle, even phlegmatic, by nature very orderly and slow to violence. This fundamental difference in temperament has

shown itself at every point since the Russian revolution began.

Take, for example, the fighting at Petrograd from March 10 to March 15, when the Czar abdicated. First reports of the numbers killed spoke of thousands. But, when the bodies of "the martyrs of the Russian revolution" came to be interred with solemn ceremonies, they numbered only 182 in all. Without doubt, there were many casualties on the other side, beginning with ex-Minister Stürmer, who was reported to have died of fright, and including numbers of the political police, as well as officers of the army and navy, like General Kashtalinski and Admiral Butakoff, well known in Washington as Russian Naval Attaché when Count Cassini was Ambassador; many of them fanatically murdered in the first delirium of liberty. And there have been lynchings throughout Russia, chiefly of men supposed to be German spies.

But, on the whole, there has been wonderfully little violence. Even the anarchist demonstrations in Petrograd, the revolts at Schlüsselburg and Kronstadt, and the declaration of independence in a southern district—all of them, most probably, engineered by German agents—have been met with only the gentlest handling, with persuasion rather than force, in sharp contrast to the Parisian slaughters during the Red and the White Terrors, or even the comparatively recent holocaust of Parisian Communists in 1871, when, after desperate fighting in the streets, court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, to be followed by numberless sentences of transportation; these incisive measures being taken by the men who founded the Third Republic, the present Government of France.

Kerensky Not Like Danton

In Russia there have been no "massacres of the Champ de Mars," no "September massacres"; the Petrograd Field of Mars, so named after its French counterpart or the older Campus Martius at Rome, has been the scene only of the ceremonial burial of the "martyrs of the revolution." This expresses the profound differences between the Slavonic and the Gallic temperament which makes direct comparison between the leaders impossible.

It is true that Alexander Kerensky, the present Minister of War, has been compared to Danton, who played such a heroic part in creating and inspiring the armies of France to fight against the Austrian and Prussian invaders; but, in truth, there is small likeness beyond the fact that both were radical lawyers. Kerensky seems much more truly to resemble the great Carnot, who "organized victory" for France. And men like Tscheidze and Tseretelli, who might conceivably wish to play extremist rôles like those of Marat and Robespierre, are not Russians or Slavs at all but Asiatics from the Caucasus Mountains.

Further, in Russia it is the leaders, the famous Generals, who are urging the nation to fight, while the common soldiers hang back. In France, the men in the ranks were full of militant ardor, while the Generals, like Dumouriez, played traitor, surrendering fortresses to the enemy; even Lafayette at one time lost his nerve and fled to the Austrians, who promptly clapped him into a dungeon, whence only Napoleon's victories delivered him, so that he survived to play a great and worthy part in the Revolution of 1830.

A Charasteristic Episode

There is a certain parallel between the internal fighting in France, in La Vendée, and in the south, at Toulon, where Napoleon won his spurs, and the threatened conflicts at Kronstadt and in the Russian Army. But, through the decisive firmness of Kerensky and the Commander in Chief, General Brusiloff, the loyalists seem certain to win, and to win with little or no bloodshed. The sweeping victory of the loyalists was announced from Petrograd on June 11, in a dispatch telling how General Stcherbatoff—one of the four army commanders under Brusiloff, in the great drive of 1916—had given an order to disband, for pacifist disloyalty, a regiment of infantry and two regiments of sharpshooters.

Three regiments of another division were ordered to take up a new position

on the Rumanian front, but refused to do so, and thereupon received an order to disband. The soldiers openly mutinied. The men of one of the regiments arrested the commander and seven officers, tore their badges from their uniforms, and beat two officers, leaving one insensible on the road. Thereupon a loyal committee of soldiers of the whole army, after deliberating with the army staff, decided to take stern measures against the mutineers, whose ringleader was named Philipoff. A resolute General was chosen, having under his command two divisions of loyal cavalry, two battalions of infantry, one light battery, armored motor cars and airplanes. Occupying positions against the mutineers, he sent them an ultimatum, demanding the surrender of their ringleader and commanding them to take up their positions as ordered, and to undertake to serve faithfully in the future.

The mutinons soldiers, seeing that they were surrounded, attempted to negotiate, but at the last moment Philipoff incited them to new resistance. The loyalist General immediately ordered his guns into action, whereupon the rebels unconditionally accepted the ultimatum and surrendered Philipoff and others, who were carried off to prison in an automobile. The loyal troops, enraged at this clemency, fired at the automobile, but their commander, in order to save the prisoners' lives, jumped into the car, whereupon the firing ceased.

What a striking illustration of Russian gentleness; the whole thing settled, apparently without bloodshed; the sole casualty recorded being one officer beaten into insensibility, while the mutinous ringleaders, instead of being shot after a drumhead court-martial, are sent to prison, the General risking his life to save theirs.

Through all parallels and resemblances this striking contrast of temperaments between the Frenchman and the Russian stands out sharply; throughout, the Russian revolution has been seasoned with mercy.

A Royal Volunteer for the American Army

The Duc d'Orléans, who under different conditions might have been King of France, has offered his services as a volunteer in the United States Army. Early in April he sent the following telegram to Lieut. Col. John P. Nicholson of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States:

"At the moment when America is entering the war I come to claim the honor and the right to serve the common cause of civilization and humanity. Son of Comte de Paris, veteran of the Federal Army, myself a member of the Military Order of the Legion of the United States, I ask you to take the steps necessary to obtain for me a place under your flag."

The Duc's reference to his father recalls the fact that when the American civil war broke out Louis Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris, joined the United States Volunteers as Captain and Aide de Camp in 1861. He served on the staff of General McClellan in the Army of the Potomac, resigning in July, 1862, and died in 1894 at Stowe House. The commission was forwarded to him from Washington by Secretary W. H. Seward in September, 1861.

Lieut. Col. Nicholson replied to the present Duke, informing him that his tender was received with great enthusiasm by the commanderies of the order, and that it was presented to the President, but that it did not yet appear that there was a willingness to accept volunteers. The President's Secretary had written: "While regretting that the services of the Duc d'Orléans would not seem to be required, the department nevertheless appreciates very highly the Duc's proffer."

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an expert authority on strategy and tactics. This is the fifth article in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the present conflict.

V.—Second Battle of Ypres—Von Mackensen's Victories

[See map of Ypres region, in "The Battle of Messines Ridge," elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THERE was a general anticipation among the Allies in the early part of 1915 that May Day in that year would be a sort of military New Year's Day. It was confidently predicted that about that time the French Army, and more especially the British Army, would begin an offensive which would drive the invaders out of Belgium and France. The British disappointment at Neuve Chapelle in March was regarded as a premature effort to begin the drive before the plans had been sufficiently matured, but the French successes in Champagne showed the Gallic armies to be well in hand and thoroughly prepared for hard fighting. French troops were holding about 90 per cent. of the long western battle front, and both French and British combined to defend the important salient around Ypres. All the publicists were busy prophesying allied attacks, and only a very few of the really expert writers suggested the possibility of a renewed German attack.

Second Battle of Ypres

In the previous October the first battle of Ypres had been fought, and that tremendous German effort to drive a way through to Calais had ended in defeat when the final charges of the Prussian Guard failed on Nov. 11. Ypres is an important local centre of communications, with important roads radiating northeast, east, and southeast. In April, 1915, the allied lines circled above and beyond the town from four to five miles, except at the south, where the lines from Hill 60 to the Yser Canal were rather less than two miles away.

It will be worth the student's while to trace the position on the map as it was on April 22. Beginning at Yser Canal on the north, French troops were in the trenches which curved eastward through Bixschoote to a point beyond Langemarck, whence General Alderson's Canadian division with four brigades stretched over the front to a point beyond Grafenstafel. From the Canadian right the British Twenty-eighth Division occupied the trenches down to the Polygon Wood two miles east of Hooge. At the edge of this wood Princess Patricia's regiment was on the left of General Snow's (Twenty-seventh) division, which carried the line on down east of the Veldhoek Ridge to Hill 60, where at the re-entering angle Snow's right flank joined the Fifth Division of General Morland. The trenches held by the Canadians had originally been dug by the French, and they were wet and shallow. The dead were buried thick in the sides and bottom, so that it was an ugly task to try to improve these positions.

On April 17 seven British mines were exploded under Hill 60 and two British regular regiments captured and held the position. For several days the Germans made almost continuous counterattacks, and both sides lost heavily in the struggle for this little hill, which was important because it would afford the British an opportunity to enfilade some of the German trenches toward Hollebeke on the south. On the 20th the German heavy artillery began to bombard the town of Ypres with the object of blocking the British transport, which was

supplying the positions covering the place, and a large number of civilians were killed.

The First Gas Attacks

Early in the evening of April 22 a light, steady breeze was blowing over the lines from the northeast, when suddenly a low greenish bank of vapor was observed drifting upon the French trenches. Soon a demoralized stream of French colonial soldiers was pouring back from the Bixschoote-Langemarck sector, wild with the terror of an unheard-of attack. The Germans had pumped out of cylinders a large quantity of heavy chlorine gas, which rolled low and thick into the trenches, blinding, choking, and suffocating men utterly unprepared and unwarned. A horrible death came upon hundreds, and those of their comrades able to run broke in gasping horror upon the surprised Canadian reserves in the rear.

The result of this rout was a gap in the allied lines four miles wide, through which the Germans followed the demoralized French troops back to the canal between Boesinghe and Steenstraate. The Canadians were less affected by the gas, but their left flank, held by General Turner's brigade, was compelled to bend back east of the Poelcapelle road to a wood at the right of St. Julien.

Late in the night various units were brought up to fill the gap between St. Julien and Boesinghe, and under the command of Colonel Geddes of the Buffs, this mixed force succeeded in blocking what for some hours at least had been an open road toward Ypres. Providentially, the Germans were so busy forcing a way across the canal near Lizerne that they missed the chance for a smashing drive into the town of Ypres, where the streets, blocked by shell-strewn ruins, were congested by all the transport trains and the mad struggle to straighten out the tangle into which the gas surprise had thrown the whole northern sector. On Friday the Canadian Third Brigade was covering St. Julien, and, despite heavy attacks, lack of food, and low physical conditions following the nausea of the gas, this heroic force managed to preserve touch with Geddes's right flank.

Early on the morning of the 24th, after a violent artillery attack, the second great gas attack was launched by the Germans. Observers preserved a careful record this time, and we know that it took the deadly green bank of gas two minutes to roll across the ground intervening between the opposing trenches. It rose not above seven feet at most, and was deadliest toward the bottom. The heavy gas rolled down into and penetrated every corner of the trenches. There were then no such defensive appliances as the now familiar gas masks. Wet handkerchiefs, an erect position, and the avoidance of any deep breathing were the only protective measures known, and even these were but slightly understood. Those who inhaled it deeply found their lungs filled with the fluid and suffered terribly; their blue, swollen faces and bulging eyes, added to spasmodic gasping efforts to breathe, made the victims things of horror. More than half a mile to the rear the gas was still strong enough to cause violent nausea and dizziness.

Allies Forced to Retreat

Under this attack the worn-out Canadian Third Brigade gave way and retreated below the Ypres-Passchendele road. Colonel Lipsett's Eighth Battalion made a superb defense of the pivotal position on the hill at Grafenstafel and prevented a German flank attack which would have turned the whole eastern part of the line.

On Sunday morning, the 25th, large British reinforcements had arrived, and a determined effort was made to recover St. Julien; but in spite of the hardest kind of fighting the effort was defeated and the lines forced back to Fortuin. The pivot at Grafenstafel was helped by the addition of fresh regiments, and held; but in the heavy fighting of Monday the Germans won Fortuin and drove the British back another 400 yards behind Hannabeeke Brook. The Northumberland brigade and the Lahore division (Indian) suffered a bloody repulse in an effort to retake St. Julien. The Fortieth Pathans (the "Forty Thieves") fought

well and lost not only their Colonel but nearly every British officer.

For a week attacks and counterattacks continued, but by May 3 it became evident that prudence demanded the surrender of some of the ugly angles in the line, and the British shortened their hard-pressed front by a skillful retreat to a new line closer to Ypres. The French Ninth Corps (regulars) had taken position on the east bank of the Yser Canal, and on a curve toward the southeast their right joined the British left west of Shelltrap Farm, half way between St. Julien and St. Jean. The new British position curved east and south through Frezenberg and Hooge to Hill 60. The front between Grafenstafel and Polygon Wood had been withdrawn fully two miles.

On May 5 the Germans took Hill 60, and on the 8th and 9th they drove the British back of the Frezenberg Hill to Verlorenhoek. In this fighting shellfire reduced the First Suffolks to seven men, and the Second Cheshires fought until they had only one officer left. Many other units had similar losses in this period; 900 eight-inch shells fell in the trenches occupied by one regiment of territorials.

Heavy British Losses

On May 13 the First and Third Cavalry Divisions under General de Lisle were desperately engaged in the sector between Hooge and Verlorenhoek. The dismounted cavalry included some of the most famous regiments in British army annals as well as a number of Yeomanry regiments. The divisions fought splendidly and suffered great losses, but were compelled to yield more ground between Bellewaarde Lake and Verlorenhoek. Shelltrap Farm, captured by the Germans, was retaken in a bayonet charge by the Second Essex.

On May 24 the Germans again released gas, this time on a front of three miles from Shelltrap Farm to Bellewaarde Lake. This time the cloud rose much higher and the wind carried it over the lines to the southwest. The troops had by now been furnished with respirators, but more ground was yielded in this sector when the gas was followed by a storm of shells and heavy infantry attacks. The hard-pressed British lines were saved by the heroic fighting of the cavalry supports, who again suffered great loss. The famous Ninth Lancers lost many officers, including that splendid soldier, Captain Francis Grenfell, who had won the Victoria Cross and greatly distinguished himself in the battles of 1914.

So toward the end of May the second battle of Ypres died away and the bodies of more than a hundred thousand allied soldiers were added to the soil of this hard-held salient in the western battle front. Two years have passed since then, and on this front the lines remain about Ypres almost as Grenfell saw them last. In that Spring of 1915 the man power of the Allies on the battlefields began to gain numerical superiority over the enemy, and that superiority has grown steadily since then. Yet still the German stands there and waits for us.

Campaign in the South

In March and April, 1915, the news vendors throughout the world were at their wits' end to determine who had last captured Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, for that mountain spur changed hands over and over again in the hard campaign fought in the Vosges. The Chasseurs Alpins under Maud'huy fought a series of small battles along the Valley of the Fecht with Colmar, an important railhead, for objective. Numerous small successes seemed to pave the way for a serious drive against the German frontier, but no really great move developed. Throughout the rest of 1915 the lines remained almost exactly as they settled down after the series of minor battles in the late Winter and Spring of that year.

Attacks on St. Mihiel Salient

When the German attack upon Paris was repulsed and thrown back after the battle of the Marne, the invaders still held the strategically important salient south of Verdun, at St. Mihiel, where their guns on the heights at the Fort of the Camp des Romains commanded the plains for miles and the valley of the Meuse below Verdun. In the Spring of 1915 an important item in the French

A. F. KERENSKY

Russia's Minister of War, Described as the "Strong Man" of the Reconstructed Government

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

N. S. TCHEIDZE

President of the Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, Addressing Sailors of the Baltic Fleet

(Photo © International Film Service)

program was the squeezing out of this salient, and the plan adopted was to drive in the already rather constricted sides. The principal attack was aimed at Les Eparges, a dozen miles north of St. Mihiel, where the Germans had busied themselves since the previous September in fortifying a naturally strong position which defended the lines of communication inside the salient.

On April 5 and 6, in heavy rain, the French infantry attacked with the bayonet, and positions were won and lost all the way up to the summit of the coveted height. On the 8th several French regiments fought their way to the top and held their ground until reinforced on the following day, when the victory was completed. Further to the north the French advanced to Etain, and it appeared as though the German commander would certainly be compelled to fall back upon the high ground in front of Metz; but the demands for a vigorous attack far to the north prevented the development of this campaign, which was destined to make no further progress toward the great German frontier fortress. The Germans were left in possession of the St. Mihiel salient and of the positions circling Verdun and joining the lines of the Crown Prince in the Argonne—positions back of which they were able to prepare for the great attacks upon Verdun in the early part of 1916.

The Campaign in Artois

In May, 1915, two great objectives confronted the British and the French commanders. General Joffre's task was to take Lens and advance toward Douai, Valenciennes, and Namur, while the British target was the great northern city of Lille.

The Germans held their lines about Lens in strong force, and the chalk of the region had been carved into skillful defensive positions. General Foch took command of the French forces in this sector, where seven corps were gathered with 1,100 guns. Opposed to him was von Bülow, outnumbered and outgunned, but in a series of mutually supporting positions of great strength.

On May 9 Foch's guns hurled 300,000 shells upon the German lines between La Targette and Carency. Then the infantry charged and took La Targette, and carried the attack into the streets of Neuville St. Vaast, where the battle raged at close quarters from house to house. The centre pushed on across the Arras-Béthune road, and in the morning hours succeeded in advancing nearly three miles. The left at Carency made slower progress because of the more difficult terrain, but by the day's end the French had made a brilliant advance on a front of about five miles, and had captured over 3,000 prisoners with a large number of machine guns and some cannon.

This battle raged on through the 10th, 11th, and 12th, and on the afternoon of the last day the last survivors of the garrison in Carency surrendered. The cemetery of Neuville St. Vaast and the summit at Notre Dame de Lorette, as well as Ablain, were taken by the French, whose attacks would not be denied.

On May 13 in heavy rain the French continued the attacks, now aimed at Angres, Souchez, and Neuville St. Vaast, and from then on through the rest of the month one after the other of the wonderful series of separate German fortifications were captured. On May 29 Ablain fell, and on the 31st the sugar refinery at Souchez was stormed after changing hands a number of times. Early in June Neuville St. Vaast was taken, but just to the south lay the famous Labyrinth, where the battle raged for a long time in deep galleries, sometimes fifty feet under ground.

Aubers Ridge and Festubert

The British campaign toward Lille was ushered in as a co-operative offensive timed to coincide with the French attacks in Artois. A first objective was the winning of the Aubers Ridge overtopping the old fatal field at Neuve Chapelle. On Sunday, May 9, the First Corps and the Indian Corps advanced upon the southern end of the Bois du Biez, a mile and a half east of Richebourg l'Avoué. The Eighth Division attacked further north, toward Fromelles and the northern slopes of the Aubers Ridge. The artillery had failed properly to prepare the way, and the in-

fantry were stopped by unbroken wire entanglements with heavy resulting losses and little or no gains.

A week later, on the 16th, there was another strong attack east of Festubert, after a bombardment in which the French 75s assisted. There was much close fighting and the bombers of the First Grenadiers did good work. A company of the Scots Guards got too far ahead and was cut off. Some days later its men were found lying with plenty of German dead about them.

This battle of Festubert ended in the last week of May with a net result of having given to the British the enemy's first-line trenches on a front of over 3,000 yards. In addition some second-line trenches were taken, with nearly 800 prisoners and ten machine guns. But despite the extremely heavy losses incurred, the attack had nowhere succeeded in breaking the enemy line. In June the Belgians won a German blockhouse south of Dixmude, and throughout that month and July there was a prolonged struggle for the ruins of the château at Hooge, just east of Ypres. There were several minor battles near Givenchy, Festubert, and Hooge, but invariably the British forces were compelled to abandon sections of enemy trenches won at severe cost. The only big thing on the side of the Allies was the casualty list.

In the early Summer a series of small victories were won in the Vosges by the French Alpine Chasseurs, who captured Metzeral in June, and in July stormed the Sondernach Ridge, pushing their advance close to Münster.

Late in June and early in July the German Crown Prince made four attacks upon the French lines in the Argonne along the Vienne-le-Château and Binarville road. Only small gains resulted, and on July 7 the Kaiser's heir hurled a stronger attack against the hill called La Fille Morte, which was captured, but later retaken by the French. It seemed impossible for the Crown Prince to win any glory in "the day" (der Tag!) for which he had openly longed in the years of peace.

It is a difficult thing now for most people to admit what they believed two years ago. In the Spring of 1915 the consensus of European military opinion was that the Russians were prepared to launch a tremendous campaign with huge armies and adequate equipment. They had won a strong hold in the Carpathians and were supposed to be ready for a crushing invasion of Hungary. Possibly there would be men and guns enough to strike as well toward Southern Germany via Cracow.

Russian Front in 1915

The Russians took Przemysl on March 22, and on the 25th they crossed the Pruth. Early in April they won the crest of the mountain barrier for all of seventy miles, and Brusiloff was within a few days' march of the Hungarian plains below. In a short campaign of a few weeks in Bukowina the Russians claimed to have captured 70,000 prisoners and many guns. Late in April General von Linsingen feinted toward Stanislau and succeeded in drawing down that way the Russian mobile reserves.

In December Dmitrieff had dug himself into a good defensive position behind the Donajetz River, and felt so secure that no positions to the rear had been prepared, in case retreat might become needful, for no such possibility seemed to threaten.

The supreme command of the German army groups was given to that idol of the German Army, von Mackensen, who had for the great operation about to be undertaken as many as 2,000,000, and perhaps 2,500,000, men. On April 28 the Austro-German armies lay on the left bank of the Donajetz down to the Cracow-Tarnow Railroad, and thence on the left bank of the Biala down to the mountains below Rapa and Grybow. On that day von Mackensen struck his first blow from his right flank toward Gorlice. May 1 saw the attack developed further north, where, under a tremendous artillery fire, a crossing was effected over the Biala and Crezkowice was taken. Gorlice, too, was stormed, and by the 2d the whole Russian front in this sector was in full retreat toward the Wislowka River, twenty miles in the rear. The Caucasian corps of Irmanov came to Dmitrieff's

help, and the Wislowka was held until May 7, when the Germans forced a crossing at Jaslo. The flank of the army in the Carpathians was turned, and its hurried retreat involved heavy losses, but desperate fighting enabled Brusiloff to get his army clear of its perilous position in the mountains.

FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN
(© F. O. Koch)

By May 14 the Russians were across the San, and the bridgehead at Jaroslav was defended until men and guns were over. The fortnight had been a costly one for Russia. Her armies had retreated something over eighty miles, and some corps had lost 75 per cent. of their strength.

The Grand Duke Nicholas took over the Russian command. On May 5 a Russian army under General Ewarts turned in a strong counterattack, which, after several days' fighting, drove back a German force advancing toward Ostrowiecz with a loss of 30,000 casualties. Toward the south, too, a vigorous counterstroke made good progress and threatened Kolomea and Czernowitz. The German checks on both flanks did not interfere with von Mackensen's main attack, which developed on May 15 and became one of the great battles of the war.

The Battle of the San

The chief German attack was aimed at the sector between Jaroslav and Przemysl, and at midnight on the 15th the northern town fell. On the 18th the Russians lost Sieniawa, and in the south von Marwitz captured the railway junctions at Dobromil and Sambor, on the Dniester, and drove on toward the north against the fortifcations about Przemysl. Pushing on, he took Hussakow and Lutkow.

Von Mackensen crossed the San at Radymno and on June 2 entered Przemysl, which the Russians had held for some two months or more. On June 1 von Linsingen captured Stryj, and the Prussian Guard took prisoners and guns from Brusiloff. On June 7 the same victor forced the Dniester at Zurawno and was well on his way toward Lemberg. Brusiloff turned, and in a three-day battle drove von Linsingen back over the river with the loss of 15,000 prisoners, and some guns.

However, the great German advance continued, and Mosciska, east of Przemysl, was captured June 14, and the Russians were back on the San, the Tanev, and the Grodek Ponds. By the 16th von Mackensen was advancing toward Rava Russka, and after taking Javorov his army entered that position as well as Zolkico on June 20. On the 22d the great City of Lemberg was taken, and Galicia was once more in Austrian hands.

At this time the German invasion beginning at the north was approaching Windau on the Baltic Sea, and the German line, curving southeast, reached close to Shavli, and toward the south cut between Suwalka and Grodno; then back on a curve west of Warsaw and across the Vistula at the junction with the Tanev; thence on a broad out curve toward Brody and down to Halicz. In the north, Libau, the seaport, had been taken early in May, and throughout that month and June Courland was being overrun by the German forces, which, before long, were threatening Riga. The British and French efforts to help Russia by a diversion in the west at Festubert

and Souchez were signal failures so far as their effect on the campaign in the east was concerned.

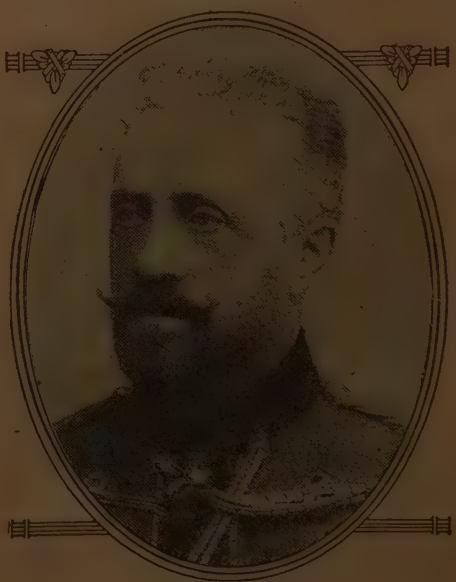
Battles in Front of Warsaw

After the fall of Lemberg the German General Staff prepared to attack Warsaw, now a dangerous salient for the Russians, with German armies threatening the railway communications both north and south of the ancient Polish capital. The strongly fortified city was the target, but the real object was a much greater thing. The Germans planned not only to capture cities and provinces, but to surround and destroy the field armies opposing their progress. They hoped to induce the Russian commander to commit great forces to the defense of certain important localities where the favorite Hindenburgian tactics might, by far-flung flank movements, surround and capture or destroy them.

A very powerful army was mobilized in the vicinity of Thorn for the great new effort after the capture of Lemberg. In the south the German campaign progressed methodically. Early in July they took Krasnik and Zamosc. In the first week of July the Russians won an important four days' battle along the Lublin highway above Krasnik, capturing 15,000 prisoners and many guns.

Late in June the German army of von Linsingen crossed the Dniester, and on the 28th captured Halicz. The Russians, fighting stubborn rear-guard actions, finally halted on the left (east) bank of the Zlota Lipa, a northern tributary of the Dniester. The battle line further north was temporarily halted along the River Bug, at Kamionka and Sokal, but by the middle of July von Mackensen had his vast force ready to strike new and irresistible blows from Courland in the north all the way down to Galicia. Przasnysz, north of Warsaw, was taken on July 14 by General von Gallwitz, and within the next few days the Germans reached the lines of the Rawka and the Bzura, and the Russians fell back to Blouie, a prepared position fifteen miles west of Warsaw. By July 20 the Russian defense on the north had fallen behind the Narco, a tributary of the Bug northeast of Warsaw, and by July 23 von Gallwitz won crossings over the Narev and two days later reached the River Bug between Novo Georgievsk and Serock.

Meanwhile von Mackensen was fighting a successful campaign midway between Lemberg and Warsaw. On July



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS
(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

18 he captured Krasnostav and Pilaskowice, where he was dangerously close to a vital Russian line of communications—the railway from Lublin through Chulm to Kovel. After a series of hard-fought but nearly always successful actions the Germans south of Warsaw pressed on, and by July 22 had the Vistula bridgehead at Nova Alexandria, following the capture of Radom and a number of other positions west of the great river.

In the far north the German wave rushed on, submerging Tukkum and Windau (July 20) and rapidly threatened Mitau, an important railway junction southwest of Riga. On July 29 von Mackensen cut the railway south between Lublin and Chulm, and on the 30th both towns fell.

Fall of Warsaw and Kovno

On Aug. 4 the Russians who had held the point of the salient at Blouie fell

back through Warsaw, for the sides of the salient were pinching in dangerously, and on Aug. 5 German cavalry entered Warsaw. The successful withdrawal of the large garrison was the forerunner of a long series of similar successes. Over and over again Russian flanks were strongly held while large armies nearly trapped were safely extricated. The campaign went on from victory to victory, but the German Generals were always denied the darling wish of their strategy—the capture or destruction of the armies which they were able to defeat but not to annihilate. On Aug. 4 Ivangorod fell, and the middle of the month the Germans were pressing forward toward the railway Chulm-Brest-Litovsk-Grodno.

On Aug. 17 Kovno was taken, with 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns, after offering a heroic resistance. The fall of this important and strongly fortified city on the Niemen was a deadly blow to the Russian scheme of defense, for it opened the way toward the main railway line from Poland to Petrograd via Vilna.* On Aug. 19 von Beseler (the victor at Antwerp) after a three weeks' siege took Novo Georgievsk with another 20,000 prisoners and more than 700 guns. This great fortress close to Warsaw had been relied upon to withstand a long siege, and meanwhile threaten the communications of German armies pushing east into Russia. The hope was vain in face of von Beseler's great siege guns.

On Aug. 23 Ossowietz fell, and Tykocin, just south of the fortress, was stormed. Two days later the Germans took Brest-Litovsk, the fortress covering the railway to Moscow. On the 26th they captured Bialystok, the great railway centre south of Grodno. Olita, a fortress defending the crossings of the Niemen north of Grodno, fell on the 27th. Further to the north the Germans began an attack against Friedrichstadt in an attempt to force a crossing of the Dvina above Dvinsk. On the last day of August Lutsk, on the Styr, in Volhynia, was captured, and on Sept. 2 the Germans took Grodno, against which von Beseler's siege artillery had been concentrated. The Russians lost only the rear guard of 2,000 men and a few fortress guns.

*General Grigorieff was tried by a Russian court-martial and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor for insufficient measures of defense and absence from Kovno during the siege.

Czar Assumes Command

On Sept. 5 the Czar took personal command of all the Russian armies, and sent the Grand Duke Nicholas to command in the Caucasus. Early in September the Russian lines east of Grodno retired to a position reaching from Orany (at the crossing of the Petrograd railway over the Meretchanka River) to Mosty, on the Niemen. On Sept. 18 Vilna, a position of great strategic importance, fell after a brave resistance in which two divisions of the Russian Imperial Guard played a distinguished part. Von Eichorn, the German commander, pushed 40,000 cavalry with 140 guns toward the flank of the Russian position, and the garrison barely effected their escape along the line toward Minsk. By the end of September the Czar's troops were making a stand along a line through Smorgon, between Vilna and Molodetchno, and south to Novo Grodek.

Further southward, von Mackensen reached and captured Pinsk on Sept. 16, but a week earlier the Russians made a surprise attack in front of Tarnopol and along the Sereth, in which they captured 383 officers, 17,000 men, and nearly 100 guns.

That success was continued and the German flank driven back to the Stripa with heavy additional losses. Dubno was retaken, and General Ivanoff seemed for a time to threaten dangerously von Mackensen's right flank.

A long series of battles were fought through the Autumn and early Winter about Czartorysk and Rafadowka, in Volhynia, and along the Rivers Styr, Stripa, and Zlota Lipa, in Eastern Galicia. Above Pinsk the Germans held securely Baranovitchi, an important commercial and railway centre east of Slonim. All efforts failed to capture Dvinsk, and the Dvina marked the limit of German progress toward Petrograd. On the west front of Riga the German

lines curved back west of Babit See and Lake Kanger to the west shores of the Gulf of Riga.

From Riga to Czernowitz the battle front measured about 785 miles, and while the Russians bent the southern end back along the Dniester in the Spring of 1916, when they recaptured Bukowina from Brody (in Galicia) on to the north, the military frontier has remained almost exactly as the great German victories of 1915 left it. The adequate defense of that frontier, inclosing, as it does, all of Western Russia, required the maintenance on that front of nearly 2,000,000 Austro-German troops.

The Religious Revival in France

By Major William Redmond, M. P.

[Major Redmond died June 9, 1917, from wounds received in action two days before. He was a brother of John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, and had been a member of Parliament for the East Division of Clare since 1892. He was one of the idols of his native land and was beloved alike by friend and opponent. The subjoined article, written shortly before he fell, is here published by arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

WITH all the evil that has followed in its train it is good to find at least one beneficial result from the war. It has led to the revival of religion in a most remarkable way.

As to this, practically every one is agreed, and it is apparent in a hundred directions. Perhaps this revival is most marked of all in France, and there it is attributable in no little degree to the splendid record of the French priests in the army. To many people it seemed a wrong thing that the ministers of the Prince of Peace should be called upon to take up arms and play a part in the terrible work of bloodshed and slaughter which has converted so large a portion of Europe into a veritable shambles. What seemed wrong, and what was from some point of view wrong no doubt, has in the result turned out a blessing.

The spectacle of thousands of priests marching and fighting for the country and the flag has touched deeply the heart of France, and many and many a man who was, perhaps, ready enough to proclaim himself an anti-Cleric will never so describe himself any more. The bravery displayed by the French priests in battle (2,000 have been killed) has been only equaled by their devotion to their holy office. Few things are more appealing than the sight of the soldier-priest turning to administer the last consolations of religion to his fallen comrades round about. And this has been witnessed on every battlefield of France, and it has its natural effect upon the impressionable French character, and the effect will remain long after the last shot of the war has been fired.

To those who have been brought to France by the war the manifestations of religion everywhere displayed have come more or less as a surprise, especially to those who had been led to believe from the action of many successive French Governments that the Church was more or less a thing of the past in France. It is hard, of course, to judge of the real depth or intensity of religious feeling, but all one can say is that if this can be done by noticing the attendance at church, then the religion of France is today very true and very sincere.

For over a year the writer of these lines has been with the British Army in France and has been billeted in scores of villages and small towns. Everywhere the way in which the civil population thronged the churches on Sundays and holidays was very noticeable, and in the larger towns more noticeable still. It may be that the attacks which the enemy have made on holy places have caused a revulsion of feeling in France. The ruins of Rheims cathedral, Ypres, and so many other churches in the land have stricken the population with remorse and

sorrow. Certain it is, be the real reason what it may, there has been a great revival in the devotion of the French people since war broke out. Of course the cynical will say, "When the devil was sick the devil a saint would be," &c.

The writer has seen more deep and reverent devotion displayed by worshippers inside the walls of semi-ruined churches which had their stained glass windows shattered than ever he has seen before. Probably more fervent prayers have been poured out before broken crosses and shell-torn statues of our Saviour in France and Belgium than were ever offered in peace time before the most beautiful shrines in the whole world. Religion has been perhaps the one thing in all the world so far strengthened and built up afresh amid the horrible ravages of war. That there has been a similar result all over the world and away from the actual scene of war is also apparent.

The fact is that the ruin and carnage have been so stupendous, the sacrifices have been so great, the horrors have been so widespread and have so penetrated into almost every family circle that almost every human being in the world has turned to look for hope and comfort beyond the grave. Miserable indeed is the man or woman who is not assured that that hope and comfort are so to be found, for in sooth this war has made this transitory world but a sorry place! The writer of these impressions has been with a section of the British Army in the field, which numbers very many Catholic soldiers in its ranks. The conduct of these men has undoubtedly had a good effect upon the population wherever they have been stationed. The majority of the soldiers are of Irish nationality, though of English and Scottish and overseas Catholic soldiers there are also not a few. The simple and yet deep faith exhibited by these men upon all occasions made a wonderful impression on the French and Belgian peoples.

It is not at the very best a happy thing to have one's country occupied by foreign troops, even though they come to defend your soil from the invader. Masses of men overrunning villages and towns and eager for some sort of relaxation from the rigor and hardship of trench life are apt to give trouble, even though well behaved and well disposed in every way. It is always a source of anxiety to the higher command to secure that nothing, even by inadvertence, shall be done by the troops to cause annoyance to the inhabitants of occupied territory. The outstanding feature of the British occupation of France and Belgium has been the fine and chivalrous spirit displayed by the men. They have put themselves on a footing of the best and kindest sort with the people, and complaints of any kind as to their behavior are few and far between.

But, in addition to the relief of the people in finding the troops kind and considerate, imagine the good impression created when the French people find that large numbers of the men are devoted to their own religion and more earnest in their practice of it. When Irish regiments are billeted in a village the church large enough for the villagers becomes at once too small. It is thronged by the soldiers, and the curé finds his congregation enormous, and has, in conjunction with the army Chaplains, to arrange for many services on Sunday. The General commanding a division composed for the most part of Irish Catholic soldiers informed the present writer that his division never left an area without the local authorities, and notably the curé, coming to him to express their appreciation of the good behavior of the troops and their admiration for their earnest devotion to their religion.

There is no doubt that the scourge of war has purified the hearts of many people, and the advent of large numbers of Catholic troops into France has probably helped to bring back to some Frenchmen an appreciation of something which they may have seemed to have almost lost. Thus in one way, and a way of no little importance, the war has wrought a change for the better in France.

Who Pays for the Cost of War

By William A. Wood

IT may be said in a fair spirit that the beliefs of the best of men divide on the problem of the cost of war. It has been shown by Ward in his "Pure Sociology" that war has been a leading factor in the development of that which we call civilization. Unquestionably this is true, if we tabulate the results; but sound reasoning requires that it be shown that there is no better way. There is a better way. Ward's deduction does not mean that he favored war as a means to an end: he simply stated the fact from the point of view of the sociologist. The problem is at once ethical as well as sociological. What has been should not necessarily be continued. The basis of the sociological aspect is human achievement; that of the ethical is the power of the mind; and in the religious field we have the mainsprings of human conduct.

A few facts need consideration: The object of nature is function. The object of man is happiness. The object of society is action. Severally and jointly man is equipped with certain potential qualities, both of mind and body, and in the exercise of these faculties he achieves whatever he sets his mind to do. The mind itself is not a force, but it is the directive agent that guides the dynamic qualities of men. In those epochs of civilization which mark the movements of man toward development and progress, that which has proved sturdiest among human qualities is the virtue of the pioneer; and as obstacles have given way before the march of human achievement, the more serviceable and permanent elements of life have been successfully set up. These are not to be lost sight of in the glamour of war. The human race is unconquerable, and in the long run man wins over nature and becomes master of nature and of nature's laws.

Thus we may trace our progress, from its faint beginnings in tribal successes onward to the establishment of those substantial moral gains which connote the value of the human soul in its struggles with nature. Whatever nature has set up as a hindrance has been largely overcome, but the mistakes which man himself makes constitute a drag on his progress. They check what is otherwise the dominion over nature which man aims to secure, and they do it by heaping up the compound interest assessed against succeeding generations. And in this category war is the great offender. It is true in the laws of biology that the forces of anabolism and katabolism are pitted against each other, but in this conflict of unlike elements the forms of life are born and come to maturity. That fruition is the gift which nature provides for the sustentation of the lives of men. And it is on this basis that man successfully builds, for in the partnership of the individual with others the co-operation of the many rewards the unit with increased fruitage.

Every explosion of powder is costly, if at the end of the range we have a human being, and the cost must be paid for both by the living and the unborn. Every explosion of powder is costly in any case, for the price of the marksman is the price which he pays for the securing of the game. Bows and arrows and repeating rifles cost human labor, and when men shoot arrows and bullets into the air, they must go and pick them up or else make other ones. When they explode shells, they must make new shells in their place. If they keep on firing, some one else must make the ammunition and furnish new guns, for guns wear out as well as shells. When men consume more than they produce, they must soon stop either the production or the destruction. Fireworks once a year cost labor; fireworks for nearly three years that batter forts and dismember bodies must be paid for in the only element that can produce them, namely, human labor.

A nation at war is keeping a ledger, and as the balance is on the debit side, redoubled efforts are necessary to re-

store the equilibrium. No juggling with figures can offset this inexorable law of nature. No human reasoning can compensate nature for the consumption of her resources; nothing but human labor can compensate her. Her bounties contain no values until they are carved out by specific and productive human energy; and when these values are once created in the form of wealth, they fall under the law of katabolism. If man hastens the breaking-up process by recklessness or by war, he must pay for it in continued expenditure of effort, he must pay the cost. When a man borrows anything from nature he may use it or not, as he wills; but in any instance what he borrows must be returned to her reservoirs.

War quickly destroys what man produces, but the cost is paid for, not in money, but by labor augmented many times over as a price paid for the follies of men. Constructive labor yields permanent results; war uproots them. Battleships are not paid for by Governments, but by subjects of the nation. A thousand men on a warship produce nothing; the same men in action destroy both ship and enemy. The payment of taxes comes out of human labor; the payment of interest on loans is a double burden, falling on those who now live and labor, and striking hard against those who are later to become creators of the nation's wealth. We are still paying pensions on a war that ended 102 years ago. Wars are paid for in human sacrifice—in human lives; but they are also paid for in sacrifice that eats up the products of man's labor; and when these visible things are shot to pieces, an increase of human energy alone can replace them. Men who build battleships are also paying for the battleships. If the ships go to the bottom, no power on earth can replace them save human labor; and the more ships at the bottom, the greater the drain on the living labor which creates them out of earth's material.

Take an illustration from our national sports, baseball and college football. Who pays the salaries of the twenty-two players on each of the sixteen teams of the major leagues? Who accounts for the cost of training the college men for their annual seasons on the gridiron? Manifestly those who pay as witnesses of the games. Suppose a quarter of all these men were killed and the same proportion injured for life. Suppose hospitals and nurses were supplied to meet these losses and that they were kept up during the entire season. Suppose fresh players were drawn from the ranks and drafted into the daily slaughter on the diamond or the gridiron in times of peace. Would any man of ordinary judgment infer that this loss constituted no drain on the nation?

You cannot pay for war out of taxes. War is liquidated by the human cost, and by cost is meant that continued outgo of human labor which is the sole source of wealth. In addition to the destruction of the human element and the accompanying blasting of the material element, war makes a steady drain on the future; that is to say, the cost is passed on for many decades, through pensions and interest, and in no sense will nature let up in her demands. We borrow from nature as well as from bankers, and when nature recalls the things we have taken, her mandates are scrupulously carried out. War hastens the destruction of all these elements, speeds up the processes by which wealth is torn to pieces, and when these things are shattered and scattered they must be replaced by human toil and increased human sacrifice. Taxes laid on interest augment the national burden by increasing the tax gatherers, who must be paid out of the national revenues. And in the last analysis the receiver of interest is essentially a nonproducer and as such he has to be fed along with those who do the fighting and the destroying.

Man pays for war. It is his creation, and as long as he keeps it up he will have to stand for the game. Governments create war debts, but subjects pay them. Kings and Congresses may declare war, but that is only bequeathing to innocent successors the obligations that must be met. It cost Russia $600,000,000 to fortify Port Arthur. It cost Japan $400,000,000 to batter it to pieces. But the cost is not in money; it is in human lives and human wealth, and such destruction

ultimately rolls up what no generation can pay. Seventy cents out of every dollar received by our Federal Government was paid out for military purposes, with the nation still at peace. If the baseball players killed in the supposititious warfare above cited were to leave widows and orphans requiring pensions, who would stand for the increased expense of our national game? The cases are parallel in their economic bearing, and show the principle involved in human loss.

The problem of the cost of war is sociological and must be examined in the light of the forces and resultants of human action. Fire insurance companies pay for losses, but not until after they have collected an adequate fund from the community. Life insurance premiums provide the source out of which claims are met, else what other source could pay for them? If the companies get interest on loans, that only brings other factors into the problem. The circle is thus widened, but the principle remains the same; namely, that from human labor is drawn the fund that compensates for losses sustained. War raises those losses to the *nth* degree and leaves to posterity the burden of paying for other people's quarrels. The interest claims pile up faster than they can be discharged, and drain away from constructive labor the higher fruits of human toil.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

Nearly 24,000,000 Men Engaged

Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British General Staff, made these noteworthy statements in a dinner speech at the Mansion House, London, in May, 1917:

No two wars and no two battles were ever fought under exactly the same conditions, and no war has ever differed so greatly from its predecessor as does the war in which we are now engaged. Airplanes, for instance, have entirely changed the whole strategical and tactical conduct of operations. The use of enormous masses of heavy artillery is another new factor, and has made efficient preparation for battle dependent upon the most elaborate system of communications and transport, and has demanded the highest qualities of organization in general. During the last five or six weeks, I suppose, we have expended some 200,000 tons of ammunition, which have had to be moved by road, rail, and sea from the factories in England to the guns in France and man-handled probably not less than half a dozen times. As you can imagine, this has entailed a great deal of railway work at the front as well as in England, and the skillful and determined way in which the work has been executed by the railway managers and employes who have assisted us is beyond all praise.

But the greatest peculiarity of all is the colossal size of the armies engaged. In the 1870 war armies were counted by the hundred thousand, and at the battle of Gravelotte, where the heaviest losses were incurred, the total casualties were only about 33,000 men on both sides, while for the whole war the total casualties on both sides were less than half a million. In the present war the killed alone can be counted by the million, while the total number of men engaged amounts to nearly 24,000,000.

In fact, this war is not, as in the past, a war merely of opposing armies, but a war of nations, and there is not today a man or woman in the empire who is not doing something either to help or to hinder the winning of the war. A man of great distinction told me the other day that he estimated the weight of purely military effort at only 25 per cent. of the whole, the remaining 75 per cent. being, strictly speaking, of a non-military nature, and made up of many elements—agriculture, food, shipping, diplomacy, &c. I think he is probably not far wrong, and when people ask me, as they sometimes do, how the war is getting on, I feel inclined to reply, "Why ask me? Why not ask yourself and the remainder of the 75 per cent.?"

The Heroic Death of Dr. Clunet

By Robert de Lezeau

Dr. Jean Clunet, who died of typhus at Jassy, Rumania, in April, 1917, had so memorable a career that the Paris Figaro gave a leading place on its first page to the subjoined article, which has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

ONE of the simplest and most inspiring of heroes has just succumbed to the terrible epidemic of spotted typhus that is ravaging Rumania. He died in the hospital which he had created from the ground up, at the bedside of the sufferers, whom he continued to aid to his last breath with all his science and all his faith: two warring sisters who had become reconciled in his great heart. We who knew him here in Jassy, at the place of his supreme sacrifice, cherish his memory as that of one of the greatest Frenchmen we have ever known.

Jean Clunet was the son of a lawyer who has acquired just renown in the domain of international law. A former hospital interne, assistant in the Medical Faculty, and finally appointed to the Chair of Pathological Anatomy in the Medical College at Nancy, Jean Clunet gave himself up to science with a tireless ardor that engrossed his whole mind and heart. He always had a sort of predestination for sacrifice. Wherever he could devote himself to others, save lives, comfort souls, Clunet was there.

In 1912 he visited Morocco, and one day a native servant who had become attached to him said: "Master, you must leave here—quick, quick, at once! They are going to massacre all the foreigners."

Though he had no duty to perform, Jean Clunet remained. The next day the revolt at Fez broke out, with all its horrors—massacres, lynchings, tortures. With two comrades he found safety in a blind alley, which the insurgents could not capture, though they besieged the entrance. Twenty-four hours later two local officials whom Clunet had cured of illness sent their escorts to rescue him. Once free, he paid no attention to the mobs that were still raging, but went everywhere that the wounded lay. The dying called him and the living threatened him. Clunet was in his element. He dressed wounds, he performed operations, he saved lives. And when this hard work was done he learned that among the Jewish population, which had taken refuge in dense masses before the Sultan's deer cages, an epidemic was breaking out. He threw himself into this new task, took all the precautionary measures, evacuated the infected cases, disinfected the whole place, and averted the epidemic. And after two months of this intense labor he returned to France feeling that he had had what he went for—a pleasure trip.

The great war broke out, and Clunet was at the front from the first day. A surgeon in the 332d Regiment of the line, he was with the vanguard at the battle of Charleroi. Then came the retreat, in the course of which two orderlies were killed at his side and two horses were struck down at the moment when he was mounting into the saddle. No matter! It was a fine life—there are wounds to care for and well men to comfort. Clunet devotes himself to those around him.

The 332d withdraws as far as the Aisne and Berry-au-Bac. There it is ordered to hold a precarious, untenable position. It digs in, it hangs on, in spite of the intensity of the bombardment and the violence of the rifle fire. Jean Clunet has set up his aid station at the most exposed point, because it is there that he can most quickly get at the wounded. Finally his regiment is forced to withdraw precipitately and cross the Aisne in all haste. Clunet is among the last to go. He has a third horse killed under him and crosses the river by swimming.

On the other side of the Aisne the 332d establishes itself solidly in trenches. The furious fighting abates. Life be-

comes more calm, more monotonous. Clunet grows restless. The day is long with no act of devotion to perform. So, when he hears that an expedition is to be sent to the Dardanelles, he tells himself: "I will go—I am going!" And he goes.

At the Dardanelles Clunet gives the maximum of his energy and devotion. Epidemics multiply, various and deadly. He fights them all. He cleans up the first-line trenches under fire, burying the dead by night. He defends himself, revolver in hand, against the Turkish patrols during that depressing labor, rescuing both the dead and the living. He succeeds in bringing drinkable water to the camp and in establishing, despite a thousand difficulties, a service for hauling away the dead horses and throwing them into the sea.

One day, all in a second, he is struck down by a frightful pain that twists his limbs and sets his brain on fire—it is the dreaded fever, which the colonials know well and which they call the "dingue." He is at the point of death. But men of that mettle do not die so easily. Clunet recovers and leaves the Dardanelles—the last man to get away. Last in retreat, first in advance—that was his chosen place.

Jean Clunet then passed a month at Paris, chiefly in the Pasteur Institute, where he had formerly worked a great deal and where he now profited from all that science had learned regarding contagious diseases. "I prefer contagious cases," he said, "and I don't know why." We, his friends, knew. It was because those were the cases in which the physician ran the greatest risks in treating them. Clunet waited, impatient for the next task of devotion. It came. A violent epidemic of exanthematic typhus was raging in the Serbian Army at Corfu. Clunet said: "I will go—I am going!" And he went.

He was asked first to make a little detour, to go through Saloniki and set up a laboratory there. Clunet sailed on La Provence. The vessel was torpedoed and sinking. The officers, foreseeing the possibility of such a catastrophe, had provided rafts. These were thrown overboard, and Clunet reached one of them by swimming. He was safe, or would have been, but for the one thought that possessed him—to save others. At the risk of capsizing a hundred times he forces the raft to right and left, haphazard, any way to pick up the shipwrecked men in the water. Five, then ten, then fifteen! Those whom he has snatched from disaster cry to him: "Enough! Enough! We are going to sink." But Clunet estimates that he can still save two more lives. He is determined to save them. Those around him mutter, almost threaten. He still wears his uniform with the chevrons of an officer. He orders silence, commands obedience. The men are silent, they obey, and soon two more unfortunates are hauled aboard the raft.

One of them is grievously wounded in the head. Clunet dresses the wound. But the others must be fed. He succeeds in gathering in several loaves of bread tossing about in the waves, and thirty apples. At the end of eighteen hours a ship appears and rescues them, eighteen hours during which Clunet has sustained the flagging courage of his companions, stimulated their energies, extinguished incipient revolts, dissipated ill-humor, all by force of his own indomitable spirit.

Then came Corfu. To typhus was added dysentery, and both diseases were ravaging the Serbian Army. Clunet remained night and day at the bedside of the sufferers. He was himself stricken with dysentery, but did not cease his work. In his observation of the typhus epidemic he noted that the milk-diet treatment was giving only indifferent results. He substituted a raw meat diet, which succeeded better. He did not return to France until the disease had been stamped out.

Mme. Clunet, his admirable wife, was at the station to meet him. She was in black, but not in mourning. Little by little, with all the tact of an infinite tenderness, she told her husband that their only son, a child of 5 years, had died three days before. To all his voluntary sacrifices was added this involuntary sacrifice, the most cruel, the most dreadful of all. Clunet did not bury himself long in his grief. Only in labor to relieve the sufferings of others could he forget his

own. He learned that an epidemic had broken out in Rumania, that the spotted typhus, with which he had already measured his strength, was claiming its victims there. How could he go anywhere else? He said, "I am going." But this time Mme. Clunet replied simply, "I am going, too." And they went.

In a spacious villa near Jassy, which today bears the name of the Greerul Hospital, Dr. and Mme. Clunet established a hospital for contagious diseases. Here they first treated intermittent fever and spotted typhus, and later, when the epidemic grew worse, typhus alone. Jean Clunet was everything in that asylum of pain—architect, carpenter, glazier, water carrier, food provider, physician. Bending over the dying, burying the dead, removing vermin from the living, he at last contracted the terrible disease. On the thirteenth day he died. He had asked that he might be buried near the hospital which he had founded. He rests there forever. Even in death he desired to remain at the post which he had assigned to himself.

Jean Clunet left behind him an admirable helpmate. I have never seen grief more noble or more worthy. I bow with respect before this woman, whom the hope of approaching motherhood alone attaches to life. She said to me simply, "If only it is a son!"

A Cardinal's Bombardment Diary

CARDINAL LUCON, Archbishop of Rheims, remained in that city during the bombardment that practically finished the destruction of the cathedral. To a curé in Paris he sent these extracts from his diary:

Holy Tuesday, April 3, [1917.]—Intermittent bombardment during the morning; continuous in the afternoon. Between 10 o'clock and midnight a shell wrecks the apse of the Clairmarais Chapel, shatters the statue of the Sacred Heart, crushes the altar, and buries the holy ciborium and ten consecrated wafers beneath a block of stone. The house of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul and the Orphanage in the Rue de Bétheny are annihilated by ten big shells.

Good Friday, April 6.—Infernal bombardment from 4 o'clock onward: 7,750 shells! Mme. Beaudet, an admirable Christian, sister of M. le Curé of St. Benoît, killed at 8 P. M. in a motor car, with the wife and daughter of the sacristan of St. Remi, the chauffeur, and a soldier. Five persons killed at Ste. Geneviève as they were leaving their cellar.

Holy Saturday, April 7.—At 4 P. M. the great seminary took fire. No water to extinguish the flames. The firemen dare not approach, for the Germans are dropping four shells a minute on the building, keeping it up throughout the evening and night. Two firemen were killed yesterday, Friday, and two others have had their legs broken.

Easter Day, April 8.—The only divine service was a low mass at 8:30. No vespers. This was fortunate, for at the hour when it is customary to chant them a hellish bombardment began. The Cérès suburb is burned down or knocked to pieces right and left over the length of half a mile. The church of St. André is ruined, the vaults shattered, and the walls knocked in. Our little seminary receives such a number of shells that it is uninhabitable. The church of St. Benoit had its ceiling destroyed, its walls knocked in, and its porch and belfry wrecked.

Monday, April 9.—Violent bombardment. Six killed, seventeen wounded: 10,000 shells!

Saturday, April 14.—Violent bombardment from 9 to 11 o'clock all around us. Asphyxiating shells on the Rue du Barbatu and Rue du Cloître, where Mlle. Léparqueur is killed; fifteen persons died from asphyxiation. The lay clerk of St. Remi, together with his wife and daughter, also died, poisoned and asphyxiated.

Tuesday, April 24.—From 9 to 10:15 o'clock systematic bombardment of the cathedral with big calibre shells, many of them 305mm., fired at regular intervals. They were all manifestly aimed at the cathedral. A great number hit it, the rest falling beyond it, short of it, to right of it, and on the ruins of the Archbishop's palace to left of it. The cathedral is "assassinated!" The apse outside is "massacred," three flying buttresses are broken, numerous pinnacles truncated or knocked down, the open galleries of the apse of the lofty walls are to a large extent thrown down. The walls have received such injuries that their solidity is imperiled. The towers have been seriously damaged. Lastly, the vaults have fallen in in five places, in the south transept, in the chancel—which is in ruins—and before the pulpit. The font is crushed; the high altar, buried beneath the débris of the vault, is no longer visible. Needless to say, the stained-glass windows have lost the few panes which still remained.

Nesting Mothers of Battle Zone

Bird Life Where Cannons Roar

Nature lovers, weary of the war's horrors, will find a charming interlude in this article, which was contributed to Land and Water by H. Thoburn-Clarke, an observant British soldier on the battle front in France.

THE war, with its upheaval of most of our ideas of the effect of gunfire upon the habits of the nature folk, does not appear to have troubled the migrating resident birds of the western battle zone. Already airmen have encountered vast flocks of migrating waders, ducks, and other birds flying at an immense altitude far above the sound of our massed artillery, and this year great flocks of green plover have settled in the marshes, and appear likely to stay for a while. Until early in March I had seen only two or three green plover at a time during all my two years wandering up and down the battle front. Now they have settled down here in dozens, but, so far, I have not seen any of their absurd attempts at a nest, although they are wheeling, dipping, and fluttering in their dainty love flights over the marshes.

Last year wild ducks nested among the reed beds to our left, and brought off large families of young ones. One family numbered ten when it first came off the nest, and it was most amusing to watch the tiny balls of fluff waddling up and down an almost submerged stump of a tree that had been felled by our gunfire. The mother duck would swim up and down watching them anxiously, making angry dashes every now and then at the coot that was occupied with a family of seven black velvet balls of fluff on the other side of the reeds. The two mothers would meet with a rush; the duck would grip hold of a beakful of feathers, while the coot would fight with beak and claws. The fray generally lasted for a few seconds; then the mothers would race back to their broods, each evidently considering that she had triumphed over the other! The scene was repeated at intervals, day after day, but, alas! the two broods grew daily smaller, until each mother had only one nestling left. Probably the rats had killed and eaten the rest.

At another time I captured a tiny coot and took it to my dugout. I hoped to tame it, but the wee mite developed most extraordinary climbing powers. It literally raced up the walls of the dugout, hurled itself out of boxes and through the entrance, and tore off, making by instinct in the direction of the river. It was caught and brought back, but nothing would tame its restless spirit, so in the evening I crept down to the river, with the small coot carefully tucked into my pocket. I could see nothing of the old bird and her brood. She had apparently left the scene. However, I took the little coot out of my pocket, and allowed him to call. Almost immediately I heard a reply from the reeds on the other side of the river, and the mother coot came swimming toward me. I let the little beggar go, and the last I saw of him was a small black object swimming through the moonlight. He joined his mother, and they both vanished into the shadows of the opposite bank and I saw them no more.

Our gun positions are favorite nesting places for many birds. Whenever we remain in the same place for a few weeks they take possession of the "structures" we use for masking the guns. Last Autumn a blackbird built her nest in the sandbag parapet, and in spite of the storms and the repeated firing of our gun she hatched out three eggs, and, I believe, reared the young ones successfully. At another position—in an orchard this time—another blackbird made her nest among the sandbags; this time only about four feet to the side of the muzzle of the gun, and stuck tight during the whole time we were strafing the Germans, and successfully

hatched all four of her eggs, a surprising feat when one considers the concussion. Not very far away a pair of blackcaps had built their nest in the gnarled stump of an old apple tree. They were unfortunate, for a well-aimed shell during a German evening strafe demolished the apple tree and the nest. Apparently the blackcaps did not trouble, for they built another nest in the next tree stump and hatched out and brought up their young ones safely.

Ammunition wagons have a great attraction for the birds. A pair of sparrows endeavored to construct a nest in an empty one during a dinner hour, when we were resting, and actually followed us to the next rest, but the move on the next day discouraged them and they left us. During one of our stays in a certain part of the front a pair of wrens succeeded in building a nest, and when we were moved half a mile further on the two birds came with the wagon and would no doubt have hatched out their young ones if the fortunes of war had not prevented it. A hedge sparrow had her home in a ruined wagon, and when I found her nest she was patiently feeding a cuckoo larger than herself. The hedge sparrows and their foster child occupied the wagon for a long time, and I have watched the two patiently feeding the cuckoo while the shells were bursting in all directions. At another time I found the nest of a hedge sparrow in the hub of a broken wheel lying in a position that was continually being shelled by the Germans. Evidently she must have stuck tight, for at the time the nest was discovered it had four young ones in it, and the parent birds were feeding their nestlings with serene indifference to the dropping of shrapnel and bursting of shells.

It is extraordinary how fond the birds are of certain localities, and quite a large number of different varieties will nest together. In one wood, somewhat to the rear of our position, during last Summer, a vast number of pigeons, magpies, rooks, and crows were nesting in the taller trees, while various warblers, tree creepers, and tits built their dwellings in the undergrowth. Yet in the early days of the war the wood had been heavily shelled, and still bore marks of gunfire in the shape of fallen trees. The conflict had been severe enough to have driven the birds to seek some safer abode, but evidently they had clung to the old place and declined to nest anywhere else. The numbers of pigeons seem to increase at an extraordinary rate. Probably the destruction caused by warfare does not equal that in times of peace, while the quantities of mice and rats afford sufficient food for the kestrels and other birds that might prey upon the young nestlings. Sometimes in the height of the nesting season the noise of the nestlings in the various nests was almost deafening, all clamoring loudly for food the instant they heard the beat of their mother's wings. One would almost imagine that each bird's wing had a different sound, in that respect resembling the tread of the human footsteps.

I have always associated the nightingale with a certain railway cutting in Berkshire, where it is possible to hear them singing all night through, but almost impossible to find their nests, and exceedingly difficult to see the bird itself. Out here, however, the shyness has vanished. I have heard of nests in the front-line trenches; of eggs being hatched during a furious bombardment; while close to our billets six pairs had built in a ruined garden, and we watched their nesting with keen pleasure. A blackcap literally sang us to sleep at nights. It perched in a sapling that screens a gun and sang constantly, its vivid notes punctuated with the boom of distant firing. At another place, a reedy remnant of a ruined moat, ten different kinds of birds were nesting in the weeds and rushes that clothed the bank. Tits, far bluer than any British bird, reed warblers, garden warblers, blackcaps, several greenfinches, and many other warblers.

The martins and swallows are, I think, more numerous than in England, and appear as pleased with the ruins as the sparrows and starlings. I have seen house martins' nests built under the cornice of the ruins of a highly decorated drawing room, pink Cupids and blue love knots contrasting strangely with the mud

of the nest. In most villages the peasants are very superstitious about the swallows and house martins, and consider that ill-luck will follow the destruction of a nest. So the swallows and martins are free to build where they like, and I often wonder whether when the ruins are reconstructed they will endeavor to reconcile the birds to a change of dwelling. At present their nests are everywhere. One built on the rack where we hung our clothes, another on a rafter in our harness room, while several occupied a shed in which the gunners were billeted during a "rest." The shed was strafed and a shell broke a large hole in the roof, but failed to explode. The swallows had previously used the doorways as an entrance, but they at once saw the convenience of the shell hole, and almost before the dust of the broken roof had subsided they were calmly flying in and out with food for their young ones. Possibly young swallows and martins require more food than other nestlings, for the parent birds were feeding them from the earliest dawning until it was almost too dark to see the birds. Yet the baby birds never ceased squealing for more. Shells might burst and shatter the adjoining sheds, even a "dud" pierce the roof that sheltered them, but still they cried insistently. Perhaps that is why the nesting mothers of the battlefields take matters so placidly. They have no time to waste, but must feed their young ones in spite of war's wild alarms, and, after all, it is the quantity of food that matters with the wild folk, and they have enough of that in all conscience at the front.

Professor Harnack Scorns American Ideals

Dr. Adolph von Harnack, Professor of Theology and General Director of the Royal Library, Berlin, delivered a lecture in Berlin on May 19, 1917, on "Wilson's American Ideal of Liberty." After attacking the President's "pacifist, democratic, and plutocratic ideal" as contrasted with the "interior and exterior liberty of Germans," the noted theologian continued:

> The hostility of the United States against us is reducible to the inconvenience which was caused to America by German economical efficiency. A second reason is that America feared to lose the enormous capital she had invested in the Entente from the beginning, in the firm belief that the latter would be victorious. Now America is witnessing the chances of victory gradually disappearing, and rushes in to save what is possible.
>
> America conducted silent war against us long before the declaration of war, and never was particular in choosing her means. Wilson and many Americans with him have undergone an ugly development from an honest democratic republicanism to a bedizened emperorism. In addition, Wilson distinguishes himself by amazing ignorance about Germany. He is an intellectual moralist, but without any depth whatever.
>
> Professor Harnack then quoted extensively from President Wilson's books to show "what startling political, judicial, and ethical metamorphoses the President had passed through, changing his convictions as often as his trousers. Germany must decidedly decline this many-colored uniform of liberty which one can easily picture from Wilson's words and deeds. We don't want liberty, except of our own make and in accord with our history."

RUSSIA'S FIRST REVOLUTIONARY CABINET

The Ministers Are, Top Row, Left to Right: Terestchenko, Shingaroff, G. E. Lvoff, Kerensky, Konovaloff. Bottom Row, Left to Right: Manuiloff, Milukoff, Gutchkoff, Nekrasoff, V. Lvoff. The Two Russian Words Written Across the Bottom of the Postcard on Which the Ministers Were Photographed Mean "Provisional Government"

RUSSIAN WORKERS ESTABLISHING THEIR POWER

A Scene in the Hall of the Duma. Delegates of the Workers and Soldiers Are Electing the Council Which Has Become as Great a Power as the Provisional Government of the New Republic

(© *London Graphic*)

Deportations Planned in Advance

Belgian Official Memorandum

AN official memorandum presented to the United States Government by M. de Cartier, the Belgian Minister at Washington, and made public June 3, 1917, summarizes the facts of German rule in Belgium, and charges that enforced idleness of the Belgian workingmen was part of a deliberate war policy preparatory to the deportations.

"The cessation of the larger part of Belgian industry is an admitted fact," says the memorandum. "But Germany founds an argument upon this fact as upon an event due to the circumstances of a state of war, and in the presence of which the good intentions of the occupant were powerless.

"However, this is not the case. The depressed condition of Belgian industry is not a case of accident caused by the force of extraneous circumstances unconnected with the action of the German authorities; these authorities are, on the contrary, personally responsible. Their responsibility is double. The German Government is the direct author of the crisis in Belgian industry and labor. The German Government has deliberately prevented the Belgians from applying the remedy.

"Since the occupation of Belgium the German authorities, in spite of their deceitful proclamations, have put into effect the plan worked out in August, 1914, at Berlin, by Dr. W. Rathenau, for the systematic exploitation of all the economic resources of occupied countries to the profit of the war organization of the empire.

The Rathenau Plan

"This plan allowed, notably, the seizure of all stocks of raw materials existing in the occupied territories, and the transfer of them into Germany, in order to avert the consequences of the closure of the seas. This was to be completed by the removal of the implements of labor, and, in general, by the removal of all means of production which the empire might need for the continuation of the struggle. Economic commissions, attached to all the military authorities in the occupied territories, were to be constituted the agents for putting into execution the Rathenau plan. By this plan—as the German publicists have written on so many occasions with the approval of the censor—the war carried on by the empire would take on the haracter of an 'economic war.'

"This program was methodically carried out."

The memorandum then cites the German official bulletin of laws and decrees for the occupied territory published at Brussels from the end of August, 1914, containing more than 120 orders relating to economic conditions, many of them commandeering raw materials, finished products, and tools, as well as domestic animals, crops, and seeds.

"The Belgian Government," it continues, "knows that the operation of removing machines and installation was, in several cases, confined to the representatives of German firms who were the direct competitors of the Belgian industries, and that, in at least one instance, in an artificial silk factory, the Belgian firm's secret process of fabrication was ascertained from the factory inspected.

"Numerous Belgian industries have been placed under sequestration without plausible reason.

"Finally, the German authorities, in 1916, placed prohibitive tariffs on the remaining Belgian industries which had still maintained a relative degree of activity through their commercial relations with certain neutral countries—the glass industry and the metallurgic industry.

"These prohibitive measures are of a nature to close to Belgian industry any markets which may have remained open, and even to render impossible all export trade.

"Attention can be called here only to

the principal acts which have marked the German financial policy:

"(a) A war tax of 40,000,000 francs per month for the benefit of the German war treasury—a tax fixed, at first, for one year, the Belgian provinces being jointly and severally responsible, (December, 1914,) with the official promise that there should not be afterward any other war tax. In November, 1915, however, this tax was made permanent. In November, 1916, after nearly 1,000,000,000 francs had been extracted from the country, the tax was increased by the sum of 10,000,000 francs per month, (50,000,000 francs instead of 40,000,000.)

"(b) Imposition of the mark at the forced rate of 1 franc 25 centimes.

"(c) Refusal of the German authorities to accept marks in payment of the war tax, of which a large proportion was required to be paid in francs.

"(d) Absolute prohibition of the exportation of securities, even to pay for commodities necessary for the feeding of the civil population.

"(e) Extortion of marks held as cash reserve by Belgian banks, (the Banque Nationale and the Société Générale,) that is to say, 430,000,000 marks which were transported into Germany (Sept. 12, 1916) with the stipulation of repayment two years after the end of the war at the average rate of exchange of Berlin at that period.

"Any country whatever, if subjected to such a system of exploitation, would find itself overwhelmed by the calamity of unemployment. The number of Belgian workers (men) thus reduced to idleness, in spite of their desire to work, varies between 300,000 and 400,000; if this number (which the German statements tend to exaggerate in order to draw some quibbling argument)—if this number is not greater, it is due only to the prodigies of ingenuity and initiative of the Belgians, who have truly shown themselves in this, as in other spheres, 'the nation that will not die.'"

Next it is shown that the aid dispensed to the victims of the German invasion, amounting to 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 francs a month, has not cost Germany a cent and has been only a small charge on the local budgets of the occupied territory—thus disposing of the oft-quoted German argument that it could not permit such considerable burdens to be placed upon local communities.

Efforts of the Belgian authorities to keep the population from falling into the habits of idleness so strongly reprobated by the late von Bissing and other apostles of German humanitarianism were thwarted by the German authorities. One of these plans was to require the unemployed who received allowances from charity to take up the study of a trade. The operation of this plan was paralyzed by German interference.

Unemployment Created

"The fact is," the memorandum continues, "that, while artifically creating unemployment in Belgium by the removal of stocks of raw materials and tools and by the restrictions placed upon the commercial activity of the country, the German administration had conceived the idea of enrolling the workers, thus thrown into enforced idleness, in the service of its war industries, either in the requisitioned Belgian factories or in Germany.

"At the beginning of the Summer of 1915 a campaign was started to overcome, in this matter, the passive resistance of Belgian patriotism; the German authorities had had recourse, successively or simulaneously, to the bait of high wages, to intimidation, then to violence, in order to procure the manual labor necessary for their military objects, (see the eighteenth and nineteenth reports of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry in regard to the violation of the law of nations;) but these attempts had failed; very few Belgian workmen had consented to engage themselves in the service of the enemy; of the others, a certain number had been deported to Germany as prisoners as a punishment for their refusal. Then the German administration resolved to prevent, by all means in its power, the Belgian unemployed from finding elsewhere a livelihood or assistance; it counted upon holding them at its mercy by the pressure of the needs and the destitution of their families."

Still more incredible, except on the assumption that Germany had set out to reduce Belgium to such a state that she could make to the world the plea that the Belgians' alternatives were beggary or deportation, was the German opposi-

tion to works of public utility for the benefit of the unemployed. The Province of Luxembourg had completely solved its problem of unemployment by organizing works of improvement of this character when the order of May 2, 1916, was issued, in which the local authorities were directed to abandon these works, on which nearly $2,000,000 had been spent, because, as the memorandum says, "it was a matter of work for the unemployed." When the Luxembourgers thus thrown out of employment sought work in other communes the German authorities refused to authorize any work where employment was given to workmen from outside communes.

"Thus hunted down," says the memorandum, "in every place where employment could still be obtained in Belgium, the Belgian laboring class, at the end of September, 1916, found itself compelled to fold its arms by order of the German authorities.

"This was the moment chosen by the German Government to decree the deportation of the Belgian unemployed into Germany under the official pretext 'that sufficient occupation for the unemployed could no longer be found in Belgium.'"

The memorandum refutes the German allegation that the British blockade, by shutting out raw materials, was responsible for the economic woes of Belgium, showing that a system of imports of such materials under neutral guarantees failed of adoption because of Germany's refusal to give the guarantee required of her.

Deliberate War Measure

The deportation order of Oct. 3, 1916, to which the Belgian Government contends all Germany's previous policy had been leading up, was essentially a war measure. The memorandum says:

"This character is shown, in the first place, by the authority from which it emanates, and which is, not the civil Government of unoccupied Belgium, but the German General Headquarters. This character is shown, moreover, by the fact that similar orders were given out simultaneously, and by the military authorities also, covering the occupied districts of Poland and Lithuania. In both cases it was only the putting into execution of a general plan tending to complete the entire incorporation of the resources (men as well as goods) of the occupied countries into the war organization of the empire.

"Finally, this character is shown, in an absolutely decisive way, by the correlation, today openly avowed, between the order of Oct. 3, 1916, and the law of December, 1916, ordering the mobilization in Germany itself of the entire able-bodied civil population for the auxiliary service of the army. The deported Belgians have been incorporated into this vast economic military organism by approximately the same legislative claim and for exactly the same ends as the able-bodied male population of Germany; that is to say, to aid the German Army to support the burden of the war and to make a supreme effort."

Not Justified by Danger

While admitting the Belgian people's aversion to the invaders, the memorandum remarks upon their absolute self-control:

"During two years of occupation under a very severe régime, there has been no uprising, no disorder anywhere. All the social authorities, or those who have been placed in such authority, have constantly occupied themselves in recommending calm and patience to the sorely tried people. Moreover, the population has no arms; surrounded by a barrier of death-dealing electric wires, the population is literally held as in a cage. All constitutional liberties, liberty of opinion, of the press, of reunion and of association, are suspended. The danger of disorder is so remote that the German administration has maintained only relatively weak garrisons in Belgium. * * *

"It can be said without exaggeration that such an attack upon the essential rights of humanity had never before been made in modern times by any State calling itself civilized. The brutality and the duplicity with which the measure has been enforced have augmented (if such a thing be possible) this unprece-

dented scandal; they have wrung from Belgium, which seemed to have already reached the limit of the afflictions of a nation at war, a cry of anguish which has caused an echo of horror and indignation from the neutral States.

"Although in 1863 the Instructions for the Armies in the Field, published for the use of the American troops, noted even then that deportation and reduction to servitude of the civil population of conquered States by the conqueror were no longer practiced except among barbaric hordes, the spectacle has been seen in Belgium of the regular army of a powerful empire employed in carrying out methodic slave-raids upon the citizens of a small, captive nation which had entered the war solely for the defense of its independence and for the fulfillment of its international duties. * * *

"No peace is possible, nor durable, without the observance of the elementary rules of right, one of the first of which is respect for the human person.

"No abuse of force can exhaust the resistance of the Belgian people to foreign oppression. All history witnesses that the aspiration of the Belgian people for independence is indomitable and that their endurance will win the mastery over tyranny."

Belgium's New War Industries

THE Belgian Army in 1917 is making its own cannon, its own rifles, its own shells, its own transport wagons, its own saddles and harness. After the heroic battle of the Yser in 1914 it had six divisions of infantry and two divisions of cavalry left to hold a line of approximately eighteen miles, or just about four men to the yard of front; a front where particular vigilance is required because of the German tactics of constant trial attacks. No part of the Allies' line is more closely watched and explored by the enemy's patrols. A weak spot anywhere would provoke an immediate offensive.

Belgium lost all her manufacturing establishments and all her resources in raw materials in the defeat of the Allies at Charleroi and in the retreat from Antwerp, yet M. de Broqueville, Minister of War, with Belgian ingenuity, skill, and perseverance, has built up on the hospitable soil of France artillery and munitions establishments that not only enable the Belgian Army to reply shot for shot to the Germans on the Yser front but also contribute to the armament and supplies of the allied armies.

It was to the United States that M. de Broqueville looked immediately after the termination of the heroic defense of Belgian soil on the Yser for the reconstitution of Belgian industry. Specialists were sent to purchase American machine tools for the manufacture of everything the army needed, and when the machines arrived mechanics released from military service were ready to operate them. Fourteen thousand workmen are today employed in those establishments.

The invasion found the Belgian Army in the midst of an entire reorganization of its artillery. Siege cannon ordered from the Krupp works in Germany had not been furnished. Millions of cartridges ordered from the same source also had been held up. It was with a disorganized armament and insufficient material that the Belgians held the Germans before Liége. Before Antwerp, in the retreat to Flanders, and in the defense of the Yser, it may be said that the remaining débris of the armament and munitions was exhausted.

The worn-out field guns, brought back in the retreat to the Yser, were partly replaced by French three-inchers, but at that all the Allies were short of their requirements in armament and munitions.

The Belgian Government, with no industries left nor territory remaining out of range of the German guns on which to instll new ones, began in exile to work out its great problem of war supplies. Today it furnishes saddles and harness to the British Army and other supplies

of different kinds to all its allies, including Russia, besides keeping up the equipment of its new army.

The Belgian Army is new in nearly every feature. Of the 120,000 men in the field and 60,000 men who garrisoned the forts, 30,000 fell into the hands of the Germans at Liége and Namur and in the retreat; 30,000 more took refuge in Holland, and were interned for the duration of the war; 14,000 were lost on the Yser, in addition to more than 20,000 killed and wounded in the battles of Liége, Haelen, and St. Trond. There remained neither bases, depots, nor hospitals.

The reorganization was difficult. Unable to call a session of Parliament to revise recruiting laws to accord with the new situation, the Government could only appeal to the patriotism of refugees in England and France. The response was such as to reconstitute an army of six divisions of infantry and two divisions of cavalry, while 14,000 men were detached for the manufacture of munitions in France and 600 sent to Russia for the same purpose. About 30,000 more men were raised by decree calling up all Belgians eligible for service between 18 and 40 years of age.

A regiment of automobile artillery recruited among the Belgian refugees and trained in Paris was sent to the Russian front, where it played an important part in Brusiloff's offensive in Galicia and Volhynia in the Spring of 1916.

Welding Britain's Empire Closer

Important Results of the Recent Imperial War Conference in London

TO make the British Empire a more solidly united world power was the object of the Imperial War Conference that met in London in May, 1917. England is only one of four countries which constitute the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and this kingdom is only part of an empire which embraces five self-governing colonial nations or dominions, besides the great Indian Empire and dependencies all over the world. The problems which the Imperial War Conference considered were twofold—first, to devise some method whereby the empire will be able to act as a political unit without interfering with colonial autonomy; second, to consolidate the material resources of the empire and make it as far as possible economically self-contained.

The readjusting of constitutional relations within the empire was deferred till after the war, but two important decisions were arrived at. The first was that India should be recognized as a member of the "Imperial Commonwealth," and the second that the dominions and India should have the right to "an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations," which they have not at present. While the dominions have loyally supported the mother country in the prosecution of the war, it has become obvious that if the self-governing peoples of the empire are to lend material support in future international relations, they should have a share in the shaping of those relations. The number of whites inhabiting the dominions is now nearly 40 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom, while in regard to material resources and industrial development the dominions are steadily gaining ground.

The importance of the recent conference in London is largely to be found in the fact that the statesmen of Great Britain have now definitely conceded the right of the dominions to an active part in the solving of the empire's problems. Commenting on this subject, the Colonial Secretary, Walter H. Long, in a statement issued on May 3, said:

> The resolution with regard to the Constitution of the empire was made the occasion for striking expressions by the various speakers of attachment to the monarchical institutions of the empire and their value for the preservation of imperial unity. In the words of one of the speakers, "The monarchy is the keystone of the imperial arch."

Another set of resolutions dealt with

defense. The British Admiralty is to work out immediately after the war a scheme for the effective naval defense of the empire as a whole. Behind this resolution lies the story of controversy in which the colonial standpoint was most thoroughly sustained by Australia. This dominion some years ago insisted that in addition to the British Navy, whose function was to act as a safeguard against the great rival navies, there should be a distinctly Australian navy, under Australian control, for the defense of Australian waters and trade routes, instead of the then prevalent system of paying a money tribute to the British Admiralty. Australians argued—with increased force after Admiral Fisher's policy of concentrating the British fleet in home waters was adopted—that there must be local protection as well as a system of naval defense against Britain's most likely enemy. Australia eventually had her way, and by the time the war broke out had already created a respectable navy of her own. It was an Australian cruiser, H. M. A. S. Sydney, which finally disposed of the German raider Emden. The concentration of the British fleet in home waters also necessitated relying upon the Japanese Navy for a great deal of convoy and patrol work in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Other defense resolutions adopted in London call for the development of a coordinated and standardized empire-wide system of producing munitions and other war supplies.

Plans for Economic Union

Most advance was made in laying the foundations of future economic union. On this subject the resolution adopted read in part:

> The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of imperial resources, and especially to making the empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view, this conference expresses itself in favor of:
>
> (1) The principle that each part of the empire, having due regard to the interests of our allies, shall give specially favorable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the empire.
>
> (2) Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.
>
> Having regard to the experience obtained in the present war, this conference records its opinion that the safety of the empire and the necessary development of its component parts require prompt and attentive consideration, as well as concerted action, with regard to the following matters:
>
> (1) The production of an adequate food supply and arrangements for its transportation when and where required, under any conditions that may reasonably be anticipated.
>
> (2) The control of natural resources available within the empire, especially those that are of an essential character for necessary national purposes, whether in peace or in war.
>
> (3) The econonomical utilization of such natural resources through processes of manufacture carried on within the empire.
>
> That it is desirable to establish in London an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, upon which should be represented Great Britain, the dominions, India, and other parts of the empire.

All the members of the Imperial War Conference signed an address to the King, which they presented in person on May 3. Part of the address read:

> We further considered steps that may be required to insure that victory may not be lost by unpreparedness in times of peace, and so to develop the resources of the empire that it may not be possible hereafter for an unscrupulous enemy to repeat his outrages on liberty and civilization. We shall return to our homes inspired by the magnificent efforts put forth by all classes of your Majesty's subjects throughout the world, confident that the trials and sacrifices borne in common must draw still closer the bonds of imperial unity and co-operation, each in its own sphere, to leave nothing undone which may tend for the honor and welfare of your Majesty and your dominions.

Prime Minister Lloyd George made an important statement in the House of Commons on May 17 when he announced that in future the Imperial Conference would meet annually, instead of every four years, as heretofore, and that at the conclusion of the war there would be a special conference to adjust the constitutional relations of the empire. The new Imperial Council would be composed of the British Prime Minister, other British Cabinet Ministers concerned with imperial affairs, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, and a specially accredited representative of India, with equal authority.

Britain's Fight on Food Shortage

Public Meals Order, April 15, 1917

LORD DEVONPORT, the British Food Controller, after trying various methods for voluntary conservation of food, finally issued an official order compelling the observation of meatless and potatoless days in hotels and restaurants throughout the United Kingdom, beginning April 15, 1917. The text of this order is as follows:

In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Regulation 2F of the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Food Controller hereby orders as follows:

1. Except under the authority of the Food Controller the following regulations as to foodstuffs shall be observed in every inn, hotel, restaurant, refreshment house, club, boarding house, and place of refreshment open to the general public, (hereinafter referred to as a public eating place,) and by every person having the management or control thereof.

2. (*a*) No meat, poultry, or game shall be served or eaten on any meatless day. The meatless day in the area comprising the City of London and the Metropolitan Police District shall be Tuesday, and elsewhere in the United Kingdom shall be Wednesday in every week.

(*b*) No potatoes or any food of which potatoes form part shall be served or eaten on any day except on meatless days and on Fridays.

3. The total quantities of meat, flour, bread, and sugar used in or by any public eating place in any week shall not exceed the gross quantities ascertained in accordance with the following scale of average quantities per meal:

SCALE I.

	Meat. Oz.	Sugar. Oz.	Bread. Oz.	Flour. Oz.
Breakfast	2	2.7	2	0
Luncheon (including middle day dinner)..	5	2.7	2	1
Dinner (including supper and meat tea)...	5	2.7	2	1
Tea	0	2.7	2	0

4. The following provisions shall have effect as to weight: (*a*) Two ounces of poultry and game to be reckoned as one ounce of meat. (*b*) The weight of meat to be the uncooked weight, including bone as usually delivered by the butcher, and the weight of poultry and game shall be the uncooked weight, as usually delivered by the poulterer, without feathers or without skin, as the case may be, but including offal. (*c*) Twenty-five per cent. to be added to the weight of meat delivered cooked into the public eating place, and 50 per cent. when delivered cooked and without bone.

(*a*) Four ounces of bread to be reckoned as three ounces of flour.

(*b*) Cakes, biscuits, pastries, confectionery, and similar articles, when the ingredients are not otherwise brought into account, to be reckoned as containing 30 per cent of flour and 20 per cent. of sugar by weight.

5. In reckoning the quantities of meat, sugar, bread, and flour for meals served, no account shall be taken of any meal which begins before 5 A. M. or after 9:30 P. M., or, in respect of the meat allowance, of any meal which is served on a meatless day.

6. None of the foregoing provisions of this order except Article 2 (*b*) relating to potatoes shall apply to food served over the counter of a buffet at a railway station.

7. This order shall not apply to: (*a*) Any boarding house where the number of bedrooms let and available for letting does not exceed ten; or (*b*) any public eating place where no meal is served the total charge for which (exclusive of the usual charges for beverages) exceeds 1s. 3d., and where there is exhibited on every tariff card, and also in a conspicuous position in every room where meals are usually served, a notice to the effect that no such meal will be served.

8. The person or persons having the management of any public eating place shall for the purposes of this order keep a register in the form prescribed by the Food Controller, and shall also keep invoices, vouchers, and such other documents relating to foodstuffs purchased and used, meals served, and other matters as the Food Controller may from time to time prescribe.

9. For the purposes of this order, the expression "meat" includes butcher's meat, sausages, ham, pork, bacon, venison, and preserved and potted meats, and other meats of all kinds, but does not include suet, lard, or dripping. The expression "poultry and game" includes rabbits and hares, and any kind of bird killed for food. The expression "flour" shall mean any flour for the time being authorized to be used in the manufacture of wheaten bread. The expression "week" shall mean a calendar week ending on a Saturday midnight.

10. The Regulation of Meals Order, 1916, is hereby revoked as on the date when this order comes into force.

11. If any person acts in contravention of this order or aids or abets any other person in doing anything in contravention of this order, that person is guilty of a summary offense against the Defense of the Realm

Regulations, and if such person is a company every Director and officer of the company is also guilty of a summary offense against those regulations unless he proves that the contravention took place without his knowledge or consent.

12. (*a*) This order may be cited as the Public Meals Order, 1917. (*b*) This order shall come into force on April 15, 1917.

An official summary of other food regulations issued by Lord Devonport was sent to the United States Government on May 25, as follows:

No trader, in selling an article, may impose a condition involving the purchase of any other article. No person may acquire supplies of food beyond the needs of his ordinary consumption.

A tradesman shall not sell any article of food where he has reasonable ground for believing that the quantity ordered is in excess of requirements. The Food Controller may order the inspection of premises in which he has reason to believe that hoarding is taking place.

The maximum price of wheat is fixed at 78 shillings per quarter of 480 pounds; of barley (other than kiln dried) at 65 shillings per quarter of 400 pounds, and of oats at 55 shillings per quarter of 312 pounds.

The extraction of flour from wheat is raised to a basis of 81 per cent.; the percentage of flour from other cereals to be mixed with wheaten flour must not be less than 10 per cent. and not more than 25 per cent. Barley, maize, oats, and rice may be used in the manufacture of bread, but when wheaten flour is used it must not be of the regulation grade. Bread must not be sold until it has been made at least twelve hours. The only loaves allowed are the tin loaf and the one-piece oven-bottom loaf. No currant, sultana, or milk bread may be made. No sugar may be used in bread.

All bread must be sold by weight. All loaves must be one pound or an even number of pounds. No wheat, rye, rice, tapioca, sago, manioc, or arrowroot or products thereof may be used except for human food. No bread or other product of cereals shall be wasted. No maize, barley, or oats or products thereof may be used except for human or animal food.

The Food Controller has taken over all flour mills of the United Kingdom which use wheat in the making of flour, except those with an output of less than five sacks per hour.

No chocolate may be sold or bought retail at a price exceeding 3 pence per ounce, or any other sweetmeats at a price exceeding 2 pence per ounce. The quantity of sugar used by manufacturers other than of jam, marmalade, or condensed milk is reduced to 40 per cent. of the 1915 supply.

The maximum retail price of milk is 2 pence a quart over the price on the 15th of the same month in 1914.

No tea may be packed other than the net weight. After July 1 all tea sold at retail, whether contained in a package or not, shall be sold by net weight. Forty per cent. of the total imports of tea from India and Ceylon are allocated for the purpose of the sale retail at 2 shillings 4 pence per pound. An arrangement has also been made with the Coffee Trade Association to supply a good, sound, pure coffee at a rate which would enable grocers to sell retail at 1 shilling 6 pence a pound.

The Food Controller has taken over all barley, foreign and home grown, other than home-grown barley which has not been kiln dried. The output of beer is limited to the rate of 10,000,000 barrels per annum, as compared with 36,000,000 barrels before the war. The manufacture and sale of malt, or its use by other than a brewer for sale, is prohibited.

Any infringement of an order made by the Food Controller is a summary offense under the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and the offender is liable to imprisonment for six months, with or without hard labor, or a fine of £100, or both.

The order of April 15, it was estimated, would produce a saving of 65 per cent. on meat, 53 per cent. on bread, and 63 per cent. on sugar, as compared with the consumption under preceding regulations.

Lord Devonport's new measures were subjected to bitter criticism. On May 8, in the course of an interpellation in Parliament, he announced the withdrawal of the meatless feature of the order on the ground that it was found to increase the consumption of breadstuffs, the most important item in the whole food-shortage situation.

On June 1, 1917, Baron Devonport resigned his difficult and thankless position as Food Controller.

Food Restrictions in France—Use of Horse Meat

IN France the task of combating the universal food shortage is in the hands of Maurice Viollette, the Minister of Subsistence. On April 22, 1917, he issued an order that there should be one meatless meal each day. The measure was adopted as an experiment, with notice that if it was not successful two meatless days would have to be instituted. It was not successful. On May 17 a new order appeared in the Journal Officiel regulating the sale and consumption of meat, as follows:

1. Monday and Tuesday shall be meatless days.

2. On those two days of the week it is forbidden—with the exception named below—to sell meat of any kind, including tripe, fowl, and rabbit.

3. It shall be permissible, however, to sell horse meat every day in the week.

4. These measures apply to all France.

Certain modifications are allowed in cases of illness, and special arrangements are made for shipping meat to the troops. Butcher shops selling horse meat exclusively may do business on the meatless days, but the consumption of horse meat is not allowed in restaurants on those days.

Restrictions regarding the use of flour were embodied by M. Viollette in the following order, issued May 1, 1917. In a report accompanying the decree he stated that a census of food stocks had shown the necessity for scrupulous economy and that the measures adopted were intended to apportion the existing supplies to the real needs of the people with the least possible inconvenience to any class:

Article 1. Beginning on May 10, 1917, millers are forbidden to send from their mills or to place on sale any wheat flour comprising less than 85 per cent. of the wheat used to make it. Besides this flour it shall be lawful to sell only bran and the waste from wheat grains found unfit for milling. Mixtures of substitute flours with wheat flour, authorized by Article 14 of the order of April 8, 1917, will be made with the flour prescribed by the present article.

Article 2. From the date of publication of this order millers are also forbidden to deliver flour to any one except bakers and farmers who have brought their wheat to the mill to be ground; except, however, that this interdiction shall not apply to makers of health foods and the like, save to the extent determined by rules fixed by the Food Controller. Semoules must be made of Winter wheat and be delivered to pastry makers under regulations established by the said Minister.

Article 3. Biscuit factories shall henceforth work only for the needs of the army, navy, merchant marine, and Department of Public Aid, in accordance with the conditions prescribed under the order of April 19, 1917. They are, however, permitted to exhaust their stocks, though without raising the present prices of their products.

Article 4. Bakers alone are authorized to sell wheat flour at retail in quantities not exceeding 125 grams.

Article 5. Save for the exceptions provided in Articles 2, 3, and 4, wheat flour cannot be employed henceforth for any other purpose than the making of bread. Consequently, within ten days after the publication of the present order every mercantile holder of wheat flour must dispose of it to a baker or place it at the service of the Mayor, who will attend to reimbursing the holder.

Article 6. Within the same period of ten days every baker is expected to place on file at the Mayor's office of the town in which he does business, the name of the miller or millers from whom he intends to get his flour; he cannot be supplied by any other miller, save by authorization of the prefect or sub-prefect.

Article 7. Within the same ten days the owners, directors, or managers of hotels, restaurants, buffets, and other similar establishments must declare at the Mayor's office the name of the baker or bakers from whom they will get their supplies; they cannot buy of any other baker save with the authorization of the prefect or sub-prefect. All bakers are forbidden to sell to any other establishment than those for which they are the regular caterers.

Von Batocki's Bread-Card Methods in Germany

GERMANY continued to suffer from the increasing scarcity of food during the months preceding the harvest of 1917. Early in June the Food Controller, Herr von Batocki, said in a speech before the Reichstag:

In certain provinces the potato crop is much poorer than the reports led us to expect. On the other hand, home consumption by the producers is insufficiently supervised. In the occupied territories the crops are a great disappointment to the German authorities, as seed will hardly germinate in ruined soil. Rumania has given as much as could be expected, but it is less than was hoped for by the German population. The country is almost completely ruined, and the harvest is much inferior to that raised in time of peace.

With respect to Germany's allies, the situation is not much better. For six years the Turks have struggled for their existence and their production has suffered thereby. The Bulgars are in a similar position. In Austria the situation is worse than in Germany. Hungary for three years has had poor crops. The rural population will be subjected to a severe trial. An effort has been made to spare small producers, but this can hardly continue. Three-fourths of the pigs, two-thirds of the cows, and two-thirds of the potato crop are in the hands of the small producers. It is a hard trial, but the rural population will triumph by bearing in mind that the urban population last Winter suffered a still greater trial.

In the discussion which followed, Deputy Schmidt, a Berlin Socialist, expressed the grievances of the city against the rural population. "Do the peasants know," he asked, "that the urban population of the Palatinate is obliged to content itself with a quarter of a pound of potatoes daily for each person?"

The Morgen Post of Berlin said that meat was completely lacking in the metropolis. In Baden, Minister of State Bodman indicated the possibility of meatless weeks next Fall. Bavarian newspapers inserted the following notice:

"In view of the extreme scarcity of potatoes and in view of the fact that Bavarian towns and industrial centres are suffering from this lack, an attempt will again be made to seize all the potatoes available throughout the country."

The Berlin authorities published an order forbidding the eating of pork on any day but Thursday because of the insufficiency of the stocks. The forging and theft of bread cards became a serious evil throughout Germany. In Berlin a tribunal condemned an individual to three months at hard labor for having stolen 20,000 bread cards. Five new establishments in which false bread cards were being printed were discovered in Berlin. In Dresden there were frauds and speculations in flour. The newspapers asked if it would be possible to continue after Aug. 15 the meat ration of 500 grams, (17.5 ounces.)

German Bread-Card System

[This summary of the German bread-card system was prepared by a London newspaper writer with a view to its possible adoption in England.]

All the ordinary requirements of everyday life are now distributed in Germany by means of the ticket system. The earliest of these tickets was for bread, and was adopted in the Spring of 1915. It should be borne in mind that tickets do not confer on their holders any legal right to the goods to which they refer. There is this difference, however, between bread and other tickets in Germany—that while it was not always certain that the purchaser would be able to obtain butter, potatoes, meat, eggs, &c., he could generally rely on getting his bread ration. That was because quite early in the war the Government took all the wheat in the country under its control. It stands to reason that any system of bread-ticket rationing must be preceded by such a course, for unless there is a central clearing house for supplies the whole system will break down.

In Germany the Central Government decided what the bread rations should be, and issued the necessary regulations for their distribution; but the actual work of providing the population with tickets is undertaken by the local authorities, who are at liberty to adopt

any machinery for the purpose they may choose. In Greater Berlin local Bread Committees have been appointed by the various Borough Councils. There are 107 such committees in the German capital, and they have in hand the bread-ticket system. In the first place, it is the duty of house owners to make a return of all the people living in their houses who are entitled to tickets. The tickets are then issued to the house owners, whose duty it is to distribute them among their tenants, obtaining in each case a receipt which is returned to the Bread Committee.

Tickets are usually issued for a month at a time, and in the early days complaints were loud about petty abuses. On the one hand, tenants deliberately gave unpopular landlords much unnecessary trouble by making them call several times for the delivery of the tickets and the return of the receipts. On the other hand, landlords penalized tenants in arrears with their rent by refusing to issue their tickets until the rent was paid.

Tickets are non-transferable. Yet, though it is a criminal offense to utilize tickets to which the holder is not entitled, it is well-nigh impossible to prevent fraud. Tickets are often stolen, and burglaries at the offices of the Bread Committees are frequent occurrences. But this evil can at least be overcome by great caution. Not so, however, another evil, which greatly weakens the whole system. Nothing can be done to check the illegal sale or bartering of tickets. It seems to be no infrequent occurrence for people in Germany to sell their bread tickets or exchange them for other sorts. Only a high sense of public duty can be effective here. It need hardly be added that unused tickets are expected to be returned to the Bread Committee.

Besides the ordinary bread ticket there is in Germany a supplementary bread ticket. Three categories of the population receive rations over and above those generally current—growing children, ordinary factory workers who are away from home all day, (the so-called "heavy" workers,) and those engaged on particularly hard work, especially in mining and munition making, (the so-called "heaviest" workers.) The reduced bread ration which came into force in Germany on April 15, 1917, was accompanied by the abolition of the first category of supplementary tickets. The other two are issued to the different works and factories, where they are distributed among the men qualified to receive them.

What happens if a bread ticket is lost? Local practice varies. Some towns will not replace lost tickets at all, while others will partially make good the loss on payment of a fee. But so much red tape is associated with the replacement that the possibility of constant fraud is reduced to a minimum. Besides, too frequent applications for the restoration of lost tickets are bound to raise suspicions with the police.

Another difficult problem is that of providing for the floating population, as, for instance, soldiers on leave, visitors, foreigners, and commercial travelers. Temporary visitors are granted bread tickets for the period of their stay in the locality, after satisfying the local Bread Committee of their bona fides, and presenting a certificate from their own Bread Committee or other local authorities issuing bread tickets. Travelers may obtain travelers' tickets, which are valid all over Germany. It should be noted that local bread tickets have currency only in the locality where they are issued, save only that all the South German States—Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, and Alsace-Lorraine—have agreed to recognize each other's bread tickets.

The form of the tickets varies in each locality. The most common is what may be termed a central trunk surrounded by coupons, each with an amount of bread or flour imprinted upon it. The seller must sever the coupon for the amount sold, and return all the coupons to the Bread Committee. On the basis of these returns the committee determines the quantity of flour to be allowed to the different bakers, each of whom is given a buying permit entitling him to receive his allotted share of flour from the wholesaler.

The system as a whole suffers from two weaknesses which seem inherent, and

it is a little difficult, therefore, to see how they can be overcome. The one is the control of the tickets. It is true that persons leaving the district are bound to notify the Bread Committee, just as the committee is also informed of all the deaths in the neighborhood. But German experience has been that in a great many cases removal notice is not given. What is the result? Unless the landlords are scrupulously careful the Bread Committee goes on issuing bread tickets as before, and improper use is made of them. Toward the end of 1916 it was felt that the number of illegal bread tickets in circulation in Germany was alarmingly large, and a census taken on Dec. 1, 1916, showed that there were four million more bread tickets in use than the total population warranted.

Even greater is the second difficulty —to deal satisfactorily with the producer, i. e., the farmer. If he is too much interfered with he may stop producing altogether. That obviously must be avoided at all costs. Hence a certain latitude is allowed the rural population in Germany in respect of bread rations. They are permitted to consume more bread than the town population. This has been the cause of great bitterness in Germany no less than in Austria and in Hungary. In the last-named country it has been necessary to keep a tight hold on the farmers. In the first place they did not always thrash the whole of their corn. In the second, by collusion with the local miller, they had more corn ground than their official permits allowed. In the third, by all manner of subterfuges, they fed their beasts on wheat fit for bread. It is asserted that these evils still exist in Hungary.

So far as the consumer is concerned, he must have the assurance that when he presents his ticket to his tradesman the commodity will be forthcoming. Over and over again during the last two years buyers in Germany have had to leave the shops empty-handed. A system of ordering in advance has therefore been developed. The customer places his order with his tradesman, at the same time delivering up his bread-ticket coupon, for which he receives the tradesman's receipt. The tradesman is thus enabled to make provision in advance for each day's business, and when the customer arrives he finds what he wants. But obviously the system is more adapted to better-class neighborhoods. Whether it will work effectively in poorer districts is questionable. Moreover, it does not follow that, though the ration is fixed for the whole country, the quality of the bread is the same everywhere.

At best, rationing by ticket is a makeshift. It undoubtedly minimizes inequalities and reduces waste. But perfect it cannot be, and, imperfect as it is, it needs a large staff for its execution and no little expenditure both on personnel and on tickets.

"The Year's Bravest Englishman"

The Stanhope Medal of the Royal Humane Society was awarded recently to John Paxton, a marine fireman, for a remarkable feat of heroism. Some months ago his vessel was shelled and sunk by a German submarine in the Mediterranean. In the hurry of leaving the vessel Paxton and three other men, none of whom could swim, were left behind. Immediate action was necessary, and Paxton, at once jumping overboard, called on the first man to follow, which he did, and Paxton swam with him to the nearest boat. Returning, he called on the second man, and he also was taken to a boat. Again Paxton came back, and in like manner rescued the third man, and this in spite of the high wind and rough sea.

The medal is awarded annually for what is regarded as the bravest feat of the year. It was presented to Paxton by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool at the annual meeting of the Mercantile Marine Service Association in May.

Jewish Liberty in Rumania

King Ferdinand's Promise

CHARGES of ill-treatment of Jews in Rumania, where more than 250,000 of that faith still live, have been frequent since the removal of the Rumanian capital to Jassy, and there have also been countercharges of pro-German intrigue in connection with Jews who remained in Bucharest under German rule. Agitation of the subject has now led to a clear and important promise of Jewish liberty by King Ferdinand.

On May 11, 1917, a deputation from the Rumanian Jews in Jassy waited upon the King to present to him the assurance of their loyalty. The deputation recounted the grievances of the native Jews and assured him that they would prove in all circumstances that they were an element of order, as sincerely devoted to their native land and to its ruler as was the case in countries where Jews enjoyed full equality. A note handed to the King begged him to take the native Jews under his protection. Accompanying the note was an appeal which the native Jews had distributed in Jassy on May 6.

In this appeal the Jewish Committee set forth the wish for national unity and the victory of the allied armies; they denounced those among them who had shown that they did not share the patriotic views of the nation, and they stated that they relied on the wisdom of the Rumanian people as regarded the solution of their question. This manifesto laid stress on the decision arrived at by the Rumanian Jews at the beginning of the war not to increase the difficulties of the situation by raising their question at the present time. The manifesto concluded as follows: "Having confidence in our fellow-citizens, we will do our duty toward our country, sparing no sacrifice and taking into consideration nothing but the welfare of Rumania."

King Ferdinand made the following reply:

After having been long in close touch with the daily life of all classes of people in the country, I formed the conviction—and I am pleased to bear testimony to the fact in the present circumstances that I was not mistaken—that all the inhabitants of Rumanian soil, irrespective of differences of origin, of race, or of religion, were actuated by the same exalted ideas of fraternity. This fraternity and community of aspirations constitutes the surest guarantee for the future of the country and the realization of our national ideal. One of the glorious characteristics of our native Princes was that, while preserving their faith in its traditions, they permitted the existence and the celebration of all the religions of their subjects. King Carol was so faithful to this tradition that he, a Roman Catholic, requested that his body might be laid to rest in one of the oldest religious monuments belonging to the worship of our ancestors.

I ascended the throne impressed with the same sentiments. When I undertook the task of uniting all Rumanians under the same flag I realized that that flag must be at the same time a symbol of the union and of the religious, political, and economic freedom of all the sons of the Fatherland. All who have striven for the realization of the aspirations which Rumanians have entertained for so many ages, by shedding their blood, by enduring the difficulties and sacrifices imposed by the war and invasion, whether they are Christians, Jews, or adherents of any other form of belief, will equally have a right to the gratitude of the country and to that of the King, and will enjoy equal rights in a free, great, and flourishing Rumania, closely united, all of us, under the folds of the national flag.

A Jewish demonstration took place on May 13 in Odessa, Russia, where some thousands gathered in front of the Rumanian Consulate to protest against recent ill-treatment of Jews in Rumania. The crowd elected delegates, one of whom presented to M. Grecianu, the Consul General, a written protest against the reported acts of violence. The Consul General telegraphed the protest to Jassy and communicated to the delegates a telegram from Jassy stating that the whole Jewish question was to be dealt with in the current session of the Rumanian Parliament.

The War in Western Asia

By James B. Macdonald

BRITISH and Russian operations in Western Asia are widely dispersed and appear to be unconnected, yet they are all concentric and tend to merge into a single campaign. Each and all have a common objective, and co-operation is secured through the higher commands being kept advised of the plans of the allied war council. To the latter they are units in a single campaign comprising the Russo-Siberian right wing in Armenia and Kurdistan, the Anglo-Indian centre operating from Bagdad, and the Anglo-Anzac left wing advancing through Palestine.

The centre is thrusting as a javelin at Aleppo and the Cicilian Gate, and, incidentally, seeking to establish contact with the right wing beyond Mosul. Its Euphrates column will later co-operate effectively with the left wing in Syria. The operations of the centre are of supreme interest, as they threaten to cut the Ottoman Empire in two.

Kut-el-Amara did not fall to the British for the second time as the issue of a hard-fought battle, but rather as the sequence of a successful series of small tactical engagements. These were strictly in accordance with military maxims on minor tactics and are interesting in themselves.

The Tigris, in its course below Bagdad and until it passes beyond Kut-el-Amara, assumes a remarkable series of corrugations inclosing little peninsulas, some of which project into the side held by the British and others into the side held by the Turks. Kut-el-Amara itself is situated at the point of one of these peninsula projections which encroach upon the British side, and it was flanked on either side by a reverse salient peninsula across which the Turks had intrenched themselves to the next bend in the river. They could only protect the town in this way, because if they abandoned these trenches the British, without crossing the river, could fire into Kut-el-Amara from three sides and make its retention impossible. As a further protection, the Turks held some points of vantage on a line running south from the Shamrun bend, which were so situated as to enfilade any direct assault upon the trenches and at the same time to circumvent any flanking movement to the north.

Fall of Kut-el-Amara

Before daybreak on Feb. 15 British infantry rushed some ruins on their left flank, while the machine guns picked off the defenders as they retired. A heavy bombardment followed, and a direct assault was ordered upon the Ottoman right centre. As the infantry approached, the Turks surrendered and the trenches were further extended by bombing. Similar procedure in the afternoon secured the remainder of the trenches. The whole of the Dahra Peninsula, west of the town, had now been captured, with the exception that a few Turks still held out at the extreme tip. After dark these were rushed and surrendered. Meanwhile cavalry cleared the vantage ground to the south and west of the Shamrun bend. These tactical successes were no sooner achieved than the rain came down in torrents—too late to save the Turks. Further operations were stopped for the time being. In all 1,995 prisoners were taken, which for a minor engagement compares with the 1,650 taken by General Townshend at the first battle of Kut-el-Amara, the 1,600 taken by him at Ctesiphon, and the 2,080 taken at Amara.

By way of diversion the operations were next resumed at the Sanna-i-yat Gap, some twenty miles away, and were so far successful that they drew the enemy's attention in that direction. General Sir F. S. Maude now deemed it possible to force a crossing of the Tigris River, which was then in flood, and planned accordingly. Early on the morning of Feb. 23 covering parties were ferried across the river and others later in the day, while the resistance of the Turks was held down by artillery and machine-gun fire. When sufficient clearance had

been obtained, a pontoon bridge was thrown across the 400 yards of flooded river and troops streamed across. By next morning the neck of the Shamrun Peninsula had been captured and 544 prisoners taken. Simultaneously the third and fourth line of trenches at Sanna-i-yat were taken by assault.

The Turks, recognizing that the game was up, evacuated Kut-el-Amara and retired rapidly toward Baghela, their forward base, some twenty-four miles upstream.

Capture of Bagdad

The Anglo-Indian cavalry and horse artillery rode hard for the enemy's right flank, while the infantry engaged his rear guard and the river gunboats harassed his left. On the afternoon of Feb. 26 the gunboats Tarantula, Mantis, and Moth passed the Ottoman Army in retreat and inflicted heavy loss on it. They later captured a number of Turkish steamers and barges and recovered the gunboat Firefly, which had been abandoned in the retreat from Ctesiphon in December, 1915. The pursuit on land was maintained, notwithstanding a sand storm, and came up with the Turkish rear guard at Lajj, who moved on when the Anglo-Indian vanguard attacked from three sides. The cavalry swept through Ctesiphon without opposition and drew rein six miles south of the Diala River, which joins the Tigris eight miles below Bagdad. Ctesiphon was the Winter capital of the Parthians, the redoubtable horsemen who checked the Roman power in the East. It was near here that the Roman Emperor Julian was defeated in 363 A. D. and lost his life. On the opposite bank of the river are the ruins of Seleucia, the capital of the Syrian Kings who succeeded to the empire of Alexander the Great.

The left wing of General Maude's army, under Sir Percy Lake, threw a bridge across the Tigris below its confluence with the Diala, and, crossing over, marched upon Bagdad. After a trying march of eighteen miles in the heat and dust they were confronted with the Turkish intrenchments six miles southwest of Bagdad. These were attacked at once and the defenders driven back upon their second line, two miles in the rear.

Meanwhile, the centre and right wing under General Kearny met with considerable resistance from the Turks on the Diala front, but succeeded in forcing a passage on the night of March 8, and improved their position next day. On March 10 a concerted assault on both sides of the river drove the Turks back upon the environs of Bagdad, and during the night they evacuated their defenses. At dawn next morning the British entered the city and recovered the guns surrendered at Kut-el-Amara. The Turks abandoned 500 of their wounded and two-thirds of their artillery.

Bagdad is not of strategic importance, situated as it is in the centre of an open plain 200 miles wide and built on both sides of the Tigris. It is connected by canal with the Euphrates, which at this point is only twenty miles distant. This juxtaposition of the two rivers in relation to the City of Bagdad made it impossible for the Turks to retain their hold on the lower Euphrates above Nasiriyeh when their main force on the Tigris withdrew from Kut-el-Amara. The whole of the grain-bearing and irrigable lands of Babylonia, therefore, fell to the British with the capture of Bagdad.

Civil Rule of Babylonia

The British Commander in Chief issued a proclamation to the people of Bagdad stating inter alia: That the British and Bagdad merchants had traded for 200 years with profit and mutual friendship; that the Turks since the time of Midhat Pasha had been profuse with promises of reform and barren of performances; and that the Germans during the twenty years they had been in Bagdad had made of it a centre from which to assail the great British Raj and the mighty Russian Empire. It concludes by emphasizing that the British Government cannot permit this to happen again in Bagdad and calls upon the inhabitants to co-operate with the British civil authorities who will now administer the country.

The Flight from Persia

The Persian boundary hills rise abruptly from the Mesopotamian plain like a natural wall 4,000 to 5,000 feet high.

SCENE OF BRITISH AND RUSSIAN OPERATIONS IN WESTERN ASIA

In this respect they resemble the Himalayas in India, although not so high or so steep. From the western plain two tolerable roads penetrate this mountain barrier, but they are tolerable only in a comparative sense. One is the caravan route from Mosul to Tabriz, and the other is the caravan route from Bagdad to Teheran via Kermanshah and Hamadan. These boundary hills are inhabited by the Kurds, a brave and warlike race who, in the present war, have thrown in their lot with the Turks, but as they acknowledge neither Shah nor Sultan as their suzerain the political boundary between Turkey and Persia in these parts has little meaning.

East of the Kurd country the hills sink down into the Iran Plateau, and there the roads are better, although difficult in places.

The most westerly of the Persian main roads is the one running north and south from Tabriz to Kermanshah, where it connects at right angles with the Bagdad-Teheran caravan route. The Turkish contingents in Persia were spread out along these roads when the order of recall reached them after their main army commenced its retreat from Kut-el-Amara. One detachment was away to the east of Hamadan, while another was north of Sakhiz. Both had to fall back beyond the crossroads at Kermanshah, and if their arrival at that place did not synchronize then the laggard would be cut off by the Russian vanguard pursuing the leading contingent. This actually happened. The retreat of the Hamadan contingent was so rapid—probably due to the defection of the Kurds—that the Russians entered Kermanshah before the Sakhiz contingent had arrived. The latter, therefore, were cut off and took to the Kurd hills.

Meanwhile the Indian Government has

re-established order and stable conditions within the British sphere of influence in Southern Persia. Sir Percy Sykes, with an Indian escort, marched from Bander Abbas to Ispahan and later to Teheran—a journey of over a thousand miles overland. His mission was to establish a Government in Persia satisfactory to the Entente, and to raise a force of military gendarmerie under Anglo-Indian officers. Both objects have been attained.

Invasion of Palestine

The British Army from Egypt under General Sir Archibald Murray, formerly Chief of the General Staff, having laid down a military railway across the Sinai Desert to Rafa on the Turkish border, embarked upon the invasion of Palestine. The topography of the country, which is familiar to Biblical students, left no doubt as to the route they would take even had there not been the historical precedent of Napoleon's march from Gaza to Acre in 1799, where he was repulsed after a 61-day siege by the Turkish garrison under old Djezzar Pasha, assisted by a British naval contingent under Sir Sidney Smith. The whole of the western side of Palestine is an open plain bordering upon the Mediterranean and flanked on the east by the hills of Hebron, Jerusalem, and Gibeon. Whatever sentimental interest may attach to the famous City of Jerusalem, it is not a military objective in the present campaign; the immediate purpose is to seize Damascus and Beirut, and join hands with the left wing of General Maude's army in Mesopotamia.

The invasion of Palestine commenced with a march of fifteen miles to the Wadi Ghuzzeh, a river five miles south of Gaza, with the object of advancing the railhead. The river was reached without opposition, but as the Turks seemed undecided to stand, and it was desirable to hold them, General Sir Charles Dobell, in command of the advance forces, decided to strike for the town of Gaza. A dense fog delayed the advance, and then the water supply gave out, so that the contemplated manoeuvre had to be abandoned, and a defensive position was taken up midway between Gaza and the river. The Turks, with 20,000 men, attacked on March 27, but were repulsed everywhere with heavy loss. The British camelry corps completely outfought the Turkish cavalry and captured a General and the entire divisional staff of the Fifty-third Turkish Division. The Turkish losses are estimated at 8,000 men, including 950 prisoners, and two Austrian howitzers were captured. The British losses are given as 400 dead, 200 missing—believed to have fought their way into Gaza and been cut off—and wounded not stated. Their advance column retired on the river, leaving the camelry in contact with the Turks, who showed no disposition to renew the attack.

Gaza has been prominent in the world's history. It was near here that Selim I. of Turkey decisively defeated the Sultan of Egypt in 1517 and led to the Ottoman acquisition of that country. After the Generals of Alexander the Great disagreed as to how they should divide his empire among themselves, Ptolemy gained a sweeping victory over Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, at Gaza in 312 B. C., and this enabled Selucus Nicator, then a refugee in Egypt, to return to his satrapy at Babylon and regain most of the dominion of his great predecessor.

British Aim in Palestine

Syria in bygone days has been conquered by Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Seleucidae, Romans, Arabs, Egyptians, Mongols, and Turks, but never in its long history have such large armies been aligned for battle as are now contending for its possession. To meet the new invasion the Turks have 120,000 men deeply dug in between Gaza and Beersheba, while another army is protecting them from a flank attack upon their communications by the Anglo-Indian force ascending the Euphrates. The Turks consider Syria and Palestine of vital importance to them—not so much that it threatens Egypt as that it is a necessary point d'appui for recovering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Arabs; Jerusalem, also, is a sacred city as well

to the Moslems as to the Christians and Hebrews.

The British, on the other hand, are committed to the policy of setting free the Semitic races in Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Syria from Turkish domination, and this policy marches with their own interests in safeguarding India and Egypt. The collapse of Russia, whether temporary or otherwise, will not deter them from their purpose, for India is set on removing the Teuton menace and ending the religious and rapacious prestige of the Turks. India is specially interested in the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys, and her troops are mainly operating in this theatre. Imperial and oversea troops only are engaged in the Holy Land.

The Russian revolution, coinciding with the Ottoman defeats in Palestine and Mesopotamia, enabled the Turks to withdraw troops from Armenia and the eastern front and send them to oppose the British. This had the immediate effect of checking the progress of the latter until they, too, could be reinforced. Particularly it affected the position in Palestine and caused a reversion to trench warfare. Gaza is now a modern fortress flanked by trenches and commanding eminences as far as Beersheba. The country to the south of Gaza is an open plain traversed by the Waddy Guzzeh, (River Gaza,) which at present is dry, although at times a raging torrent. To the west are sand dunes reaching to the Mediterranean, and to the east a range of hills.

At daybreak on April 17 the British advance began under cover of an enfilade fire from a warship and the usual field artillery preparation. The Turkish advance positions were captured on a front of over six miles. Next day advantage was taken of a duststorm to rush up supplies to the front while the movements of the motor transport were obscure to the opposing artillery, and the following morning the bombardment of the main position commenced. The infantry attack was only partially successful, and, although continued next day, was not pushed home, as the frontal position was apparently too strong for direct assault. A Turkish counterattack in one section of the front by 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry was broken up through a squadron of British airplanes dropping forty-seven bombs directly on them. When last seen the Turkish cavalry was still flying. Reinforcements have since reached the British commander.

Strategic Considerations

After the fall of Bagdad, the Turks had the choice of two routes along which to retreat—either to ascend the Tigris to Mosul or the Euphrates to Aleppo—and they decided to take both. The Euphrates Valley had been the old caravan road between Syria and Mesopotamia for 3,000 years, and it offered the best march, yet it had few natural defenses to impede a pursuing enemy. Nevertheless, it was necessary to send some troops by this route to delay the British as long as possible while fresh troops were being assembled for the defense of Aleppo, the Amanus Tunnel, and the communications of the Syrian Army. On the other hand, the only hope of extricating the Turkish contingent in Persia was for the main army to retire up the Tigris and attempt to hold on the headwaters of the Diala River until such time as a reunion had been effected with their detached wing. The railway had been completed from Bagdad to Samara, but there was nothing in the way of rolling stock except the construction outfit. Beyond Tekrit a range of hills runs southeast toward the Diala River in the direction of Khanikin, whence the Persian column might be expected to emerge. Here the Turks decided to make a stand.

In Upper Mesopotamia

Sir Stanley Maude's operations from Bagdad are projected upon five lines of advance. His left wing crossing the intervening space between the two rivers —from which Mesopotamia takes its name—seized Feluja on the Euphrates as its starting point. Its immediate purpose is to ascend that river and hold the crossroads at El Deir, which lead to Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Urfa, Mosul, and Bagdad. Possession of El Deir would afford opportunities for striking at the main communications of the Turks in

Syria and Mesopotamia, since these are both based upon Aleppo, which itself is threatened by this column. The direction of this blow will depend upon the measure of success attained by the other columns in Southern Palestine and the Tigris Valley. Holding the interior position with good lateral communications by means of which one column can assist its neighbor, the strategic advantage lies with the British. Midway between Bagdad and El Deir lies Hit, where there are important oil wells in which Anglo-Dutch capital is interested.

The right wing of General Maude's army was assigned the duty of clearing the Turks from the caravan route between Bagdad and Persia, and further to endeavor to hold up the retreat of their army corps in Persia before it could escape through the famous pass known as "the gate of Zagros." This object it was the aim of the opposing Turkish commander to frustrate. In consequence, the whole of the British centre and right wing became engaged with the enemy at widely dispersed points. The route mapped out for the Anglo-Indian centre was for one column to advance direct on Mosul by the road alongside the Tigris, but to keep in alignment with the other columns, and for another to take the road to Kifri and Erbil, which lies midway between the Tigris and the Kurd hills. This last road strikes the caravan route from Mosul to Tabriz in rear of where the Turks are holding up the main Russian left wing near Rivanduz and preventing a junction between the main allied armies.

The scheme then was for an advance in force by the centre upon Mosul and Rivanduz along three parallel routes, while the right wing secured the Bagdad caravan way into Persia, and the left wing ascended the Euphrates to El Deir and awaited further orders.

The Ottoman forces were disposed as follows: The Thirteenth Army Corps on both banks of the Tigris, the Eighteenth Army Corps between the Tigris and Diala Rivers, the Sixth Army Corps retiring from Persia by the Bagdad caravan route, and another force withdrawing before the British on the Euphrates. The Jeb-el-Hamrin hills lay diagonally on the flank of General Maude's line of march on Mosul, and by holding them the Turks reckoned not only to delay his advance but to enable their Sixth Army Corps to make good its escape by taking a bypath through the mountains from Kasr-i-Shirin to Kifri in rear of their left flank. These expectations were borne out, but under severe punishment, and it remains to be seen whether in saving the small force in Persia they have not compromised their whole army.

Open warfare prevails in this theatre and the scenes change rapidly. The operations consequently are of particular interest to military students. While progression may appear to be slow on the Tigris and in Syria, such delaying tactics may be considered by the British as an advantage provided their Euphrates column is making good progress toward the vital communications of the enemy. This is an unknown but all-important factor. Meanwhile, we may record the actual progress of the Tigris column.

The Advance on Mosul

The short section of the Bagdad Railway, which from this end is completed as far as Samara, about seventy miles up stream, is built on the west bank of the Tigris, but the road to that town follows the east bank part of the way. The Tigris and its tributary, the Diala, take parallel courses, about fifteen miles distant, as they approach Bagdad, and the road to Persia, as well as the one to the north, both emerge from this narrow area with the Tahwila Canal separating them. All these roads were made use of by General Maude in his advance from Bagdad. His left centre, on the west bank of the Tigris, came up with the enemy's rearguard holding a ridge covering the railway station of Mushaidie, and attacked it during the night of March 14. The engagement was continued next day, when the position was carried and three Turkish divisions defending it retired to the north.

Simultaneously, the right wing crossed the Diala to the east bank and seized the town of Bakuba, through which the main caravan road runs to Khanikin on the Persian border. They also se-

cured the village of Bahriz, through which a subsidiary road runs through Mendeli into Persia.

Meanwhile, the Russians in Persia under General Baratoff continued their

REGION OF RUSSIAN OPERATIONS

pursuit of the Sixth Turkish Army Corps, which had been recalled after the retreat from Kut-el-Amara began, and occupied Kirind on March 17. The Turkish left fell back toward Khanikin to cover the retirement of the Sixth Army Corps. The converging Anglo-Russian armies encountered considerable natural difficulties, for while the Indian troops on the plain were delayed by numerous small canals and rivers, the Russians were traversing snow-clad mountains and confronted with the formidable obstacle of the Paitak Pass to the east of Kasr-i-Shirin. The Turks in the foothills were assembled in strength, for they were battling to avoid the surrender of their Sixth Army Corps, whose retreat was precarious unless the British advance could be delayed. After numerous engagements the British right pushed on, and Shahroban was occupied, fifty-five miles northeast of Bagdad. The Ottoman centre now advanced and the opposing forces clashed near Deltawa, when the Turks were repulsed and retired across the River Adhaim, a tributary of the Tigris. The British centre continued its advance and entered Deli Abbas on March 31.

The Turkish Sixth Army Corps, in the meantime, was approaching Kasr-i-Shirin, whence their escape was assured by a side track to Kifri. When they took the latter road, a squadron of Russian Cossacks sped on along the caravan route and established contact with the Indian cavalry on April 2. The main Russian column deflected its course in an endeavor to intercept the Turkish left wing, which was falling back before the British, but they were held up at the crossing of the Diala. Persia is now free of the Ottoman invasion, although some small contingents were cut off in the retirement and sought refuge in the Kurd hills to the west of Bana.

While these events were in progress the Anglo-Indian column on the west bank of the Tigris fought the Turks out of Balad Station, some fifty miles north of Bagdad. General Maude, finding his advance to the north threatened by the Turkish concentration on his flank in the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, manoeuvred to give them battle. On March 10 he ordered his advance detachments on the west bank of the Diala to fall back, whereupon the Turks, leaving the hills, pressed on after them. During the night General Maude dispatched another force from the east bank of the Tigris to the scene of action, and at daybreak a general engagement commenced against the Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps. The British artillery soon established an ascendency, but a mirage temporarily interrupted the duel.

When the infantry was brought into action the enemy abandoned their positions, ten miles northeast of Deltawa, and retired rapidly on the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, leaving 300 dead on the field. Their casualties are reported as 700. The British centre now continued its march, and on the night of April 17 forced the passage of the River Adhaim, which was held by a detachment of the Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps; next day a battle ensued on the east bank of the Tigris,

when the Turks were again routed and 1,250 prisoners taken, but their guns escaped, owing to the exhaustion of the pursuing cavalry from the intense heat and their arduous advance.

Capture of Samara

The operations of the next few days were directed against the enemy's positions on the west bank of the Tigris between Istabulat and Samara. Severe hand-to-hand fighting took place with numerous counterattacks, but in the end the Turks had to yield their carefully prepared intrenchments, together with a 5.9 howitzer, 14 Krupp guns, and 687 prisoners. Their demoralization was due to the enfilade fire of the British artillery posted on the east bank of the river and the threatening manoeuvres of the Indian cavalry on the other flank.

On April 23 Anglo-Indian troops entered Samara, and at the railhead captured 16 locomotives and 240 trucks, while in the town a large quantity of military stores and munitions was secured. The Bagdad-Samara railway is now entirely in the hands of the British and will soon be available to bring up munitions and supplies from Bagdad.

The Turks depend on river transport from Mosul to meet their requirements, but this service is liable to constant attack from British flying squadrons. The Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps ventured to leave the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills in an attempt to relieve the pressure on their Eighteenth Army Corps, and, marching southwest, came in conflict with the British centre. A force detached from the latter made a night march on April 24 and surprised an Ottoman division on the west bank of the River Adhaim, about seven miles north of its junction with the Tigris. The Turks were routed with the loss of 150 prisoners and many transport mules, ponies, and camels.

A moving fight ensued for the next few days, while the Turks were falling back upon their prepared positions on either side of the River Adhaim where it issues from the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, ome twenty-five miles southeast of Kifri. Early on the morning of April 30 the major portion of the British column, which had crossed the river during the night, stormed and carried the first two lines of the Turkish defenses, including a fortified village, but during a sandstorm they were driven out of the village, only to return and recapture it. The whole of the Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps then retired into the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, covered by strong rearguards. Their known losses include 359 prisoners and 182 dead. The prevailing duststorm seriously interfered with the artillery and flying corps, and facilitated the Ottoman retreat.

The Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps, after its defeat at Samara, continued its flight to Tekrit, thirty-two miles further up stream. The total loss of this corps during the fighting from April 18 to April 22 is reported as 4,000.

The British in the Promised Land

W. T. Massey, war correspondent with the Desert Column in Egypt, wrote to The London Times under date of March 20, 1917:

THE Promised Land! After twelve months' incessant toil in the Sinai Desert, sometimes fighting hard, always digging, making military works, building railways, constructing pipe lines and roads, and forever marching over the heavy, inhospitable wastes, our troops have at last come into the Promised Land.

What a marvelous change of scene! They are in Palestine. Behind them is a hundred miles and more of monotonous sand. Before them, as far as the eye can reach, is unfolded a picture of transcending beauty. No wonder, when the troops come up to Rafa and look over the billowy downs, they break into rounds of cheers.

Before and around us everything is green and fresh. Big patches of barley, for which the plain south of Gaza is famous, shine like emeralds, and the im-

mense tracts of pasture are today as bright and beautiful as the rolling downs at home.

I have been out on a reconnoissance over ground evacuted by the Turks and toward positions which the enemy at present holds. The high minaret of Gaza showed itself to us from above the dark framework of trees inclosing the town. That mosque was formerly a Christian church built by the Knights Templars in the twelfth century, when the Crusaders fortified themselves within Gaza's walls, but Saladin drove them out.

After many centuries, (Napoleon's hold on Gaza was merely temporary,) British forces are within sight of the town. Away on our right over the abandoned Turkish stronghold of Wali Sheikh Narun is Beersheba, tucked in the plain beneath the southern end of the hills of Judea. These two of the most ancient cities of Palestine—it was in Gaza that Samson was betrayed by Delilah to the Philistines, and Abraham dug the "well of the oath" in Beersheba—have been seen by some of our troops, and the Desert Column is exceeding glad.

The Battle of Gaza

The fighting for Gaza developed into a pitched battle and then settled into trench warfare. Following is Mr. Massey's description of the battle of Gaza, written on April 21, 1917:

The biggest battle in all Palestine's long history is being fought at Gaza by bodies of troops on both sides immeasurably larger than any armies which have taken part in the countless campaigns of the Holy Land. Though we have only fought the first phase, it is clear that we are engaged upon the hardest struggle in this age-worn battle area. We have gained our first line, which we are consolidating, but apparently there is a period of trench warfare before us ere we reach the important system of trenches which has lately been cut to turn Gaza into a modern fortress of great strength. We paid a price for our gains, but we inflicted very heavy casualties on the Turks, whose counterattacks were repulsed with sanguinary losses. With the conditions pre-eminently favorable to the defense, an early decision before Gaza must not be expected.

We had to dispose the British forces on a sixteen-mile front, practically the whole of which the Turks had intrenched deeply. The positions we had to attack on the Gaza front could not be stronger if the whole country had been built up for defense. There are sand dunes two miles deep between the sea and the town and an extraordinary variety of redoubts, trenches, and pits covering the western town, while Samson Ridge, 3,000 yards to the southwest, is strongly held to secure the enemy observation posts.

Southeast of Gaza there is a green plain a mile and a half wide and six miles deep inclosed on the sea side by sand dunes, on the north by the town, and the east by a range of hills running to Alimuntar, the spot where Samson displayed his prodigious strength. The plain is intersected by the Wadi Ghuzze, a ravine with precipitous sides, through which the Winter rains on the Judea hills pour in terrific torrent to the sea. It is now dry, but crossings have been made for guns, cavalry, infantry, and supply columns. The northernmost part of the plain is covered with trenches protecting the town, and for two miles to the southeast of Alimuntar the enemy on the irregular hills and deep woods, at one spot, prepared an intricate system connected up with trenches of great defensive power.

Mounted Troops Engaged

Three miles due south of Alimuntar is Mansura Ridge, facing another important series of defenses. About a mile further to the east is Sheikh Abbas Ridge, backed by ground torn and cracked as if by an earthquake, and looking over the country rolling to the Beersheba road. East by south are the tiny villages of Sihan, Atawinieh, Aseiferieh, and Munkheileh, near which our cavalry fought strong actions against infantry counterattacking from Hareira Sharia.

The whole country is extremely difficult for cavalry, as it constitutes a continuous bottle neck, full of deep ravines, but the part played by the mounted troops under these disadvantageous circumstances was superb. Soon after daybreak on April 17 our movement began.

A war vessel assisted the shore batteries to cover a short advance of infantry to take up positions from which we might hope to secure our first objective at a subsequent date. The operations were brilliantly successful. We got to our mark on the sand dunes quickly, reached the positions in front in a few minutes, and took Sheikh Abbas Ridge by half-past 7, with remarkably small casualties. The cavalry were out on the right during this blazing hot morning, but it was impossible to hide them owing to every movement raising dense columns of dust. A wet night would have been of immense advantage, but throughout the operations rain was denied to us.

On April 18, while the country was obscured by dust clouds, we made ready for the next advance, sending much supplies forward. The whole terrain was covered with supply columns, and when the wind decreased an enormous pall of dust hung over the area. An occasional motor rushing across country raised a trail of dust like steam issuing from an express train. Bombardment of the outer trenches of Gaza began as the sun lifted over the black hills of Judea on the 19th.

Infantry and a "Tank"

Infantry attacks were launched at 8:30 o'clock. On the left they gained Samson Ridge and found the trenches full of Turkish dead. The enemy observation posts were seized. Toward Alimuntar and south of Gaza progress was more difficult and slower, but Scottish troops went forward with splendid steadiness under a desperately heavy machine-gun fire, and ultimately advanced 2,000 yards to Outpost Hill, south of Alimuntar, where they have consolidated their gains.

There was also considerable progress from Sheikh Abbas Ridge. Between 9 and 10 I saw a "tank" go into action against a green hill near a warren in front of the Alimuntar. She stood with her nose posted in the air across a trench, down which her crew poured rapid fire right and left. Then she crossed the trench and turned south. The Austrian gunners with the Turks soon found the range, and turned an immense volume of fire on the tank, which seemed completely surrounded by bursting high-explosive shells. For several minutes I lost sight of her, but presently she emerged, pursuing the uneven tenor of her way toward our lines. Then a second succession of rapid artillery fire again enveloped the tank. When the fire ceased she had disappeared. I thought she had been smashed to pieces. But I learned she dropped back into the trench we had captured.

During the day, particularly in the afternoon, our mounted troops were heavily engaged. The Turks made five desperate counterattacks with infantry against the mounted troops and camel corps. Though inflicting considerable losses on us, they must have suffered very severe casualties.

Heroic Camel Corps

One heroic episode I did not see, but I repeat it from the evidence of competent witnesses. It was an effort by sixty men of the Camel Corps. The enemy had concentrated considerable forces at one spot to break through. A junior officer of the Camel Corps saw the preparation and took his men forward, with two machine guns, up a grassy slope, to prevent the advance, with absolutely no cover. His small party crept on stealthily, undeterred by a murderous machine-gun fire, in what was a forlorn hope. A tremendous shellfire fell about them, but the party, gradually becoming smaller through inevitable losses, pressed on until within 300 yards. The crest was lined with scores of machine guns and hundreds of riflemen. There they stopped, and kept the Turks from issuing to attack by sound and accurate bursts of fire every time the enemy showed themselves. For an hour and a half this gradually reduced band staved off attack until every one was hit. Most of them were killed, and the wounded fell into Turkish hands. It was too late in the day for the Turks to get through. My informant declared that every Camel Corps man in this section deserved the Victoria Cross, whether he be alive or dead.

The War's Effects on Turkish Railways

THE war has had some unforeseen effects on the economic life of Turkey. To a certain extent that country has become the port of entry through which Central Europe seeks to escape the Entente blockade, and the Austro-German engineers are bending all their energies to draw from it every ounce of available resources. The men in control of the Ottoman Empire allow them to do this the more willingly because they regard the present epoch as essentially one of transition. They seem to be seeking especially to develop Asia Minor with the aid of German technicians, holding themselves ready, once the difficult task of economic rehabilitation is accomplished, to get rid of all foreign control and to adopt a frankly nationalist policy. Already, under German protection, they are breaking the contracts which bound them to other European powers.

Let us glance at what has taken place in the domain of transportation. As soon as the war had demonstrated the strategic and commercial importance of the railways, the Germans applied themselves, first, to utilizing the existing lines for intensive exploitation of resources; second, to finishing the construction of railways begun before the war, and, third, to establishing entirely new lines.

With the closing of the Dardanelles the traffic between Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe became extremely active, and the new state of things was immediately reflected in the movement of freight through Haidar Pasha, the gateway to the Bagdad Railway, lying just across the Bosporus from Constantinople. The report of the Anatolian Railway, which handles the Bagdad Railway traffic at that point, showed for the year 1915 a total of 510,236 tons of merchandise transported through Haidar Pasha, as against 317,217 tons in 1914.

The increase was due especially to the provisioning of Constantinople and of the Turkish troops fighting at that time in the Peninsula of Gallipoli; in fact, out of a total of 510,236 tons, 419,920 tons were carried over the road in Asia Minor toward Turkey in Europe, and only 90,316 tons in the opposite direction. The report for 1916 has not yet been issued at this writing, but it will show a much greater increase, as the construction of the Bagdad Railway has made extensive progress in the interval.

By virtue of the convention of March 5, 1903, the Bagdad Railway Company undertook to seek from the Ottoman Government a separate authorization for each section to be constructed. The Turkish authorities, usually very slow and negligent, in this case, under the stimulus of the war, granted the necessary authorizations with exceptional rapidity.

Konia, the southern terminus of the Anatolian Railway, is the western terminus of the Bagdad Railway proper. Between Konia and Bagdad there remain only two sections yet to be built; otherwise the whole enterprise is complete. The following table from the Paris Temps shows the progress of the work:

Sections.	Kilometers.	Opened.
Konia to Bulgurlu	200	Oct. 25, 1904
Bulgurlu to Ulukishla	38	July 1, 1911
Ulukishla to Bozanti	53	Dec. 21, 1912
Bozanti to Dorak	42	Not comp't'd
Dorak to Adana	15	Apr. 27, 1912
Adana to Osmanie and Namurie	100	Apr. 27, 1912
Osmanie to Alexandretta	59	Nov. 1, 1913
Namurie to Islahie	54	Feb., 1916
Islahie to Radjun	47	Oct. 20, 1915
Radjun to Muslimie and Jerablus	203	Dec. 15, 1912
Muslimie to Aleppo	15	Dec. 15, 1912
Jerablus to Tel-el-Abiad	101	July 11, 1914
Tel-el-Abiad to Tuem	62	June 1, 1915
Tuem to Raz-el-Ain	41	July 23, 1915
Raz-el-Ain to Samara	541	Not comp't'd
Samara to Istabulat	30	Oct. 7, 1914
Istabulat to Sumiken	38	Aug. 27, 1914
Sumiken to Bagdad	62	June 2, 1914

Of the whole 2,435 kilometers (1,510 miles) that separate Haidar Pasha from Bagdad there remain 583 kilometers (361 miles) still to construct; but the connection between the Bosporus and the Euphrates is already made, and it should be noted that the greatest engineering difficulties of the whole en-

terprise have been surmounted since the beginning of the war. Two important gaps remained to be filled when the war broke out. One was the road across the Taurus Mountains, the other that across the Amanus Mountains. Now, the Namurie-Islahie section, opened in February, 1916, and built at an altitude of 874 meters, connects the plain of Adana with that of Mesopotamia. The great tunnel at Bagtche, pierced on June 16, 1915, is in this section. The crossing of the Taurus was effected at an altitude of 1,465 meters. In that section several tunnels, totaling eleven kilometers in length, were bored, including that at Bilemdik, opened in December, 1914. Only a few more tunnels remain to be finished in that part of the road in order to complete the Bozanti-Dorak section. Meanwhile their place is supplied by automobile roads, which also have been constructed during the war. On April 30, 1915, the Germans completed the great 810-meter bridge, weighing 3,400 tons, across the Euphrates.

The Turks also have carried through other railway projects of some importance. They have finished the line from Haifa to Jerusalem and made considerable progress on that to Sinai, which branches off from the other at Afoule, and is soon to furnish connections with the Sinai Peninsula. The Young Turks expect the port of Haifa to supplant that of Beirut when the railway is completed.

The task of building the great Black Sea railway system—from Samsun to Sivas, from Angora to Erzerum, &c.—was handed over by Russia to France after M. Poincaré's journey to Petrograd; a Turkish law of June 25, 1915, however, transferred this work to the Ottoman Government. Meanwhile the presence of Russian troops in Armenia has prevented the Turks from doing anything on it. The Germans attach great importance to this project, which they regard as furnishing the missing link in their great waterway system to connect the North Sea with the Persian Gulf by way of the Rhine, Danube, Black Sea, and Tigris River.

Cruelties to Jews Deported From Jaffa

Djemal Pasha, Turkish Governor General in the Palestine region, signalized the approach of the British expeditionary force by driving all Jews from Jaffa, north of Gaza. The cruelties perpetrated in the execution of his order early in April, 1917, were reported to the United States Government by Consul Garrels at Alexandria. Ambassador Elkus advised the State Department on June 12 that no massacres had taken place, though the Jews had been compelled to leave Jaffa. Mr. Garrels's report follows:

THE orders of evacuation were aimed chiefly at the Jewish population. Even German, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian Jews were ordered to leave the town. Mohammedans and Christians were allowed to remain provided they were holders of individual permits. The Jews who sought the permits were refused. On April 1 the Jews were ordered to leave the town within forty-eight hours. Those who rode from Jaffa to Petach Tikvah had to pay from 100 to 200 francs instead of the normal fare of 15 to 25 francs. The Turkish drivers practically refused to receive anything but gold, the Turkish paper note being taken as the equivalent of 17.50 piastres for a note of 100 piastres.

Already about a week earlier 300 Jews had been deported in a most cruel manner from Jerusalem. Djemal Pasha openly declared that the joy of the Jews on the approach of the British forces would be short-lived, as he would make them share the fate of the Armenians. In Jaffa Djemal Pasha cynically assured the Jews that it was for their own good and interests that he drove them out. Those who had not succeeded in leaving on April 1 and following days were graciously accorded permission to remain at Jaffa over the Easter holidays until April 9. Thus 8,000 were evicted from their houses and not allowed to carry off

their belongings or provisions. Their houses were looted and pillaged even before the owners had left. A swarm of pillaging Bedouin women, Arabs with donkeys, camels, &c., came like birds of prey and proceeded to carry off valuables and furniture.

The Jewish suburbs have been totally sacked under the paternal eye of the authorities. By way of example two Jews from Yemen were hanged at the entrance of the Jewish suburb of Tel Avid in order clearly to indicate the fate in store for any Jews who might be so foolish as to oppose the looters. The roads to the Jewish colonies north of Jaffa are lined with thousands of starving Jewish refugees. The most appalling scenes of cruelty and robbery are reported by absolutely reliable eyewitnesses. Dozens of cases are reported of wealthy Jews who were found dead in the sandhills around Tel Avid. In order to drive off the bands of robbers preying on the refugees on the roads the young men of the Jewish villages organized a body of guards to watch in turn the roads. These guards have been arrested and maltreated by the authorities.

The Mohammedan population have also left the town recently, but they are allowed to live in the orchards and country houses surrounding Jaffa and are permitted to enter the town daily to look after their property, but not a single Jew has been allowed to return to Jaffa.

The same fate awaits all Jews in Palestine. Djemal Pasha is too cunning to order cold-blooded massacres. His method is to drive the population to starvation and to death by thirst, epidemics, &c., which, according to himself, are merely calamities sent by God. Those who know his methods will not be surprised if after a short time severe punishment is dealt out to those who have looted and pillaged under his orders, or at least with his connivance. This would be in accordance with his settled policy of exciting one part of the population against the other, and exterminating all those who are not Turanians.

Djemal Pasha—A Turkish Ivanoff

[Cartoon from the American Jewish Chronicle]

Wartime Suffering in Turkey

A foreign official, whose duties took him to Constantinople in April, 1917, gave the following account of conditions in the Turkish capital:

THE reports which reach the outer world from time to time about conditions in Turkey invariably understate the facts. The vast mass of the Turkish population is now subsisting on the verge of starvation. The misery which prevails at Constantinople among the middle and working classes is heart-breaking; while conditions inland, owing to the epidemics which prevail, are even worse. There is no cholera at Constantinople, and the admirable sanitary measures imposed on the city by the Germans have succeeded in keeping typhus within close limits. The Germans tried to make the tramway company daily disinfect its vehicles, but, as usual, they acted in the matter without tact, and, the company refusing, no European now travels in the tramcars.

Pitiful incidents, indicating the misery of the people, can be witnessed daily at any street corner. The faces you see are haggard, pinched, and worn, the eyes haunted, the frames feeble. I do not know whether people die of starvation in Constantinople, but I have frequently seen old men and women collapse—I suppose from hunger—in the streets. Poor people will pay enormous sums for worm-eaten figs with which one would not attempt to poison a mad dog. In the old far-off days of peace the average humble-class Turk would make a piece of bread and cheese, some olives, and some Turkish delight form his principal meal. Today such a meal would cost him about $1.25.

Prices have risen steadily since the beginning of the war, and in American terms are something like the following: Butter, $2.50 a pound; cheese, $3.50 a pound; olives, 75 cents a pound; sugar, $2.50 a pound; rice, $1 a pound; Turkish delight, $2 a pound. The veritable famine in sugar which now prevails in Constantinople is a great blow to the sweets-loving Turk. Lumps of sugar at 5 cents each are hawked about the streets. Austria recently promised to send Turkey 2,000 carloads of sugar at the rate of 200 cars a month, but owing to the great scarcity of rolling stock nobody takes the promise seriously. In spite of the hunger and abject misery everywhere prevailing, the Turk manifests no desire to revolt. Food riots are unknown at Constantinople, and the shops are never looted.

The shortage of bread is a great cause for complaint among the women. The Turkish Government, at the instigation of the Germans, early in the present year introduced a rationing system, but the wealthy Turks declined to submit to it, and the elaborate organization set up speedily collapsed. The apathy of the Turks angers the foreign observer. Only once have they been roused from their apathy, and that was when the thousands of wounded poured into Constantionple from the Dardanelles. The sight of their dying men-folk caused several hundred women to march to the War Office to call on the Government to give them back their husbands and sons.

In Turkey, as in other belligerent countries, the war has opened up new avenues of employment to women. The Greeks and Armenians formerly employed at the post and telephone offices have been dismissed and their places taken by Turkish women and girls. The war has hastened rather than checked the emancipation of Turkish women. All the young women wear veils of the flimsiest description, and in the tramcars they always draw them up from their faces. An incident which illustrates the strength of the "new woman" movement in Turkey occurred quite recently. The following notice was issued by the police department.

> The adoption of new forms of apparel has become a public scandal in Constantinople. All Mohammedan women are given two days in which to lengthen their skirts, discard corsets, and substitute thick for flimsy veils.

Two days passed, and the following notice appeared:

> We regret that through the interference of certain old women a subordinate of the Police Department has attempted to regulate

the costumes which Mohammedan women wear. The Police Department regrets this blunder and cancels the previous order.

The "police subordinate" who blundered was an invention of the department, anxious to find an excuse to capitulate to the storm which the original order provoked. The wives of Turkish aristocrats, Ministers, and high Government officials threatened to hold up the Red Crescent nursing work in Turkey, the telephone girls threatened to strike, the Post Office girls to leave the Post Office, unless the offending order was canceled; and before two days had passed Turkish women, determined to be Westernized, had won. The incident provoked an outburst of indignation on the part of the women against the German authorities in Turkey, who were accused, probably wrongly, with wanting to keep Turkish women in a backward condition.

It may be mentioned that some illusions are entertained outside Turkey regarding the powers possessed by the German authorities in Turkey. The Germans are certainly the masters of the Turks in the sense that they control the Turkish Government, but the influence of the German officials over the civilian population is very small. The German police in Constantinople are strictly forbidden to interfere with the population, and even in the army Turkish soldiers are not compelled to be subservient toward their German officers. Besides holding them responsible for the misery and misfortune which have befallen their country, the Turks dislike the Germans personally. On the other hand, the German naval and military officers make no secret of their contempt for what they regard as the laziness and slackness of their Turkish charges. Admiral von Souchon, the German Admiral at Constantinople, is never tired of declaring to other Europeans at the Constantinople Club that the Turks as fighting men are hopelessly inefficient.

The principal preoccupation of the Turkish Parliament is the deplorable financial condition of the country. Gold, nickel, and copper have long since vanished from circulation, and the country is flooded with notes and stamps—the latter worth about 5 cents each—of all kinds. At the backs of the notes in one of these categories is a design of Kut, and an inscription, rather amusing in the light of recent events, to the effect that, thanks to the bravery of the Turkish troops and their German allies, the town will remain in Turkish hands until the end of time. Turkish finances are run on the simplest lines. Every time that the Turkish Government is hard up it asks Berlin for a "loan." The "loan" consists in permission by the German Government for the Turkish authorities to issue paper money for the amount required. The German Government has promised to redeem, out of the indemnities exacted from its enemies, all the paper money issued in Turkey during the war. The mark has dropped extremely low lately in value in Turkey.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE—Owing to the existing blockade CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain any German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's First Projectile

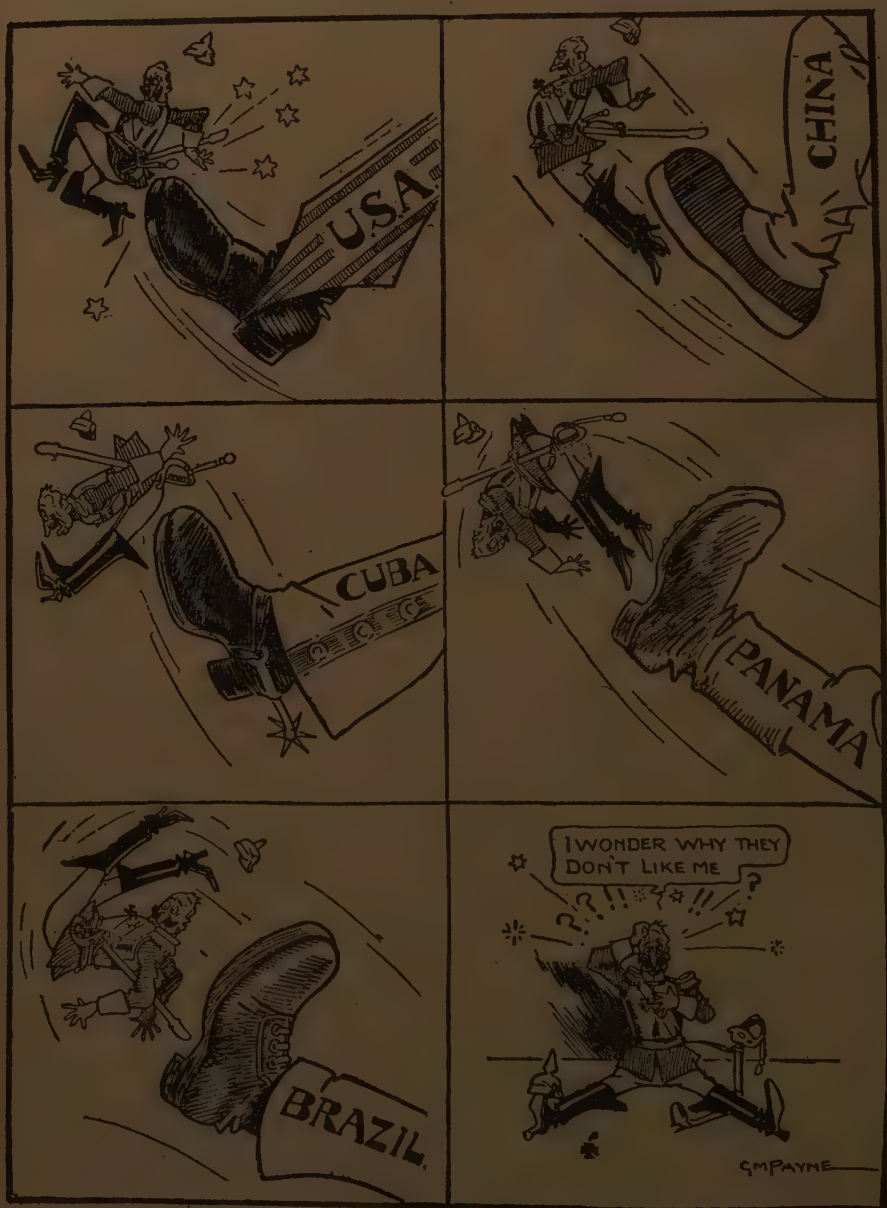
"The United States has voted a loan of $3,000,000,000 to the Entente."—Cable news.

—From Il 420, Florence.

AMERICA TO GERMANY: "First I'll hand you this one. Other presents will follow later."

[English Cartoon]

Receiving the Order of the Boot



—From The Sunday Pictorial, London.

THE KAISER (to the republics who have revolted against U-boat savagery): "It's all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me down stairs?"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Times Change

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

THE GERMAN PEASANT: "I always used to think how that beast would like to eat me, but now I think how much I should like to eat it."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Compensation

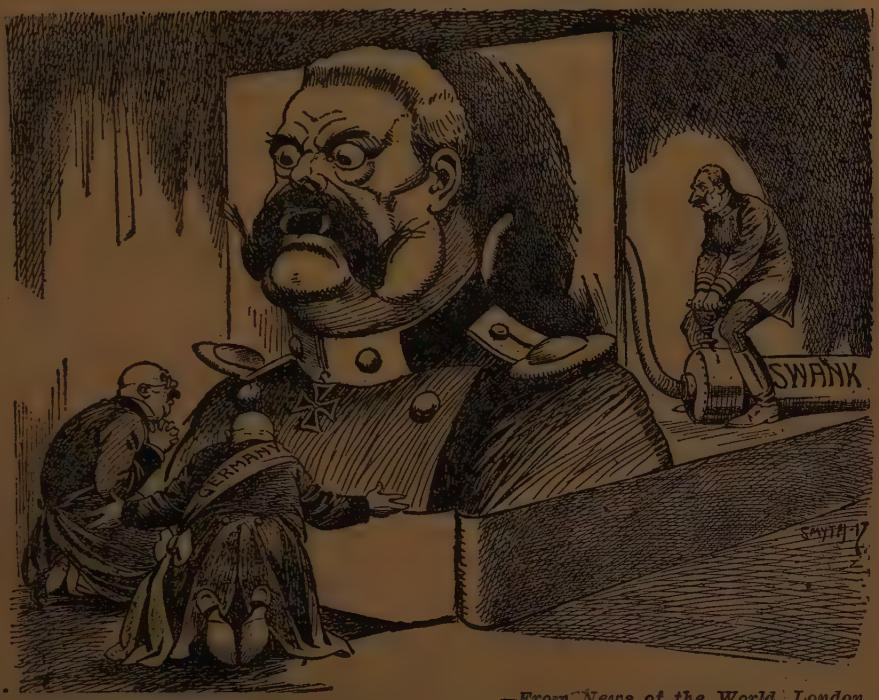
—From Espana, Madrid.

FIRST DUTCH SEAMAN: "They have sunk seven of our ships, at one stroke, after promising not to touch them!"

SECOND SAILOR: "Yes, and they did not touch the Rochester and the Orleans after threatening to smash them! Probably that is because America is not a little country."

[English Cartoon]

The Hindenbeggar



—*From News of the World, London.*

WEARY WAR LORD (at the hot air pump): "Ach, Himmel! What'll happen when the beggar bursts!"

[French Cartoon]

The Fatal Ladder

1914. 1915. 1916. 1917.

—*From Le Pele-Mele, Paris.*

[English Cartoon]

The Two Giants

—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

GERMANY: "I destroy!"
AMERICA: "I create!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Return Visit

1492.—The caravels of Columbus visit America.

—From Il Numero, Turin.

1917.—The naval squadron returns the call.

[French Cartoon]

Every Man to His Trade

—From Ruy Blas, Paris.

CROWN PRINCE: "Louis XVI. was a locksmith, Nicholas a carpenter, and I—oh! I'm a furniture remover."

[English Cartoon]

Beware the German Gift!

—From The Passing Show, London.

[In the Trojan war the Greeks, unable to capture Troy by fighting, resorted to the treacherous gift of a huge wooden horse, which they pretended was an offering to the gods, but was in reality full of armed men. The Trojans admitted the innocent-looking gift, and Troy fell. The German peace offers to Russia correspond to the Wooden Horse.]

[English Cartoon]

Spades Are Trumps

—From The Passing Show, London.

England mobilizing against the U-boats.

[Dutch Cartoon]

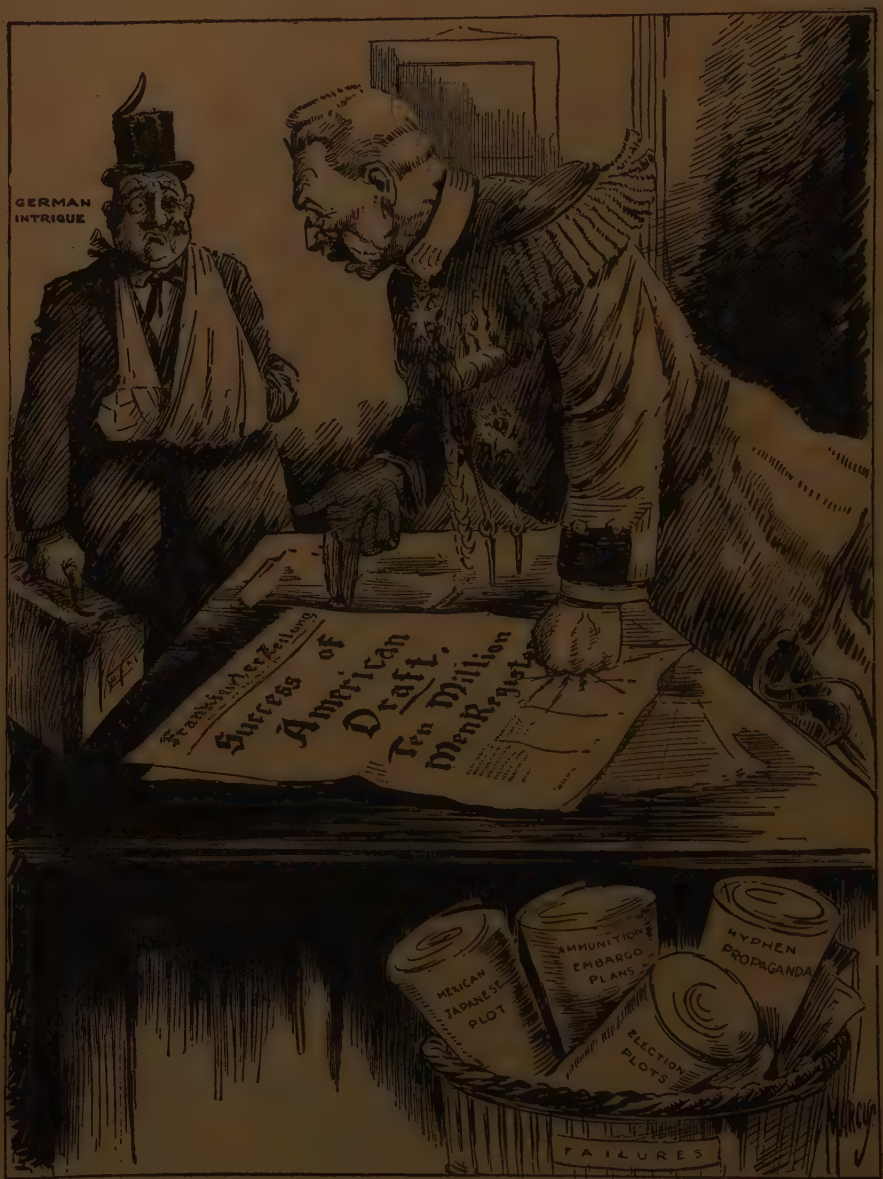
David and Goliath

—*From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

David Lloyd George, the giant Germania, and the results of the Somme offensive.

[American Cartoon]

Another Plan Gone Wrong



—*From The New York Times.*

KAISER: "So! You've failed again!"

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Hot Peace Soup

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

All eager to taste it.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Russia's Temptation to Make Separate Peace

Printed in De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

The fox tempts the bear to put his paws between the cleft oak in quest of imaginary honey.

Hold Fast, Young Russia!

One He Can't Submerge

"It Beats the Dutch"

—From The Baltimore American.

[Swiss Cartoon]

Spring in the War Zone

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The ogre of death and the spirit of awakening life.

"U-Boats Be D—d!"

—From The Los Angeles Times.

"Oh, Say, Can You See?"

—From The Providence Journal.

Stuck!

—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Hock der Kaiser!

—From The Pittsburgh Post.

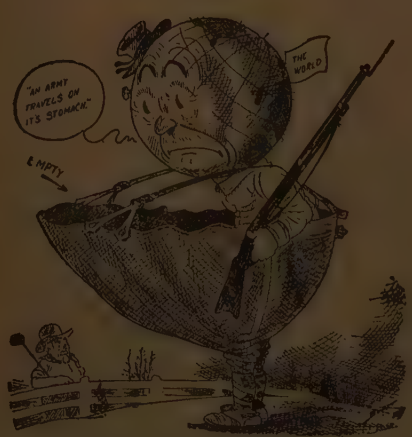
"The Goblins 'll Get U"

—*From The Baltimore American.*

"Gott! Papa, They're in Earnest!"

—*From The Dayton News.*

It's Up to You, Mr. Farmer



—*Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal and Tribune.*

Peace Chestnuts

—*From The Dallas News.*

Removing Those Painful Crowns

The Missing Link

The Melting Pot

The Giant Awakens

—J. E. Murphy in San Francisco Call.

The Nation's Shield

—From The Memphis Commercial Appeal.

The Eagle's New Brood

—From The Dayton News.

Mothering the Cub

—From The Providence Journal.

The Question Mark of Europe

—From The Atlanta Journal.

COUNT STEPHEN TISZA

The Powerful Premier of Hungary, Who Has at Last Been Forced to Resign

FRENCH COUNTRYSIDE RAVAGED BY GERMANS

A Typical Scene in the Track of the Recent German Retirement in France, Indicating How the Threat to Desolate the Country Was Acted Upon. Fields, Farms, Woods, All Have Suffered from the Systematic Campaign of Destruction

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

THE BEAUTIFUL CATHEDRAL OF ARRAS IN RUINS

A British Official Photograph Showing What the Shattered Cathedral of Arras Looks Like Today. The Building Was in Course of Construction Between the Years 1755 and 1838 on the Site of an Old Abbey Church

OBSERVERS' PERILOUS DUTIES ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The Specially Trained Officers and Men Who Do the Work of Observers Have Frequently, as Shown Here, to Watch the Progress of a Battle Without Shelter, and from Such Exposed Positions Keep the General Staff Informed

(Photo American Press Association)

PERSHING'S ARRIVAL IN FRANCE

The First United States Commander to Lead an Army in Europe Arriving at Boulogne, France, June 13, 1917.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. SIBERT

Commander of the First Division of the United States Army
Sent Abroad to Serve Under the Commander in Chief,
General Pershing.

(Photo © Clinedinst from Underwood & Underwood.)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI. } No. 2 August, 1917 25 Cents a Copy
Part II. } $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE GERMAN CRISIS: RESIGNATION OF THE CHANCELLOR	191
First Address of the New Chancellor	196
HOW THE HOHENZOLLERNS AND JUNKERS CONTROL. By Charles D. Hazen	198
RUSSIA'S NEW OUTLOOK: Survey of Fourth Month of the Revolution	204
Premier Lvoff on Russia's Situation	205
The New Russian Ambassador's Formal Address	207
Indictment of the Czar's Former Officials	208
The Root Commission in Russia	211
Russian Church Reforms. By Charles R. Crane	213
All Anti-Jewish Laws Repealed	214
THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY IN FRANCE	215
Creating the New American Armies	218
Selecting the Conscript Army	220
CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED. Brief Editorial Summaries	221
MILITARY EVENTS OF THE MONTH. By Lieutenant J. B. W. Gardiner	227
PROGRESS OF THE WAR. Chronology to July 18	232
JOFFRE'S TRIBUTE TO LAFAYETTE AT BALTIMORE. By J. G. Barget	237
WAR'S INFERNO ON THE AISNE RIDGE. By Wythe Williams	239
A BRITISH REVERSE ON THE YSER. By Philip Gibbs	242
REPORT ON THE BRITISH DISASTER AT KUT-EL-AMARA	244
THE SUBMARINE SITUATION. By Thomas G. Frothingham	245
U-Boat Destruction of Shipping: Record to July 15	250
WHAT THE AMERICAN NAVY HAS DONE. By Secretary Daniels	252
Embargo on Exports of Food and Other Commodities	254
PRESIDENT WILSON'S APPEAL AGAINST PROFITEERING	256
CHINA FOILS A ROYALIST COUP	259

Contents Continued on Next Page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

	PAGE
WAR AIMS AND PEACE TERMS RESTATED: Address by Lloyd George	261
Sonnino on Italy's War Aims	263
French Note to Russia Defining War Aims	263
Alsace-Lorraine: The Declaration of Bordeaux	264
RUSSIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES: M. Bakhmeteff's Addresses	266
Tour of the Italian Mission	270
The Belgian Mission in America	272
Lord Northcliffe and Other Envoys	274
Objects of the Japanese Mission	276
Viviani's Tribute to America	277
BRAZIL'S REVOCATION OF NEUTRALITY	279
GREECE JOINS THE ALLIES: How Constantine Departed	281
RE-ESTABLISHING ALBANIA	284
CANADA'S THREE YEARS OF WAR. By Frank Yeigh	287
CANADIAN INDIANS AT THE FRONT. By Verne De Witt Rowell	290
Canada to Have Conscription	292
THE MOTHERS. By Maurice Maeterlinck	293
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. VI. By Major Edwin W. Dayton	295
HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA: An Official Survey of Causes	304
WHY WE ENTERED THE GREAT WAR. By William Howard Taft	317
WARTIME LIFE IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS	321
NEW ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD FOR WOMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN	328
ASSASSINATION OF THE AUSTRIAN PREMIER: Dr. Adler's Apologia	330
THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY	332
Enormous Weight of Metal Hurled by Artillery	334
GENERAL HAIG'S OFFICIAL REPORT: BATTLES ON THE ANCRE. I.	335
GERMAN BARBARITIES IN FRANCE: AN OFFICIAL REPORT	340
The Resurrection of Devastated France	347
Two Years Under the Germans: A Villager's Diary	350
Von Bissing's Plan to Annex Belgium	352
BATTLE'S GRIM REALITIES AT GINCHY. By an Irish Officer	354
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS: 31 Cartoons, All Nations	361

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Pershing's Arrival in France	*Frontis*
Major Gen. W. L. Sibert	"
Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves	204
Major Gen. George Barnett	205
Colonel Charles A. Doyen	220
Some American War Chiefs	221
Brig. Gen. G. O. Squier	236
Stars and Stripes in Europe	237
Russian and Belgian Missions	268
Honoring the Italian Mission	269
Philipp Scheidemann	284
Statesmen of Neutral Nations	285
Henry E. Duke	316
Canadian War Leaders	317
Picture Map, Lorraine	332
Picture Map, Alsace	333
Algerian Troops in France	*Extra*
British on Conquered Ground	"
Example of "Camouflage"	"
Examining a German Prisoner	"

THE GERMAN CRISIS

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg Resigns and Is Succeeded by Dr. Michaelis and a New Ministry

GERMANY was the last of the belligerent powers to experience a political crisis due to popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, but the end of the third year brought as complete a change as that suffered by any other warring Government except Russia. On July 14, 1917, after a fortnight of excitement and tension that stirred all other nations and convulsed Germany, Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor since July 14, 1909, was forced to tender his resignation, and was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis, Prussian Under Secretary of Finance and Food Controller. A complete reorganization of the Ministry ensued.

Owing to the rigid suppression of news regarding internal affairs in Germany, the world could obtain only meagre details of what was happening; such news as filtered beyond the border had suffered curtailment and revision at the hands of military censors, and much even of this information came second hand from Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam, and Berne, and was incomplete and contradictory. Enough, however, managed to elude the censors by word of mouth from trustworthy travelers and correspondents to disclose late in June that a political tumult was raging in Germany and that new political alignments were forming. The influence of the Russian revolution had been far more pervasive than the censored dispatches had indicated. A new situation, too, was acutely felt to be at hand when the German people realized that the United States intended to bring at once to the support of the Allies the full weight of its resources, wealth, and military power.

The discontent, which made itself manifest in half-suppressed newspaper comment and public expressions by men of prominence in civil and political life, was lulled temporarily by the hope of a separate peace with Russia and by the popular belief that there was no possibility of Russia's again becoming a fighting factor for years. When the Russian offensive was resumed with brilliancy and with disastrous consequences to both Austria and Germany, and when the Russian armies gave proof that they possessed a greater power of offensive than at any time since the outbreak of the war, the crisis in Germany's political circles immediately became acute. It soon culminated in the collapse of the Bethmann Hollweg Government and the formation of an entirely new coalition, with all sorts of sensational possibilities in prospect as a consequence.

Revolt in the Saxon Diet

The first intimation of a serious state of affairs came in a dispatch which was permitted by the censors to pass late in June, relating that in "the Saxon Diet "the Prime Minister of Saxony declared "that the Government would fight any "attempt to secure franchise reform in "the individual States through the ac- "tion of the Reichstag, whereupon the "Socialist Vice President of the House "declared that Saxon soldiers were not "fighting because of loyalty to the King, "but 'out of love of the Fatherland and "monarchical principle.' If the Govern- "ment of Saxony persisted in its reac- "tionary attitude, he said that 'reform "would come, if not from the Crown, "then from the mob.' A Nationalist "member of the Reichstag said 'that a "vast majority of the Saxons were in- "spired by an utter lack of confidence in "the Government.'"

The next important incident which was permitted to be made public occurred June 30, when it was announced that the movement to secure an equal electoral franchise in Prussia found cham-

pions in unexpected quarters. Leading Conservatives joined in a public declaration calling on the Government to take action for the prompt enactment of legislation in favor of election reform.

Demands for Franchise Reforms

Their call, which is an unequivocal indorsement of the agitation carried on by the Social Democrats for many years past, reads:

> The mighty struggle in which the German people are now engaged is not yet ended. The undersigned until now have been largely of the opinion that the promise contained in the imperial Eastertide message for the elimination of acrimonious internal struggles might be fulfilled in co-operation with the conservative forces of our public life. However, the opposition emanating from these sources is so powerful as to call forth doubts whether this Easter message, in its true spirit, can at all become a reality after the conclusion of peace.
>
> Today such doubt is intolerable. To keep that faith with the German people to which it is entitled, it is needful to take this work in hand without further delay. We therefore do not hesitate to publicly emphasize the need of the hour which demands of the Government that it forthwith lay before the Diet a draft of an election reform which not only calls for a general, direct, secret ballot, but for an equal voting franchise for all; and, further, that the Government in addition give effective, visible expression of the confidence to which the German people are entitled.

The call was signed by Professor Hans Delbrück, historian of the University of Berlin; Alexander Dominicus, Chief Magistrate of Schoeneberg; Professor Emil Fischer, Dr. Adolf von Harnack, Dean of the German theologians; Professor Friedrich Meinecke, Count Monts, retired Ambassador; Professor Walter Ernst, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, Dr. Friedrich Thimme, and Professor Ernst Troeltsch. The signers, almost without exception, have been looked upon generally as stalwart conservatives.

This call was hailed with enthusiasm by the Berliner Tageblatt and other important papers, and the Socialist newspaper Vorwärts pronounced it "an historic document."

Agitation in the Reichstag

The Executive and Constitutional Committees of the Reichstag met July 4, preliminary to the opening of the new session of that body. The Socialists demanded that immediate steps be taken to bring about electoral reform by having the Reichstag initiate the measures to bring about reforms in the individual States. The Government was reported as being willing to proceed at once with Reichstag election reform, involving subdivisions of the larger election districts and introduction of the proportionate ballot system which is quite well known in certain States of the American Union, but the Government did not think it advisable that the Reichstag should make ballot reform in the individual German States, especially Prussia, its own business.

The Socialists, however, wished to make it the business of the Reichstag, because the Prussian Diet was ultra-Conservative and would not favor reform; hence they announced a preference to have the settlement of Prussian ballot reform placed in the Reichstag's power; that body, according to the Socialists' idea, need only pass a law making the individual State electoral systems conform to that of the Reichstag. This, translated into American politics, would mean that Congress in Washington has the right to dictate to Ohio or Idaho what ballot system these States have to employ in their home elections.

These episodes were but the mutterings before the storm. It broke forth in its furry on July 6 at a joint session of the Main Committee and Constitutional Committee, held prior to the meeting of the Reichstag. Although the sessions of these committees were strictly executive, the comments in the newspapers next day indicated that very serious dissensions occurred.

Erzberger's Change of Front

It became known that Mathias Erzberger, a leader of the Clerical Centre, one of the most influential Catholics in Bavaria, which is one of the most powerful States in the German Confederation, created a profound sensation by deserting the Pan German and War Junker factions, and declaring for peace without annexations or indemnities. He severely criticised the Government's submarine policy

and the blundering diplomacy which had brought America into the conflict as Germany's enemy. This was a complete volte face, as Herr Erzberger had previously been regarded as a stanch Government supporter and his party as a main factor of the coalition. When it became known that the majority of his party, representing the influential Catholic faction of the Reichstag, was with him, it was clear that a crisis was impending, and that a majority in the Reichstag was probably against the Government.

Crown Council Summoned

Only fragmentary dispatches appeared for several days after this, and these were contradictory, but the world knew that the situation was serious. The Kaiser summoned a Plenary Crown Council. The Crown Prince was called to Berlin, as were Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Chief Quartermaster General Ludendorff. On July 8 the Hamburger Fremdenblatt said:

> We are now living through the greatest crisis in our political life which has arisen since the outbreak of the war. This crisis centres around the fundamental questions of war and peace as well as the reorganization of our internal political system. It is in the nature of things that every such event crystallizes into a personal contest. Member of Parliament Erzberger's speech in the Reichstag General Committee was an attack on the Government, which means against the Secretary of the Navy as well as against the Chancellor. To avoid misunderstanding it should be said that the continuation of the submarine war does not come into the question, not even so far as Erzberger is concerned. The question is of the revising of the war aim formula somewhat on the lines demanded by our Social Democrats. Resolutions in the Reichstag will not accomplish this.
>
> Since May there have been many changes. One thing, however, has not changed, and that is the complete lack of contact between Government and people. The reason for all these happenings? One has only to remember that the speech of a member of Parliament who chanced to be called Erzberger has sufficed to overthrow the entire structure of both our internal and external politics, nor was the Government able to stop it. That shows the bankruptcy of the system. The Kaiser is today in Berlin and conferring with Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and the Chancellor. Is it thinkable that at such a time the party leaders should not be present and that what they have to say should not be also considered?

Harden's Magazine Suppressed

On July 11 Die Zukunft, Maxmilian Harden's publication, was suppressed, and Herr Harden was drafted under the auxiliary civil service law to be employed as a military clerk. The following is an extract from the article which caused the suppression:

> Herr von Bethmann is like neither Buddha nor a preacher in the mountains. He who hopes for his world to be saved by heavy guns, poisoned gas, mines, flame throwers, submarines, and air bombs must do without a reputation for sublime humanity. Every child understands that. Are impartial neutrals, then, to learn to dream with their eyes open that in the pure scales of the North Germans gentle humanity weighs heavier than rattling armor of power? Neutrals will never learn.
>
> Are they (Germany's rulers) allowed by slandering an enemy who is not yet ready to conclude peace and by insisting all too loudly upon their deep belief in the nearness of peace, to nourish the mad but damaging belief that Germany is more weary than the league of her enemies? Must we not demand that our rulers shall learn and apply properly the principles of psychology and acoustics? Must we not demand that before they choose new weapons, and even before they resume the use of old weapons, they shall think out to the end every possible effect—not merely the effect which is desired by the commander in the field?

Harden reviewed once more the efforts to make capital out of the Russian revolution. He argued that it might have been possible for Germany to imitate the methods by which Frederick the Great ended the Seven Years' War after the death of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, but it would have been necessary to act promptly and make complete concessions, and the achievement would have required powerful statesmanship instead of "the Swiss pills" which merely reminded foreign countries of Herr Zimmermann's proposals to Mexico.

The first official utterance as the outcome of the crisis was the following manifesto, issued July 13, and addressed to the President of the State Ministry:

> Upon the report of my State Ministry, made to me in obedience to my decree of April 7 of the current year, I herewith decide to order a supplement to the same,

that the draft of the bill dealing with the alteration of the electoral law for the House of Deputies, which is to be submitted to the Diet of the monarchy for decision, is to be drawn up on the basis of equal franchise. The bill is to be submitted in any case early enough that the next elections may take place according to the new franchise. I charge you to make all necessary arrangements for this purpose.

(Signed) WILLIAM.
(Countersigned)
BETHMANN HOLLWEG.

The same day a statement was issued in explanation of the summoning of the Crown Prince. An official communication issued in Berlin had stated that Emperor William expressed the opinion that the political and constitutional reforms demanded by the Reichstag were such that they concerned not merely himself but his successor, inasmuch as they would be permanent. For this reason the Emperor summoned the Crown Prince to attend the Crown Councils at which final decisions regarding the extent to which the Crown and the Government would make concessions to the Reichstag were to be reached.

A Berlin correspondent, commenting on the Emperor's manifesto ordering electoral reform, said that the introduction of the phrase "equal suffrage" into the Emperor's manifesto restored a provision which, according to Berlin gossip, was contained in the original draft of the Easter manifesto and was eliminated at the last moment in consequence of a reactionary intrigue against the realization of the Emperor's wish for universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage in Prussia. This is attributed to the reactionary Prussian Diet, which on an earlier occasion did not hesitate to disregard the sovereign's expressed wishes on franchise reform.

A correspondent at Berlin stated that the Emperor's manifesto forced the Prussian Ministry to discard its reform project, the draft of which had been largely worked out, and which, according to reports in Berlin political circles, although doing away with the three-class system, introduced the principle of plural voting as a concession to the Conservative and National Liberal Parties. A proviso was made that the attainment of a certain age, marriage, or educational qualification entitled an elector to additional votes. The correspondent added:

> The extent to which equal suffrage, if the Government is able to get its bill through the hostile Diet, will shake the domination of the Junker Prussian Government may be judged by the compilation of the probable strength of the parties in the Diet under this bill.
>
> The Conservative leaders have figured, on the basis of their voting tables, that the strength of the two Conservative parties, now 262 out of a total membership of 443 in the lower house, would drop even under the most favorable conditions to 134, and might go to 100. The National Liberals, now with 73 members, would be represented in an equal suffrage House by 34 to 52, while the Socialists, with 10 members at the present time, would jump to at least 69, and might obtain as many as 125 seats. The Radicals would gain slightly and the Centre would show moderate shrinkage.

The Chancellor's Resignation

The story of the resignation of the Chancellor as related by The Associated Press correspondent is as follows:

The resignation of the Chancellor came in the end quite unexpectedly, for Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, in the prolonged party discussions and heated debates of the Main Committee of the Reichstag, which have been proceeding all through the week, seemed to have triumphed over his opponents, who had been clamoring for his head, by making concessions which were tantamount to the formation of a kind of imperial Coalition Ministry.

At the same time, the Chancellor, by a declaration that Germany was fighting defensively for the freedom of her territorial possessions, evolved a formula that seemed satisfactory to both those who clamored for peace by agreement and those who demanded repudiation of the formula "no annexations and no indemnities."

In all this, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was strongly backed by the Emperor. The advent of the Crown Prince at the summons of his father to share the deliberations affecting the future of the dynasty seems to have changed entirely the situation with regard to the Imperial Chancellor. The Crown Prince at once took a leading part in the discussions with the party leaders, and his ancient

hostility toward Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, coupled with his notorious dislike for political reform, undoubtedly precipitated the Chancellor's resignation.

Majority Peace Resolution

The Reichstag met July 11 and refused to vote the war credit, pending a solution of the political crisis. On July 13 the majority bloc of the Centre Radicals and Socialists, constituting a majority, decided to support the following peace resolutions:

As on Aug. 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the war the German people stand upon the assurance of the speech from the throne—"We are driven by no lust of conquest."

Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic, and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.

The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of international juridical organizations. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace, so long as they threaten Germany and her allies with conquest and violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken, and fight until the rights of itself and its allies to life and development are secured. The German Nation united is unconquerable.

The Reichstag knows that in this announcement it is at one with the men who are defending the Fatherland. In their heroic struggles they are sure of the undying thanks of the whole people.

This resolution was adopted July 19 by a vote of 214 to 116, with 17 not voting.

Crown Prince's Influence

The Tägliche Rundschau of Berlin indicated that the Chancellor was forced out by the Crown Prince. It said in its issue of July 14:

It will be remembered that the Crown Prince's attitude toward the Chancellor and his policies is well known, and that, apart from many other instances, at the time the Chancellor at the request of the Kaiser went to inform the Crown Prince at his headquarters of the coming Easter message, the Crown Prince had no scruples in expressing his vigorous opposition to the Chancellor's policies. To avoid further discussion the Chancellor withdrew, stating that he had fulfilled the Kaiser's mission, inasmuch as he had informed the Crown Prince of the coming action.

A Berlin correspondent added:

It is recalled here, also, how during the angry debate in the Reichstag on the Agadir affair in November, 1911, when Herr von Heydebrand, the so-called "uncrowned King of Prussia," attacked the Government's policy as being pro-English, the Crown Prince sat in the gallery shaking his head at Bethmann Hollweg and openly applauding Heydebrand, even clapping his hands.

It was after this that the Crown Prince was banished by his angry father to Danzig, much to his disgust.

Also at the time of the Zabern incident the Crown Prince telegraphed to Captain Forstner, "Fester d'rauf!" ("Hit him again!") According to the view of many persons, the question whether the military or the civil power should dominate in Germany was settled at that time in favor of the former.

Judged by the comments of the German liberal press up to July 20, the political upheaval has strengthened the Extreme War Party and jeopardized the prospects of constitutional or Parliamentary reform.

The Vossische Zeitung, the Tageblatt, and Vorwärts on July 18 called attention to the fact that the appointment of Dr. Michaelis was made without previously sounding Parliament, and that the new Chancellor accepted the post without consultation with the party leaders or an attempt to learn whether his proposed policy was acceptable to the Reichstag. This they regarded as confirmatory evidence that the Reichstag's desire for formal acknowledgment of Parliamentary control of the old Government was ignored.

A correspondent at Amsterdam as late as July 18 asserted that Bethman Hollweg had fallen because he favored reform and a liberal peace policy. It was stated that he made two proposals, the first that in the direction of democratization a new body under the name of the

Reichsrat should be immediately constituted, which would be a sort of Committee of National Defense, and would for the time being act as a go-between twixt the Reichstag and the Emperor, thus instituting on a modified scale the principle of Parliamentary responsibility; the second that the Government should immediately make an authoritative declaration of "no annexations or indemnities." Both these proposals, it is asserted, had the backing of Bavaria and Austria, although Austria naturally had no open voice in the matter, which was purely a German internal affair.

Both proposals were violently opposed by the Crown Prince, von Hindenburg, and Ludendorff. It is declared that von Hindenburg came out openly for a "German peace."

Gain for Militarist Party

The official view at Washington was that the crisis had resulted in a complete triumph for the Militarist Party, headed by the Crown Prince, and in a lessening of the prestige of the Emperor and the Moderates.

The letter of the Kaiser accepting the resignation of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was made public July 16, as follows:

> I decide with a heavy heart by today's decree to grant your request to be relieved from your office. For eight years you have occupied the highest and most responsible offices in the imperial and State services with eminent loyalty, and have successfully placed your brilliant powers and personality at the services of the Kaiser and the empire and the King and the Fatherland.
>
> In the most grievous times that have ever fallen to the lot of the German countries and peoples—times in which decisions of paramount importance for the existence and future of the Fatherland have had to be taken—you have stood by my side with counsel and aid. It is my heart's desire to express my most cordial thanks for your faithful service.

First Address of the New Chancellor

DR. MICHAELIS, the new Chancellor, made his initial address to the Reichstag July 19. He paid a warm tribute to his predecessor. In the course of his remarks he said:

> Unless I had believed firmly in the justice of our cause I would not have accepted office. We must keep before our eyes daily the events of three years ago, which are fixed in history and which show we were forced into the war by Russia's secret mobilization, which was a great danger to Germany. To have participated in a conference while the mobilization proceeded would have been political suicide. [Exclamations of "quite right" from the Conservatives.]
>
> The mobilization of the Russian Army compelled Germany to seize the sword. There was no choice left to us, and what is true of the war itself is true also of our weapons, particularly the submarine. We deny the accusation that the submarine warfare is contrary to international law and violates the rights of humanity.
>
> England forced this weapon into our hands through an illegal blockade. England prevented neutral trade with Germany and proclaimed a war of starvation. Our faint hope that America, at the head of the neutrals, would check English illegality was vain, and the final attempt we made by an honorably intended peace offer to avoid the last extremity failed.
>
> Then Germany had to choose this last weapon as a countermeasure of self-defense. Now, also, she must carry it through for the purpose of shortening the war.
>
> The submarine war is accomplishing all, and more than all, it is expected to. False reports which found their way into the press as a result of the secret session of the Reichstag evoked for a time a certain feeling of disappointment which ended at a particular time. They did the Fatherland no service.
>
> I declare, in fact, that the submarine war accomplishes in the destruction of enemy tonnage what it should. It impairs England's economic life and the conduct of the war month to month in a growing degree, so that it will not be possible to oppose the necessity for peace much longer. We can look forward to the further labors of the brave U-boat men with complete confidence. * * *

Russian Offensive Unimportant

In the East, in consequence of the confusion in Russia, the attack of Russian millions did not materialize, and there is comparative calm. Only after false reports and incitement by Russia's allies

had stirred the Russian soldiers did the present offensive develop. Its goal was Lemberg and Drohobycz. General Brusiloff, with all his enormous sacrifices, has gained only a slight advantage. * * *

Greece was forced by violence to enter the war against us. Our common front with the brave Bulgarians stands firm.

Italy, even through the eleventh Izonso battle against our war-tried Austro-Hungarian brothers, will not be able to attain the goal of its breach of faith—the possession of Trieste.

We look without serious concern upon the optimistic sentiment in the Entente countries caused by America's intervention. It is easy to reckon how much tonnage is necessary to transport an army from America to Europe, how much tonnage is required to feed such an army. France and England are scarcely able to feed and supply their own armies without influencing the economic situation still further. After our previous success we shall be able to master this situation also through our fleet, particularly the submarines. That is our firm conviction and assurance. We and our allies, therefore, can look forward to any further development of military events with calm security.

How Much Longer?

The burning question in our hearts, however, is how much longer the war is to last. With this I come to a matter which stands in the centre of all our interest and all our proceedings today. Germany did not desire the war in order to make violent conquests and, therefore, will not continue the war a day longer merely for the sake of such conquests, if it could obtain an honorable peace.

The Germans wish to conclude peace as combatants who have successfully accomplished their purpose and proved themselves invincible. A condition of peace was the inviolability of Germany's territory. No parley was possible with the enemy demanding the cession of German soil.

We must, by means of understanding and in a spirit of give and take, guarantee conditions of the existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and overseas. Peace must offer the foundation of a lasting reconciliation of nations. It must, as expressed in your resolution, prevent nations from being plunged into further enmity through economic blockades and provide a safeguard that the league in the arms of our opponents does not develop into an economic offensive alliance against us.

These aims may be attained within the limits of your resolution, as I interpret it. We cannot again offer peace. We have loyally stretched out our hands once. We met no response, but with the entire nation and with Germany, the army and its leaders in accord with this declaration, the Government feels that if our enemies abandon their lust for conquest and their aims at subjugation and wish to enter into negotiations we shall listen honestly and readily to what they have to say to us. Until then we must hold out calmly and patiently.

Nation's Most Serious Crisis

The present time is, in regard to food conditions, the most severe we have experienced, and the month of July has been the worst. Drought has delayed the crops, and want exists in many cases, but I can declare with glad confidence that relief will shortly set in and the population can then be supplied more adequately.

On the occasion of his acceptance of the Chancellorship Dr. Michaelis sent a message to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, saying that he considered it his chief and inviolable duty to preserve the previous inheritance of the closest and most loyal confederation. It was his firm conviction that Austria-Hungary and Germany would be victorious and that the war would secure for the heroic people a happy and bright future. Count Czernin, in reply, said he saw the best guarantee of a happy future in intimate and confident co-operation with the leaders of the German policy and firm insistence upon the well-tried alliance.

How the Hohenzollerns and Junkers Control

By Charles Downer Hazen

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THE German Empire is a confederation, founded in 1871—founded by the Princes, not by the people—and consists of twenty-five States and one imperial territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia is ipso facto German Emperor. The legislative power rests with two bodies—the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor declares war with the consent of the Bundesrat, the assent of the Reichstag not being required. He is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he has charge of foreign affairs, and makes treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He is assisted by a Chancellor, whom he appoints and whom he removes, and who is responsible to him, and to him alone. Under the Chancellor are various Secretaries of State, who simply administer departments, but who do not form a Cabinet, either in the English or French or American sense. They are responsible to the Chancellor.

The laws that govern the German Empire are made by two bodies—the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The Bundesrat, of which we in America hear very little, is the most powerful body in the empire, far more powerful than the Reichstag, of which we hear a great deal. It possesses legislative, executive, and judicial functions, and is a kind of diplomatic assembly. It represents the States; that is, the rulers of the twenty-five States of which the empire consists. It is composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the States of Germany are not represented equally in the Bundesrat, but most unequally. There are sixty-one members. Of these Prussia has seventeen, and the three votes allotted to Alsace-Lorraine since 1911 are "instructed" by the Emperor. Thus Prussia has twenty, Bavaria has six, Saxony and Württemberg four each, others three or two, and seventeen of the States have only one apiece. The members are really diplomats, representing the numerous monarchs of Germany.

Voting Under Orders

They do not vote individually, but each State delegation votes as a unit and as the ruler orders it to. Thus the votes that Prussia controls are cast always as a unit and as the King of Prussia directs. The Bundesrat is in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. It is responsible to nothing on earth, and its powers are very extensive. It is the most important element of the Legislature, as most legislation begins in it; its consent is necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag is, after that, submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It is therefore the chief source of legislation. The Princes of Germany have an absolute veto upon the only popular element in the Government, the Reichstag. Representing the Princes of Germany, the Bundesrat is a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. The proceedings of this princely assembly are secret, which is one reason why we know and hear less about it than we do about the Reichstag.

Much less important than the Bundesrat is the Reichstag, the only popular element in the government of the empire. It consists of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men 25 years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag are vastly inferior to the powers of the House of Commons or the Chamber of Deputies or the House of Representatives. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrat, votes

the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, are voted for a period of years. Its consent is required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being again secured.

The Reichstag has no power to make or unmake Ministries; in other words, to control the executive, the Emperor. It may reject the measures demanded by the Government, it may vote what amounts to a lack of confidence in the Chancellor, but to the Chancellor it makes notoriously little difference. As long as he enjoys the confidence of the Emperor he continues on his way. Bismarck was fond of repeating from the tribune that he was not the servant of the Reichstag, but exclusively of the Crown. William II. dismissed in turn Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow. The imperial will determines the fate, dictates the rise and fall of the Chancellor.

Bethmann Hollweg has been the Emperor's man in body and soul. No valleity of independence has surged up in that submissive bosom. A bureaucrat of forty years' standing, advancing by regular gradations from the lowest rung of the administrative ladder to the highest, his view has remained the same, his gaze has been at every stage and is still riveted solely upon his superior, and his superior never has been nor is now the Reichstag. His source of inspiration is in the Schloss, not in the benches of the popularly elected Legislature. Bethmann Hollweg is sometimes frank, frank to the point of rudeness. "Gentlemen," he said at the beginning of his Chancellorship, "I do not serve Parliament," and was loudly applauded for his insolence by the members of the conservative parties of the Parliament, thus a victim of the proud man's contumely. And he ended this scornful speech with the statement that there was one rôle which he absolutely refused to play, that of the servant of the people's representatives. Bethmann Hollweg, who has curiously been considered a liberal by some ill-informed and putative American liberals, has the merit of great clarity in his consistent, undeviating hostility and contempt for parliamentarism and for democracy. When reproached by the Socialists for not resigning after a vote of censure, as they do in France, he retorted that even children knew the difference between France and Germany.

"I know full well that there are those who are striving to establish similar institutions here," he said. "I shall oppose them with all my force."

Only the other day this "liberal" told the Right and the Left contemptuously that he was serving neither of them. He had a more august master. Not only does the Reichstag have no control over the Government, not only is it blocked and immensely outweighed by the Emperor, by the Bundesrat, and by the army, but it is itself, even within the sacred circle of its impotence, a very inaccurate representation of the people. The electoral districts as laid out in 1871 were equal, each representing approximately 100,000 inhabitants. But since that day there has been practically no change, although population has increased in some, decreased in others, so that there now exists a glaring inequality between the districts. There are some members of the Reichstag elected by a few thousand voters, others by the hundreds of thousands. The voter in some districts counts for only a thirtieth of the voter in certain other districts. The large districts are naturally progressive cities, the small ones the conservative country regions. A Berlin Deputy represents on the average 125,000 voters; a Deputy of East Prussia, home of the far-famed Junkers, an average of 24,000.

The Impotent Reichstag

But the fundamental evil is that the elections to the Reichstag result in the creation of an Assembly politically impotent, which does not control the executive and whose powers of legislation are subject to an absolute veto by the Bundesrat—that is, by the reigning Princes, big and little. German government is government by the Emperor and the dynasties, with the consent of the Reichstag, a consent which in practice can be forced, if not given voluntarily, for the

Bundesrat has the power of dissolving the Reichstag whenever it wishes to, a power always efficacious thus far. The German governing classes, the Princes, the bureaucracy, agree with Moltke, who said that the real ballot was the cartridge which the German soldier carried in his cartridge box, that the real representative of the nation was the army.

For all practical purposes the Reichstag is merely a debating club, and a debating club that has no power of seeing that its will is carried out. As late as January, 1914, Dr. Friedrich Naumann of "Middle Europe" fame described the humiliating position of the body of which he was a member in the following words:

"We on the Left are altogether in favor of the parliamentary régime, by which we mean that the Reichstag cannot forever remain in a position of subordination. Why does the Reichstag sit at all, why does it pass resolutions, if behind it is a wastepaper basket into which these resolutions are thrown? The problem is to change the impotence of the Reichstag into some sort of power." He added: "The man who compared this House to a hall of echoes was not far wrong. To those who are accustomed to do practical work in life it appears a mere waste of time to devote themselves to this difficult and monotonous mechanism. * * * When one asks the question, What part has the Reichstag in German history as a whole? it will be seen that the part is a very limited one."

"Many millions among us," said Dr. Frank in the Reichstag on Jan. 23, 1914, "feel it a burning shame that while Germans achieve great things in trade and industry, in politics they are deprived of rights."

In the determination of national policy the German Nation has, therefore, no way of enforcing its wishes through the only agency it possesses. In other words, the nation does not govern itself. The mainspring of power lies, not in the Reichstag, but in the Bundesrat, the organ of the Princes, every one of whom claims to rule by Divine right, not one of whom has his policy dictated to him by his people's representatives—and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

Absolutism in Prussia

The Kingdom of Prussia is larger than all the other German States combined, comprising two-thirds of the territory and about two-thirds of the population of Germany. The empire differs from other confederations in that the States composing it are of unequal voting power in both the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. It was Prussia that made the German Empire, and made it by blood and iron, and in the empire she has installed herself at every point of vantage and guards jealously not only the primacy but also the actual power.

Prussia has, since 1850, had a Constitution and a Parliament. What are they like? The Constitution was granted by the King, and nowhere does it recognize the sovereignty of the people. What the monarch has granted he can alter or withdraw. All the restriction the Constitution imposes upon the monarchical principal is that henceforth it shall be exercised and expressed in certain forms, with a certain procedure. Prussian statesmen and Prussian jurists maintain with practical unanimity that this does not mean any diminution of the power of the monarch, that the fact that he creates a Legislature does not for an instant mean that he devolves upon it a part of the sovereignty.

The Legislature of Prussia is the Landtag, which consists of two chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Representatives. The Legislature does not initiate much legislation. Most of the bills passed by it have been proposed by the Government; that is, by the King. The Legislature has practically no control over the administration; that is, over the powerful and permanent bureaucracy. It can in this sphere express opinions and practically nothing more. The Constitution does not determine the composition of the House of Lords, but leaves that to the King to determine by royal ordinance. As a matter of fact, this House is really overwhelmingly dominated by the land-owning nobility, the famous Junkers, men frequently more royalist than the King, conservative and militaristic to the marrow of their bones. The House is subject to the absolute

control of the monarch through his unrestricted power to create peers. It is really a sort of royal council, an extension or variation of the royal power. It is a body that in no sense represents the people of Prussia. It has a veto upon all legislation, and the King has an absolute veto also.

Yet there exists another House in this Legislature which enacts the laws that govern 40,000,000 Prussians—the so-called House of Representatives; and marvelous, indeed, is the construction and composition of that body. Every Prussian man who has attained his twenty-fifth year has the vote. Is Prussia, therefore, a democracy? Not exactly, for the exercise of this right is so arranged that the ballot of the poor man is practically annihilated. Universal suffrage has been rendered illusory. And this is the way it has been done: The voters are divided in each electoral district into three classes according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district is divided into three equal parts. Those taxpayers who pay the first third are grouped into one class; those, more numerous, who pay the second third, into another class; those who pay the remainder, into still another class. The result is that a very few rich men are set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these groups, voting separately, elects an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chooses the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament.

No Chance for the Poor

Thus in every Electoral Convention two-thirds of the members belong to the wealthy or well-to-do class. There is no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system gives an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consists of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second is sometimes twenty times as numerous, the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus, though every man has the suffrage, the vote of a single rich man may have as great weight as the votes of a thousand workingmen. Universal suffrage is manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and to consolidate a privileged class in power in the only branch of the Government that has even the appearance of being of popular origin. Bismarck, no friend of liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice is shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, got only 7 seats out of nearly 400. It is one of the most undemocratic systems in existence.

The voters do not choose their representatives directly. The suffrage is indirect, and is, moreover, as we have seen, grossly unequal. As this system is in vogue for municipal elections as well as for State elections, it throws power, whether in the municipality or in the nation, into the hands of men of wealth.

In 1908 there were 293,000 voters in the first class, 1,065,240 in the second, 6,324,079 in the third. The first class represented 4 per cent., the second 14 per cent., the third 82 per cent. of the population. In Cologne the first class comprised 370 electors, the second 2,584, while the third had 22,324. The first class chose the same number of electors as the third. Thus, 370 rich men had the same voting capacity as 22,324 proletarians. In Saarbrücken, the Baron von Sturm formed the first class all by himself, and announced complacently that he did not suffer from his isolation. In one of the Berlin districts Herr Heffte, a manufacturer of sausages, formed the first class.

This system would seem to be monstrous enough by reason of the monstrous plutocratic cast. But this is not all. This reactionary edifice is appropriately crowned by another device, oral voting. Neither in the primary nor the secondary voting is a secret ballot used. Voting is viva voce. Thus every one exercises his right publicly in the presence of his superior or his patron or employer, or his equals or the official representative of the King. In such a country as Prussia, where the police are

notoriously ubiquitous, what a weapon for absolutism! The great landowners, the great manufacturers, the State, can easily bring all the pressure they desire to bear upon the voter, exercising his wretched rudiment of political power.

On Feb. 10, 1910, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg defended this system in the Landtag with great frankness: "We are opposed to secret voting because, instead of developing the sense of responsibility in the voter, it attenuates it, and, on the other hand, it favors the terrorism which Socialists exercise over the bourgeois voters."

As a matter of fact, a large number of voters prefer to forego their miserable privilege entirely and stay at home. In 1903, 23.6 per cent. only of them voted for the Prussian House of Representatives, while the same year 75 per cent. voted in the elections for the Reichstag, where the secret ballot is used. Of those who failed to vote, much the larger percentage is from the third class, whose members evidently feel the nullity of the privileges they enjoy in this "people's kingdom of the Hohenzollern," as the Kaiser alluringly describes it.

An additional evidence as to the perfection of the "people's kingdom" is this: With the exception of a thoroughly insignificant measure passed in June, 1906, there has been no change in the electoral districts since 1858. No account has been taken of the changes in the population, and there are the same or worse disparities than there are in the case of the Reichstag, as previously stated. It thus happens that 3,000,000 inhabitants of four large Prussian districts return nine representatives, while three other million, divided among forty smaller districts, return sixty-six. Here again the natural result of the change of the population owing to the economic evolution has inordinately increased the influence of the rural districts, prevailingly Conservative.

In 1903 under this system 324,157 Conservative votes elected 143 representatives; but 314,149 Social Democratic votes did not secure the election of a single member.

Princes Have the Veto

Neither in the empire nor in Prussia nor any of the other States that compose the empire does the elected Chamber control the Government. In every case the Prince has the absolute veto. Where there are second Chambers, as in many of the States, they are not elected, but are nominated, and are a bulwark of a privileged class. And in Prussia even the so-called popular House is merely another name for a privileged class. Neither in the nation nor in the States are the Ministers controlled by the popular assemblies. They may vote a lack of confidence as often as they feel like it. The Ministers will go right on as long as the Emperor, King, Grand Duke, or Prince desires. You cannot amend the Constitution in any German State without the consent of the Prince. You cannot amend the Constitution of the empire without the consent of one man, William II. Reichstag committees may discuss and propose amendments to their hearts' content. After they have obtained the consent of the Reichstag a rocky road opens out broadly ahead of them. For they must have the approval of the Bundesrat, which is appointed by the reigning Princes of Germany and is obliged to vote as they direct. No amendment can pass the Bundesrat if 14 votes out of the 61 are cast against it. Of these 61, Prussia has 20. The Prussian votes are cast as the King of Prussia directs. If every individual in Germany except this one, and including the other Kings and Dukes, wanted a change in the Constitution, they couldn't get it if William II. said No! This is the people's kingdom with a vengeance!

The power of the Prussian Crown is virtually absolute — "absolutism under constitutional forms," said Rudolph Gneist, once considered in Germany a great authority on public law, before the modern school of publicists — Laband, George Meyer, Bornhak, Jellinek, Delbrück—became the teachers of Germany, and taught the most reactionary political philosophy that Europe has heard since the time of de Bonald and de Maistre. They have taught that the complete, uncontrolled power of the "Government"

(Regierung) is in the power of the Prince, that the granting of Constitutions did not mean the recognition of popular sovereignty in the slightest degree, that Legislatures are not representations of the people but are mere organs of the State, that Legislatures have no right to bring the State to a standstill, that is, have no right to refuse a budget until their wishes are respected; that, if they do, they are acting not in a constitutional but in a revolutionary sense; that if such a step is taken, then it is the right of the sovereign to recur to the principle that existed before the granting of the Constitution, absolute monarchy, and to do what he regards as wise.

German Legislatures are impotent and ineffective. The effective seat of political power in Germany is, as it has always been, in the monarchs. Germans may have the right to vote, but Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. showed men (and Bismarck among others) that that made no difference, if the vote led nowhere, if the body elected by the voters was carefully and completely nullified by other bodies over which the voters had no control whatever.

The Legislatures of Germany are really only royal councils, consultative assemblies. Bismarck's defiance of the Prussian Chamber and the voters who elected it, in the Conflict Period, from 1862 to 1866, has been decisive for the fate of popular government in Germany.

The All-Powerful King

Prince von Bülow, the ablest Chancellor of the empire since Bismarck, said in 1914: "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a State of soldiers and officials." The governing classes are, in Prussia, which in turn governs Germany, the monarch, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the State is the personality of the King.

Prussia has been the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has encountered. Germany in 1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck. We have expert testimony of the highest and most official sort that the effects of that blow are not outlived. Prince von Bülow, writing in 1914, said:

"Liberalism, in spite of its change of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a century ago on the party of progress which still clings to the ideals and principles of 1848."

Parliaments will not control in Germany, the civil power will not dominate the military, until the present régime, exalted and strengthened by the victories of 1864-70, is debased and disgraced by resounding and disastrous defeats. It is doubtful if there will be any change even then, for the German people are the most docile in Europe, with no taste for revolutions, with no revolutions to their credit, as have England, France, America, Russia, even China. Personal Government has brought the present calamity upon the world, and the possessors of that power will fight to retain it, and will, if necessary, treat the German people with the same ruthlessness as they have treated the other peoples of Europe. Moreover, the solidarity of governed and governors, in atrocious crimes, during the past three years gives little hope to liberals in other countries who desire liberalism in Germany.

Let us not be hoodwinked by Easter messages from William II., or by cloudy and ambiguous utterances of Bethmann Hollweg, as presaging forthcoming liberalization of Germany. Prussian Kings have shown that not only are treaties scraps of paper but that Constitutions are also scraps of paper when their provisions annoy the monarch. And Prussian monarchs have never been squeamish about perjury. The famous Easter "promises" of this year will not be a greater hindrance to imperial and royal volition than previous, celebrated promises to Belgium and to the United States have been.

RUSSIA'S NEW OUTLOOK

Achievements and Problems, Both Civil and Military, in the Fourth Month of the Revolution

THE situation in Russia improved, on the whole, during the fourth month after the abdication of Nicholas II. The marked feature of this advance was the way in which the civil power and the army reacted upon each other, each strengthening and steadying the other. The great offensive, which began on July 1—the anniversary of the battle of the Somme—and which, up to the middle of the month, had netted some 35,000 prisoners, was made possible by the strong hand of Alexander Kerensky at the War Ministry and the iron discipline which he promised to introduce, aided by the power of his fiery eloquence, which swept through Russia like a flame. And, once the offensive was started, the rapid succession of victories gained by the far-sighted military genius of General Brusiloff reacted in a very favorable sense upon the position of the Provisional Government, giving it new strength and prestige. Hindenburg checked the advance on July 17, but success had already consolidated the Russian Army and hardened and condensed the national spirit of the civil population behind the lines.

The instant success of Brusiloff's army, which duplicated the striking achievements of June, 1916, went far to show that the demoralization of the Russian Army had not gone to anything like the point suggested by pessimist cablegrams from Petrograd. It was evident that General Brusiloff to a large degree succeeded in shutting out from the army under his personal command—the Army of the Southwest, which was attacking—the wave of demoralization which turned the heads of the troops at Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg; succeeded also to a great extent in preventing the "fraternization" which is believed to have been a war ruse of the German Intelligence Department. Further, he kept his men vigilant and prepared along the fighting front; for during the three months of inactivity and disorder following the revolution the combined Teuton armies did not gain a foot of ground anywhere along the long Russian line. This was no doubt due in part to a politic holding back inspired by the illusive hope of a separate peace; but at the same time it showed that the Russian lines all the way from the Baltic to the Danube were kept watertight during all the months of political turmoil. Finally, the supply of shells must have been steadily accumulating behind the lines, in spite of all obstructions in traffic arrangements.

Two difficult problems confront the Provisional Government, both due to groups calling themselves Socialists. There have been armed riots on the Nevsky Prospect. The most serious disturbances since the new Government was organized occurred in Petrograd on July 17. The radicals, by continued agitation and inflammatory appeals against the Provisional Government under the leadership of an extremist named Lenin, succeeded in precipitating disorders in the streets, and a number of disaffected soldiers and sailors co-operated with them. There was fighting between mobs and the troops of the Provisional Government, and fully 500 were killed and wounded during the two days. It was openly charged that documentary evidence was discovered which showed that Lenin and other radical leaders were in the pay of pro-Germans.

The avowed purpose of the anarchist demonstrations was to overturn the Provisional Government and seize the reins of power, immediately recalling the Russian Army from the fighting line.

The Government succeeded in restoring order on July 19, and received evidences of renewed support from all parts of the country. A special Congress of Delegates representing all the Councils

REAR ADMIRAL ALBERT GLEAVES

Commander of the Naval Force Which Safely Convoyed the First Part of the United States Army Across the Atlantic.

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE BARNETT

Commander in Chief of the United States Marine Corps, Whose Motto Is "First to Fight."

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

of Russia was summoned to meet July 28 to determine the future Governmental policy.

The second difficulty is also due to "Socialist" tendencies. It appears that two members of the Provisional Government, the Georgian Tseretelli and Terestchenko, Foreign Minister, whose name shows him to be of South Russian origin, were deputed to meet representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Party, which demands autonomy, if not independence, for a region partly in Southwestern Russia, partly in Galicia, called the Ukraine, or Borderland, (from the Russian "krai," a border.) It appears that these two Ministers committed the Provisional Government to certain extreme concessions, which practically suspend the authority of the Provisional Government in this loosely defined territory lying along and immediately behind the fighting line. The insistence that autonomy be granted at once caused the resignation July 15 of five members of the Cabinet, who were Constitutional Democrats.

The so-called "Ukraine" movement, which is very like the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, had a certain development among emigrants to the United States, and there was good reason to believe that it had strong German support. Whether its recrudescence in Russia is directly due to this cause, or simply represents the efforts of Socialist extremists bent on carrying out a theory of decentralization at whatever cost to the State, it is evident that the Ukrainian movement will require very careful handling if it is not to become an open menace.

Finland presents a like problem. The people of the Ukraine are of Slavonic blood, speaking a dialect so close to Russian as to be easily intelligible to all Russians. The Finns, on the contrary, are non-Aryan, remotely allied to the Magyars and the Turks, and also to a wide strip of peoples along Northern Russia and through the whole length of Siberia. On the ground of difference of race they now demand separate treatment, further alleging that the rights of the former Czar, as Grand Duke of Finland, did not pass automatically to the Provisional Government at the revolution, but reverted to the Finnish people.

There is reason to see the hand of Germany in the Finnish imbroglio also. While the bulk of the population is Finnish, the ruling class is Swedish, speaking the Swedish tongue, and, like Sweden itself, strongly sympathizes with Germany in the present war. It has been announced that some kind of a working compromise with the Finnish "nationalists" has been reached, in part through the efforts of the Georgian, Nicholas Tscheidze, conspicuous during the early days of the revolution as President of the Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which made so many difficulties for the Provisional Government during its early existence, especially by demanding that all army orders must be submitted to this committee before coming into force. This danger was measurably removed by the strengthening of discipline in the army, by the formation of committees of the army itself and of its officers, but even more by the strong and successful offensive. C. J.

July 20, 1917.

Premier Lvoff on Russia's Situation

[*Statement made July 7, 1917*]

PRINCE LVOFF, Russian Premier and Minister of the Interior, made a public statement at Petrograd on July 7 for the information of America. He began by declaring his unshaken conviction that, despite grave difficulties to be faced, Russia was marching toward reconstruction and stability, and that the war was developing toward victory Prince Lvoff continued:

> Regarding the war, say that the latest action of our army inspires in me full hope. I am convinced that the new advance, even if temporarily stayed, is not finished, but is a prelude to much

greater successes. The advance thoroughly confutes the pessimists who unanimously predicted that an offensive by our supposed disorganized troops was impossible. From actual intercourse with delegates from the army and with other observers on the spot, I know that the offensive spirit is spreading.

This is no gradual reconstruction of the army, but the first stage of a complete process of recreation, which is almost miraculous, proving, in my judgment, that the troops are infected with a genuine revolutionary and crusading spirit and the consciousness of a mission to save Russia and influence world events in the direction desired by all progressive men.

The good side is the army's supply of munitions and other necessaries, in which we are markedly better off than last year; in fact, guaranteed for the immediate future. The bad side is the transport difficulties, which still are serious. These are an evil heritage from the old régime, and, naturally, it is impossible to restore order in three months crowded with revolutionary activities. Even with stable political conditions the creation of efficient transport is a problem of years. Our great hope of speedy improvement lies with the Stevens Railroad Commission, (the American Commission,) from which we expect much.

American Aid Welcome

With regard to American help generally, I lay down no specific program. It will be simplest to say that all conceivable American aid is wanted in every domain. But the key to the solution of all our military and economic difficulties is transport amelioration, in which it is impossible to do too much.

Send my hearty thanks for the American project, the dispatch of the Red Cross mission, as here we have serious defects and deficiencies. I follow the news on this subject from New York with intense interest, but, having myself ceased to direct Red Cross and sanitary affairs, I can only beg America as far as possible to meet the requests for material and personal help made by our official Red Cross, in the consciousness that the triumph of our common cause will be furthered thereby.

I hope also for further American financial support. I am unable to say what form this will take, presumably a loan, but on this subject our Finance Minister, M. Shingaroff, in his discussion with the financial members of the Root Commission, will no doubt produce a practical program which America can help realize. America should note that we ourselves are ready to bear the heaviest monetary sacrifices and have already passed more drastic measures respecting taxation on property than any of the other belligerent powers and are ready to go much further.

Among our other economic problems the most vital is food. Here again the central question is transport, and if America helps in this we can do the rest ourselves, as the total stock of food is sufficient for both the army and the civilian population.

The Internal Situation

Prince Lvoff proceeded to discuss the internal situation, declaring that this has had a marked influence on Russia's ability to carry on the fight in the war with vigor. He said:

I am glad to see last week's marked signs of amelioration. Tell America that I have daily evidence of the rallying of all the rational elements of the nation round the Coalition Cabinet. The irrational elements, such as the anarchists and Bolsheviki, are in such a minority that there is no reason to fear their getting the upper hand. Not only the bourgeoisie, but an overwhelming majority of the workingmen are against them. Their present excesses are merely a last desperate reaction against their conciousness of this.

On the whole, the nation is satisfied with the Provisional Government, because the Government, though hampered by grave military and diplomatic preoccupations, has already successfully carried through internal reforms which embody the traditional aspirations of Russia's progressives. Do you know that within a few weeks of the Czarists' downfall the Government realized a liberal fivefold program, giving complete liberty of person, speech, press, meeting, and religion, and going therein further than most progressive democracies in Europe or America?

Although these tremendous reforms were pushed through hastily in the absence of legislative machinery, not one of them has been subjected to serious criticisms even by the avowed anti-Government factions. Perhaps America knows of this, but does she know that we have also executed a comprehensive scheme of minor economic, financial, and social reforms, which has been unanimously approved?

I refer you, for instance, to the complete democratization of the country, local self-government in the towns throughout the country, with the universal and equal suffrage for both sexes regardless of qualifications, the special feature of which is the establishment of a smaller unit of local government, in which is abolished the inequality between peasants and the other classes, thus eradicating from the Russian law the ancient and degrading distinction of "the privileged

classes"; the reform of the military courts and of local courts of justice, with the admission of women to the magistracy and legal profession; educational reform, including a new university in the City of Perm; secondary school reconstruction, the reform of the backward parish elementary school, the democratic income property tax, with the proposal for the reform of succession taxation; the organization of peasant home work, which is an important factor in our village economy; the mobilization of the nation's technical knowledge for war purposes; many church reforms, among them the election of the highest prelates by popular vote, and the preparations for an ecumenical church council, aiming at the abolition of State despotism in church affairs.

Through these reforms Russia in 100 days has advanced 100 years.

America as Russia's Ideal

Prince Lvoff went on to declare that diplomatic relations with the Allies were much improved; that, despite three months of stagnation on the part of Russia's Army and the critical attitude of her democracy to the Allies, the program of mutual confidence was unshaken. "Equally satisfactory," said Prince Lvoff, "are our relations with America. Let me here express to America our hearty satisfaction at the visit of the Root Mission." In conclusion he discussed Russo-American and Russian world relations with fervor, declaring that the greatest hope lay in Russia's new approximation to America. He added:

For decades of darkness and oppression America had been our ideal of freedom and intellectual and material development; rather, not our ideal, for we had considered it unattainable, but a remote fairy tale of happiness. Now we have in one jump reached America's condition of freedom. There remains the slower but not impossible task to overtake her in education, material progress, culture, and respect for order.

We are on the right track. The spirit of new Russia is closely akin to the immemorial spirit of free America, and where the spirit is, work follows. That means Russia's salvation. But that is not all. I am convinced that our revolution is no mere domestic affair, but a stage in the new world movement toward liberty, equality, fraternity—perhaps the greatest stage in the world's history. Equally, I consider that the war, like, indeed, preceding wars, is a stage in world evolution. This war's mission is to spread throughout the world all that is vital and abiding in our revolution. That is why as a citizen of the world I desire victory.

I regard the growing friendship between Russia and America as a Providential instrument in this world process. Therefore I consider that all the help, sympathy, and encouragement we get from your people beyond the seas constitute not merely a local, temporary benefit, but a permanent contribution toward the regeneration of the world.

Russian Ambassador's Formal Address

BORIS BAKHMETEFF on July 5 formally presented his credentials to President Wilson as Russian Ambassador. The formal addresses were as follows:

Mr. President, I have the honor of presenting to you the letters by which the Provisional Government of Russia is accrediting me to the Government of the United States of America as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

My Government has directed me to express to you its profound gratitude for the noble act of prompt recognition by your Government of the new order established in Russia and to convey to the Government and to the people of the United States the feelings of sincere sympathy and friendship.

At the present time the historical paths of the United States and Russia have been drawn close in the common struggle for freedom and lasting peace of the world, and in this strife the new-born Russian democracy is being guided by the same unselfish aims, the same human and democratic principles, as this great Republic.

The success of our mutual task makes essential the firm establishing of the democratic régime in Russia, as well as the consolidation of Russia's fighting power. To that end are tending the efforts of the Provisional Government which is awaiting to find a source of new strength in the hearty spirit and brotherly support of the United States. For such attainments the Provisional Government is endeavoring to establish a full understanding and a close co-operation with the Government of this country, whose immense resources and unlimited energy can contribute most effectively to the achievement of our cause. To bring such co-operation into effect and to establish

means of common activity on the most practical lines and with no loss of time, the Provisional Government has considered it necessary to bestow on me exceptional powers to treat and decide, on behalf of my Government, all manifold questions in which such co-operation should have to reveal itself.

To secure unity of action the Provisional Government has concentrated under my supreme guidance the activities of various Russian institutions and representatives in this country, and has provided for amplified efficiency by sending a number of new competent delegates who have accompanied me on my mission.

Confident that the natural sympathy of the two nations will grow now into bonds of solid friendship, I look forward with the greatest hopes to the results of united efforts of the two great democracies, based on mutual understanding and common ends.

The President's Reply

Following is the reply of the President:

Mr. Ambassador, to the keen satisfaction which I derived from the fact that the Government of the United States was the first to welcome, by its official recognition, the new democracy of Russia to the family of free States is added the exceptional pleasure which I experience in now receiving from your hand the letters whereby the Provisional Government of Russia accredits you as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States and in according to you formal recognition as the first Ambassador of free Russia to this country.

For the people of Russia the people of the United States have ever entertained friendly feelings, which have now been greatly deepened by the knowledge that, actuated by the same lofty motives, the two Governments and peoples are co-operating to bring to a successful termination the conflict now raging for human liberty and a universal acknowledgment of those principles of right and justice which should direct all Governments. I feel convinced that when this happy day shall come no small share of the credit will be due to the devoted people of Russia, who, overcoming disloyalty from within and intrigue from without, remain steadfast to the cause.

The mission which it was my pleasure to send to Russia has already assured the Provisional Government that in this momentous struggle and in the problems that confront and will confront the free Government of Russia that Government may count on the steadfast friendship of the Government of the United States and its constant co-operation in all desired appropriate directions.

It only remains for me to give expression to my admiration of the way in which the Provisional Government of Russia are meeting all requirements, to my entire sympathy with them in their noble object to insure to the people of Russia the blessings of freedom and of equal rights and opportunity, and to my faith that through their efforts Russia will assume her rightful place among the great free nations of the world.

Indictment of Czar's Former Officials

LATE in June, 1917, the Provisional Government began to take severe measures against the highest officials of the old régime who are declared to be guilty of breaches of the laws of the empire.

An indictment was handed down against former Prime Minister Stürmer under a law which provides severe punishment for the arbitrary transgression by an official of the limits of his rightful power.

Former Secretary of the Empire, M. Kruizhanovsky, the strongest man in the Government under former Premier Stolypin, was indicted for issuing a decree in June, 1907, by which the election law was violated in defiance of the Constitution of 1906.

M. Chtyheglovitoff, former Minister of Justice, was indicted for unlawfully stopping the prosecution of former Governor Skallon of Warsaw, who was charged with having accepted a bribe of 100,000 rubles.

Former Governor Kourloff was charged with complicity in the murder of Colonel Karpoff, Chief of the Secret Police of Petrograd, who was assassinated in 1909 and whose death caused a great sensation.

General Rennenkampf, one of the army commanders in the early part of the war, and who was defeated by von Hindenburg in East Prussia, was indicted for alleged offenses, conviction of which means imprisonment.

Against M. Protopopoff, former Min-

ister of the Interior, was preferred a new charge—that of stealing from the telegraph archives the original dispatches between the late mystic monk Rasputin and Emperor Nicholas and Empress Alexandra. On conviction Protopopoff would be subject to a jail sentence.

Officials in Their Cells

A correspondent who visited the Fortress of Peter and Paul thus describes the prison cells of the former Ministers of the Czar:

In the bastion are more than eighty cells, some above and some below. I entered one of these cells. A room twenty-one feet long and and about twelve feet broad, rather high, lit by one semicircular window almost at the ceiling. It is impossible to peep out of it, as the iron bed and the table are fixed to the wall. The window is stoutly barred with iron. The air in the cell is damp and stuffy.

The bed consists of wooden planks laid over the iron framework. It has a straw mattress and a single straw pillow. Above is a coarse cloth blanket. The table is painted dark gray. A water tap and basin are fixed to the wall and there are the necessary toilet utensils; nothing more.

The cells below are furnished similarly, but they are much damper and colder. In them one feels the nearness of the waters of the Neva, the plash of which on the stone walls is heard by the captives. Every quarter of an hour the boom of the big cathedral clock bell reverberates through the bastion.

The captives have exactly the same rations as the soldiers, mainly stew, black bread, and soup. They are allowed to purchase no dainties. The same conditions apply to all, to Stürmer and Protopopoff, to the former Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, and his wife, to Fräulein Virubova—companion of the former Czarina and close friend of Rasputin.

Sukhomlinov makes a painful impression on the observer. A thin old man with an unkempt gray beard and narrow little eyes. His troubled glance met ours as we peeped through the hole in the door.

The notorious "hangman" the gendarmeries officer, Sobestchanki, lay on his bed, enveloped in tobacco smoke through which faintly appeared his cruel features.

Stürmer, when I peeped in, was sitting, with bowed shoulders, on the end of his bed, his back to the door.

Fräulein Virubova sat on her bed, now and then crossing herself. Near her lay a crutch. Since her injury in a railroad smash on the Moscow-Windau-Ribinsk road two years ago she has had to get about with crutches.

Protopopoff, like a beast in its den, strode to and fro, to and fro, incessantly from corner to corner of his cell. He paid no attention to the sound of men moving in the corridor. He did not even glance at the hole in the door.

New Financial Measures

The Provisional Government issued a law June 29 increasing the existing progressive income tax to 30 per cent. on incomes over $200,000. Another new law increases the war tax on increment of industrial profits to 60 per cent. A third law establishes a supplementary progressive income tax, rising on the largest incomes to more than 30 per cent., and making, together with the highest ordinary income tax, 60 per cent. of the income.

The new Russian loan received subscriptions amounting to $1,500,000,000, bringing the total debt to $20,500,000,000.

A dispatch dated July 12 from Petrograd stated that the deposed Emperor Nicholas had appealed to the Provisional Government to allow him and the members of his family to acquire stock in the "Loan of Freedom." He announced that the amount of their investment in the loan depended upon whether the Russian State intended to support his family. He added that of his own property he possessed now only 900,000 rubles, his wife 1,000,000 rubles, his heir, Alexis, 1,500,000; his daughter Olga 3,000,000, and his other daughters between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 rubles. The nominal value of the ruble is 51.46 cents.

The Grimm Episode

The German conspiracy for a separate peace received a severe setback when the General Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia, by a vote of 640 to 121, approved the attitude of the Government in expelling from Russia Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist pacifist, who had received the following communication, when in Petrograd, from M. Hoffmann, member of the Swiss Federal Council:

Germany will not undertake an offensive so long as she considers it possible to arrive at an understanding with Russia. Numerous conversations with prominent politicians lead me to believe that Germany is seeking to conclude with Russia a mutually honorable peace, and a peace

which would result in the re-establishment of close economic and commercial relations with Russia; the financial support of Germany to Russia for her restoration; no intervention in the internal affairs of Russia; a friendly understanding with regard to Poland, Lithuania, and Courland; and the restoration to Russia of her occupied territories, in return for the districts of Austria invaded by Russia. I am convinced that if the allies of Russia desired it, Germany and her allies would be ready immediately to open peace negotiations.

On hearing of this document the Russian Government requested the Socialist Ministers MM. Tseretelli and Skobeleff to demand an explanation from M. Grimm, who handed to these Ministers a document in which he sought to prove that he had had no communication, either direct or indirect, on the subject of peace negotiations, and that the telegram mentioned above was an endeavor on the part of Germany to profit by his stay in Russia to re-establish the bonds of international Socialists and a general peace in the interests of the German Government; and, furthermore, that when in Berne having his passport viséd, he avoided all political conversations and all contact with the German Majority Socialists; and that finally, in his capacity of a Socialist, he could not be the intermediary for imperialistic peace projects between Governments.

MM. Tseretelli and Skobeleff found these explanations unsatisfactory, and the Provisional Government therefore requested M. Grimm to leave Russia, and he left. The episode caused the resignation of M. Hoffmann from the Swiss Council.

Regiment of Russian Women

One of the most picturesque episodes of the return of Russia into the war was the formation of a woman's regiment known as "The Command of Death," which was reviewed at Petrograd June 21 by Minister of War Kerensky.

The Associated Press correspondent who visited the barracks found posted at the gate a little blue-eyed sentry in a soldier's khaki blouse, short breeches, green forage cap, ordinary woman's black stockings, and neat shoes. The sentry was Marya Skrydloff, daughter of Admiral Skrydloff, former commander of the Baltic Fleet and Minister of Marine. Inside there were four large dormitories, the beds without bedding and strewn with soldiers' heavy overcoats. In the courtyard 300 girls were at drill, mostly between 18 and 25 years old, of good physique, and many of them pretty. They wore their hair short or had their heads entirely shaved. They were drilling under the instruction of a male Sergeant of the Volynsky regiment, and marched to an exaggerated goosestep.

Commander Lieut. Buitchkareff explained that most of the recruits were from the higher educational academies or secondary schools, with a few peasants, factory girls, and servants. Some married women were accepted, but none who had children. The girl commander said:

> We apply the rigid system of discipline of the pre-revolutionary army, rejecting the new principle of soldier self-government. Having no time to inure the girls gradually to hardships, we impose a Spartan régime from the first. They sleep on boards without bedclothes, thus immediately eliminating the weak. The smallest breach of discipline is punished by expulsion in disgrace.
>
> The ordinary soldier's food is furnished by the guards' equipage corps. We rise at 4 and drill daily from 7 to 11, and again from 1 to 6. The girls carry the cavalry carbine, which is five pounds lighter than the regular army rifle. On our first parade I requested any girl whose motives were frivolous to step out. Only one did so, but later many who were unable to stand the privations left us.
>
> We are fully official, and are already entered on the list of regiments. Uniforms and supplies are received from the Ministry of War, to which we render account and present reports. Yesterday the commander of the Petrograd military district reviewed us, and expressed his satisfaction. I am convinced that we will excel the male fighters.

Asked as to the attitude of the male army, Commander Buitchkareff said that only the Volynsky regiment, which led the Petrograd revolution, was really favorable. The regimental clerk is Mme. Barbara Rukovishikoff, editor of the weekly Woman and Economy and author of some admirable short stories.

Duma Refuses to Be Abolished

The Pan-Russian Congress of Soldiers' Deputies on June 23 passed a resolution to abolish the Duma, but this was ignored

by the Duma, which passed a resolution on June 29 as follows:

The Duma, having powerfully contributed to the abdication of Nicholas, and the formation of the provisional revolutionary government, which the entire country immediately recognized, thus showing its confidence in the Duma, and, having in this manner acted as a revolutionary institution independently of its position during the old régime, is of the opinion that it cannot cease to exist as an organ of national representation, and will adhere to its patriotic duty of raising its voice, if necessary, to preserve the fatherland from the dangers which threaten it, and guide it in the right path.

Courts-martial have been abolished by the Provisional Government. It is provided, when offenders are caught in circumstances of particular gravity the case will be submitted under forms of urgent procedure to a permanent military court.

Root Commission in Russia

THE first formal address to the Russian Government in behalf of the American Mission was made by Elihu Root, the Chairman, at Petrograd, June 15, (printed in July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) The mission immediately plunged into active work, the various members taking up separately the various features, and dividing their functions. On June 22 the entire body proceeded to Moscow, where, at the palace of the Governor General, they met representatives of the Zemstvo and Municipal Unions, the Zemstvo Industrial Committee, and the local Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Root's Address at Moscow

The meeting was in the nature of a test case to determine whether the commission was to have the real sympathy of the Socialist element in the country. It is said here that no foreigner ever before succeeded in enlisting the attention and interest of this association of committees representing the working masses of Moscow. But as Mr. Root began to speak, antagonism and indifference yielded to rapt attention, and he was warmly applauded at the conclusion. In the course of his address Mr. Root said:

We have seen nothing since we came to Russia that gives cause for criticism. We marvel at the self-control, the kindliness of spirit, and the sound common sense that the Russians display. We feel that the work you are doing in the committees is on the right path toward an actual permanent democracy.

The Government of Germany, the German social system, even German socialism, are all militaristic in their essential nature. They shall not gain control of free America, and if we can help you to prevent their gaining control of free Russia we shall be happy in feeling that we have assisted in the perpetuation of the ideals of our fathers who fought and sacrificed to make us free.

The representatives of the various groups replied, formally welcoming Mr. Root and the other members of the commission. At the second meeting, before the City Duma, Mr. Root said:

We have heard reports about dangers threatening your new liberty, but we hope you will find a way of expanding your experience in local self-government into power which will govern the whole nation. We have the marvelous spectacle of a people remaining peaceful and preserving the rights of others without the enforcement of law—a people waiting only for the establishment of a strong Government, which will lay down the proper basis for law and order. You have made sacrifices in the past; we know that you will still make sacrifices to preserve your freedom, won at such a high cost. Now comes the test. You must make sacrifices. You must struggle until your liberty is secure. We have faith that Russia will do this.

The Mayor in reply said: "Russia welcomes America's assistance in her present period of infirmity and economic exhaustion." He concluded with a eulogy of President Wilson, saying: "The aims of the war, the definition of the problems standing before humanity have been given by your great pacifist, President Wilson, who, in preserving the ideal of peace, has realized the vital importance of the struggle. His way of speaking appeals to us."

On motion of the Mayor the meeting unanimously decided to send a telegram to President Wilson, thanking him for sending the Root Commission to Russia. The experiences at Moscow gave much

encouragement to the mission, and Mr. Root announced that he felt that the situation was rapidly clearing.

Admiral Glennon's Service

An interesting episode occurred at Sebastopol when the American Admiral, James H. Glennon of the mission, succeeded in tranquilizing sailors of the Black Sea fleet who had mutinied and dismissed all their officers. He arrived soon after the sailors had sent away Admiral Koltchak. At the request of the sailors, Admiral Glennon addressed them, urging a continuance of the war without cessation.

He was heartily applauded. He also addressed a general meeting of representatives of all the councils of soldiers, sailors, and workmen of Sebastopol, where his advocacy of renewed energy in pushing the war was well received. After hearing the Admiral, the meeting voted, 60 to 3, to restore all the Black Sea fleet officers, with the exception of Admiral Koltchak and his staff, who were distrusted by the sailors. The meeting also voted to support the Provisional Government. Conditions with the fleet since then have been tranquil.

Work of Mr. Russell

Charles Edward Russell, Socialist and a member of the American Commission, outlined the aims of the United States and the reasons which brought the country into the war before a full Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 25. Mr. Russell was warned in advance that he might expect an unfriendly demonstration on the part of the extremists among his auditors, but for the most part his hearers were sympathetic, and often interrupted him with applause.

The declaration of Mr. Russell that the United States was fighting only because the democracies of the world were in danger, and that after democracy was safe the people would turn to social reform, was cheered to the echo.

M. Tcheidze, President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in replying to the speech of Mr. Russell, said the democracy of Russia was built upon the same foundation as that of the United States, and that Russia would carry on the war until mutual aims were achieved. The American Mission announced on July 10 that its purpose had been accomplished in a month's visit. Chairman Root sent this statement:

> The mission has accomplished what it came here to do, and we are greatly encouraged. We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. Democracies are always in trouble, and we have seen days just as dark in the progress of our own.
>
> We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. The first stage is necessarily one of debate. The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. Natural love of law and order and capacity for local self-government have been demonstrated every day since the revolution. The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both.

Stevens Railway Commission

John F. Stevens, as head of the American Railroad Commission in Russia, has officially reported recommending certain reforms and asking that Russia be given a credit of $375,000,000 in this country for new locomotives, cars, and other equipment.

The construction of workshops at Vladivostok for the putting together of locomotives imported from the United States is deemed necessary by the commission. In all repair shops work must continue uninterruptedly twenty-four hours a day, thus enabling a reduction in the percentage of locomotives out of use. It also will be necessary to take rational measures for the acceleration and regulation of exchange of cars between the different roads and for the speeding up of the system of loading.

The creation of a special State Department, the chief of which will be an Inspector General responsible for seeing that the whole network of roads is supplied with all necessary material both for traffic and repairs, and also for the responsible distribution of such material between the different roads, is recommended by the commission. This official must have the right to demand the necessary material, and he himself must take measures to insure its delivery.

Russian Church Reforms

By Charles R. Crane

Member of United States Commission to Russia

[Cable to The Chicago Herald, June 27, 1917, from Petrograd]

IN the revolution that is taking place, the Russian Church is making more rapid progress toward adjusting itself to the new conditions than the State. It has practically been separated from the State and is now managing its own affairs. More changes were made in the Russian Church during the month of May than had been made in two centuries before.

The process has been one of democratization. Every priest has had to have his position confirmed by a vote from the people of his parish. Twelve Bishops have been dismissed, including the Bishop of Petrograd, and new Bishops have been installed only after election by congregations. The physical property of the churches has been transferred from the State and is to be administered by the congregations, the clergy and Bishops occupying themselves solely with theological affairs.

During the last weeks two very significant sobors, or assemblies of the Church, have been taking place at Moscow. One of them was that of Old Believers, who include some 15,000,000 people and who never were reconciled to the reforms of Nicon, representing the oldest and most uncompromising division of the Russian people. The other sobor was that of the Orthodox Church, the former State Church, and was the first one to meet in some 250 years.

They were the most representative gatherings it was possible to have in Russia, and the delegates came from every corner of the empire, two priests and two laymen being elected to represent every 100 churches, the whole body numbering 1,268 delegates. As the political organization is entirely shattered, the Church represents at present the only unifying fundamental idea.

The two most effective members of this latter sobor were the former Archbishop of the United States, Platon, and Pastor Alexanderoff of a San Francisco church. In various questions that arise in the sobor the appeal was always made to these two authorities, as to the way these problems were solved in America, and their answer was usually enough to determine the action of the sobor.

John R. Mott, the leader in Young Men's Christian Association work, was invited to address the sobor, and every member was present. His speech was interpreted, sentence by sentence, by Father Alexanderoff, who was in entire sympathy with Mr. Mott and who himself was a member of Mr. Mott's organization in San Francisco. It was a moving address and was received with great emotion.

Mr. Mott divided his address into three parts. The first was expression of gratitude for the many acts of friendship Russia had shown for America in the course of the last hundred years, with special emphasis on its enormous sacrifices during the present war, which the American people now recognize, he said, as having been made quite as much for them as for Russia. He also expressed his gratitude for the contributions the Russian Church had made to a common Christianity.

The second part of his address was the expression of solicitude lest in the great upheaval now going on the Church might lose its central position and that, although, if carefully arranged, the process of democratization ought only to strengthen the Church, the members must be very careful to guard historical Christianity, the creed, mystical Christianity, and vital Christianity.

The third part of the address was a message of hope and reassurance, and went over in detail America's plans for

aid to Russia and the other Entente Allies in the war, closing with a stirring appeal to Russia to do its best on every front.

The reception of Mr. Mott's address was very sympathetic, and unanimous, and at its end the whole body rose, and for half an hour sang the most moving of their old church hymns. This was followed by fine responses from the Chairman of the meeting, Prince Lvoff, the head of the Synod; Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, one of the first citizens of Russia, and Bishop Andre, the greatest spiritual force in the Russian Church today.

Immediately after the meeting Prince Lvoff, who is charged with the chief responsibility for all these things, asked Mr. Mott to spend the afternoon with the leaders and go over in detail all the various reforms. He was also invited to engage in a meeting of the professors who were revising the courses of the theological academies and also to address the synod in formal session.

All Anti-Jewish Laws Repealed

THE Russian Provisional Government issued a decree repealing absolutely all laws restricting the civil, political, and religious rights of the Jews. The text of the decree, as published in The New York Jewish Chronicle, July 13, 1917, is as follows:

All existing legal restrictions upon the rights of Russian citizens, in connection with this or that faith, religious teaching or nationality, are revoked. In accordance with this:

1. Repealed are all laws existing for Russia as a whole, as well as those of separate localities, embodying limitations concerning:

1. Selection of place of residence and change of residence or movement.

2. Acquiring rights of ownership and other material rights in all kinds of movable and immovable property, and likewise in the possession of, the use and the managing of all property, or receiving such for security.

3. Engaging in all kinds of trades, commerce and industry, not excepting mining; also equal participation in the bidding for Government contracts, deliveries and in public auctions.

4. Participation in joint stock and other commercial or industrial companies and partnerships, and also employment in these companies and partnerships in all kinds of positions, either by elections or by hiring.

5. Employment of servants, salesmen, foremen, laborers, and trade apprentices.

6. Entering the Government service, civil as well as military, and the grade or condition of such service; participation in the elections for the institutions of local self-Government, and all kinds of public institutions; serving in all kinds of positions of Government and public establishments, as well as the prosecution of the duties connected with such positions.

7. Admission to all kinds of institutions of learning, whether private, Government or public, and the pursuing of the courses of instructions of these institutions, and receiving scholarships. Also the pursuance of teaching and the other educational professions.

8. Performing the duties of guardians, trustees, or jurors.

9. The use of languages and dialects, other than Russian, in the proceedings of private societies, or in teaching in all kinds of private educational institutions, and in commercial bookkeeping.

Paragraphs II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. proceed to enumerate and cite section by section, paragraph by paragraph, each and every law that was in existence coming within the broad terms of the repeal enumerated. The enormous number of the citations and the minuteness of their character testify in themselves to the thoroughness in which the Jewish restrictions were carefully searched out, so as to leave not the slightest question as to the exact laws which were abolished. They also serve to bear out quite convincingly the statement which Baron Gunzburg made, that prominent Jewish lawyers were called into consultation by the Ministry of Justice in the searching for these laws and the drafting of the repealing laws.

Early in July Jewish Chaplains were sent to the front.

First American Army in France

A Memorable Welcome

THE first contingents of the first United States Army to fight in Europe arrived at a port in France on June 26 and 27, 1917. The President's order had been issued on May 18 and the transports had departed from various Atlantic seaports in less than four weeks. Never before, it was stated, had a military expedition of such size been assembled, transported, and landed without mishap in so short a time. The only rival in magnitude was the movement of British troops to South Africa in the Boer war, and that was made without danger from submarines, mines, or other obstacles.

Although the first contingents reached their destination in safety, it was not without some thrilling moments during which disaster was an imminent possibility. Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, who commanded the convoy squadron, reported to the Navy Department that German submarines twice attacked the transports, but were each time beaten off.

The first attack took place in the night of June 22, and was over before any one except the crews of the warships and the officers on the bridges of the transports were aware of the peril. The first sign of the presence of German submarines was a streak of shining foam noticed by a look-out man high above on one of the big ships. Almost at the moment that the alarm was given a gleaming line of bubbles, scarce twenty feet from the bow of one of the transports, announced the torpedo with its fatal burden of explosive. Then, in the words of an eye-witness:

> Hell broke loose. Our (the big ship's) helm was jammed over. Firing every gun available, we swung in a wide circle out of line to the left. A smaller ship slipped into our place, and from what the lookout told me I think one of her shells must have landed almost right above the submarine. But they are almost impossible to hit when submerged, and the periscope is no target, anyway.
>
> They fired three, if not four, torpedoes. It was God's mercy that they all went astray among so many of our ships. One passed just astern. As you see, our helm jamming was absolutely Providential.
>
> Naturally the old —— acted quite differently from what the Boches expected; otherwise they might have got us. It was simply extraordinary. We drove right at them, (really, I suppose, the safest thing to do, as the bow gives the smallest mark to shoot at,) and it seems to have rattled Brother Boche considerably. After all, we draw enough water to smash a submarine at a level of the periscope awash, and no doubt he did not care to wait for us. Or perhaps a lucky shot disposed of him. We can't be certain either way. Anyhow, he disappeared, and we saw no more of him.
>
> The whole business lasted only about a minute and a half. But, believe me, it added more than that to my life. While the thing was happening I had no time for anything but to attend to my job. Afterward I found myself sweating and my breast heaving as if I had run five miles. The other boys told me the same thing, but we got a compliment on the rapidity with which the guns were served, so I guess it didn't interfere any with our action.

The second attack occurred the next morning. No periscope was visible this time, but the unmistakable bubble line, clean across the bows, put the certainty of danger beyond question. The submarine was in front instead of in the deadliest position on the flank toward the rear. Like a striking rattlesnake, one of the American destroyers darted between a couple of the transports. As it flashed at nearly forty miles an hour across the spot where the submarine was supposed to be hidden the commander of the destroyer gave orders. A column of smoke and foam rose a hundred feet in the air, and in the waterspout that followed it the soldiers on the nearest transport, (she had swung in a headlong curve to the left,) distinguished clearly pieces of wood and steel and some dark blue fragments that a moment before had been living men. Any uncertainty was impossible. Transport after transport passed through floating oil, patched with wreck-

age. This submarine, at least, had timed its hour too well.

Soldiers Welcomed in France

The arrival in France of the first United States troops, which were under the command of Major General William L. Sibert, was the occasion of a magnificent welcome by the French people. The transports, whose arrival had not been previously announced, steamed into the harbor of the seaport [the name was suppressed by the censor] at an early hour on the morning of June 26. The news that the Americans were arriving spread with amazing rapidity, and by the time the troopships drew alongside the quays where the men were to debark thousands of persons were on hand to greet them. A wild welcome was shrieked by whistles of craft in the harbor, and cries of "Vive la France!" and "Vivent les Etats Unis!" seemed to come from every throat in the crowd, which was thickly dotted with the varicolored uniforms of French soldiers and sailors. Meanwhile the bands on the warships were playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise" as the American colors were hoisted to their staffs. The town soon took on a holiday appearance, and, before the day was over, scores of American flags were flying along with the Tricolor of France over public buildings and private homes.

The American soldiers were spontaneously dubbed "Sammies" by the excited French crowds, to distinguish them from the British "Tommies."

Delegations of American Army officers from Paris and American naval men from elsewhere were present, with French military men of high rank, and a similar representation from the French Navy to receive the new fighting forces of the Allies, who were soon after transferred to a camp not far distant from the port where they arrived. General Sibert took up his quarters at the camp as commander of the first United States force sent abroad, under General Pershing as Commander in Chief.

The last units of the expedition, comprising vessels loaded with supplies and horses, reached port on July 2. Their coming, one week after the first troops landed, was greeted almost as warmly as the arrival of the troops themselves, because it meant complete success of the undertaking.

Probably the happiest man in port was Rear Admiral Gleaves. From the bridge of his flagship he watched the successful conclusion of his plans and with characteristic modesty insisted upon bestowing the lion's share of credit for the crossing on the navigation officers of his command. All units of the contingent had to keep a daily rendezvous with accompanying warships. Thanks to his navigation officers and despite overcast skies which made astronomical observations impossible, each rendezvous, the Admiral said, had been minutely and accurately kept by each unit. This exactness on the part of the navigation officers was responsible in no small degree for the brilliant success of the entire undertaking.

Two Statements by Pershing

General Pershing, accompanied by General Pelletier, representing French General Headquarters, visited the camp on June 28, and after inspecting the troops made the following statement:

> This is the happiest of the busy days which I have spent in France preparing for the arrival of the first contingent. Today I have seen our troops safe on French soil, landing from transports that were guarded in their passage overseas by the resourceful vigilance of our navy.
>
> Now our task as soldiers lies before us. We hope, with the aid of the French leaders and experts who have placed all the results of their experience at our disposal, to make our force worthy in skill and in the determination to fight side by side in arms with the French Army.

On returning to his headquarters in Paris on June 30, General Pershing made a further statement:

> The landing of the first American troops has been a complete success. In this remarkable transfer of a large force across the ocean (one of the largest operations we have ever undertaken) not a man or an animal was lost or injured, and there was not a single case of serious sickness—nothing but a few unimportant cases of mumps. The men landed in splendid morale, with keen, confident, and eager spirit.
>
> The physical appearance of our men is truly inspiring. They are all fine, husky young fellows, with the glow of energy,

good health, and physical vigor which will make them a credit alongside any troops.

They are exceptionally well camped and cared for, with substantial wooden barracks, good beds, good food, and the best sanitary arrangements. They are located on high ground. For all of this we are deeply indebted to French co-operation with members of my staff.

How Order was Maintained

The question of maintaining order in the town where the camp was situated was settled by the French authorities transferring to the United States military police the necessary authority for maintaining discipline in the town, which now became overwhelmingly American in appearance and public life. In order to assist the Americans to keep order, however, the authorities issued new and stringent regulations forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors to any men in uniform, regulating the hours the men might be admitted to or served in cafés and restaurants, and specifying that disputes and disorders should be referred to and decided by the Americans.

The necessity of good behavior was set forth by General Pershing in the following general order:

For the first time in history an American Army finds itself in European territory. The good name of the United States of America and the maintenance of cordial relations require the perfect deportment of each member of this command.

It is of the gravest importance that the soldiers of the American Army shall at all times treat the French people, and especially the women, with the greatest courtesy and consideration. The valiant deeds of the French armies and the Allies, by which they together have successfully maintained the common cause for three years, and the sacrifices of the civil population of France in support of their armies, command our profound respect. This can best be expressed on the part of our forces by uniform courtesies to all the French people and by the faithful observance of their laws and customs.

The intense cultivation of the soil in France, under conditions caused by the war, makes it necessary that extreme care be taken to do no damage to private property. The entire French manhood capable of bearing arms is in the field fighting the enemy, and it should, therefore, be a point of honor to each member of the American Army to avoid doing the least damage to any property in France. Such conduct is much more reprehensible here. Honor them as those of our own country.

Fourth of July in France

General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front, on July 3 issued the following general order:

Tomorrow, the Independence Day celebration of the United States, the first American troops which have debarked in France will defile in Paris. Later they will join us on the front. Let us salute these new companions in arms who without thought of gain or of conquest, but with the simple desire of defending the cause of right and liberty, have come to take their places in the ranks beside us.

Others are preparing to follow them. They will soon be on our soil. The United States mean to put at our disposition, without reckoning, their soldiers, their factories, their vessels, and their entire country. They want to pay a hundredfold the debt of gratitude which they owe to Lafayette and his companions.

From all the points of the front a single shout on this July 4 will be heard: "Honor to the great sister. Long live the United States!"

The Fourth of July was enthusiastically celebrated throughout France. In Paris the chief feature of interest was the presence of a battalion of United States troops which was about to leave for training behind the battle front. Everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flying from public buildings, hotels, and residences, and from automobiles, cabs, and carts; horses' bridles and the lapels of pedestrians carried them. The crowds began to gather early at vantage points. The Rue de Varenne was choked long before 8 o'clock in the morning, when the Republican Guard Band executed a field reveille under General Pershing's windows, and all routes toward the Invalides were thronged even before Pershing's men turned out.

In the chapel before the Tomb of Napoleon General Pershing received American flags and banners from the hands of President Poincaré. The enthusiasm of the vast crowd reached its highest pitch when General Pershing, escorted by President Poincaré, Marshal Joffre, and other high French dignitaries passed along reviewing the lines of the Americans drawn up in square formations. Cheering broke out anew when the Amer-

ican band struck up the "Marseillaise," and again when the French band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and Pershing received the flags from the President. "Vivent les Américains! Vive Pershing! Vivent les Etats Unis!" shouted over and over by the crowd, greeted the American standard bearers.

Crowds in Tuileries Gardens

More people were massed in the Tuileries Gardens than on the Esplanade des Invalides. Few of them could get a glimpse of the parade, but all joined in a tremendous outburst of cheering when music from the Republican Guard Band announced the approach of the troops, and the cheering did not diminish in volume until the last man in the line had disappeared from view of the gardens down the Rue de Rivoli.

With this great demonstration the ceremonies of welcome came to an end and the serious business of warfare was taken in hand. On July 6 it was announced that the training bases for the American troops in France had been established and were ready for occupancy. They included aviation, artillery, infantry, and medical bases. The section of the battle front eventually to be occupied by the Americans was decided upon by the military authorities and approved by Major Gen. Pershing, who had thoroughly covered the ground. The location of this section was a military secret, and no actual time was fixed for American participation on the fighting front. The batttalion of United States soldiers that took part in the Independence Day celebration in Paris immediately began training at its permanent camp, over which General Sibert was placed in command.

Bastile Day Messages

Messages of mutual good-will were exchanged by President Wilson and President Poincaré on the French national holiday, July 14. President Wilson cabled:

> On this anniversary of the birth of democracy in France, I offer on behalf of my countrymen, and on my own behalf, fraternal greeting as befits the strong ties that unite our peoples who today stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of liberty, in testimony of the steadfast purpose of our two countries to achieve victory for the sublime cause of the rights of the people against oppression.
>
> The lesson of the Bastile is not lost to the world of free peoples. May the day be near when on the ruins of the dark stronghold of unbridled power and conscienceless autocracy a nobler structure, upbuilt like our great Republic on the eternal foundations of peace and right, shall arise to gladden an enfranchised world.

President Poincaré replied:

> The French people who for three years have made so many heroic sacrifices in the defense of right and liberty shall receive in grateful emotion the brotherly message which you, Mr. President, were pleased to send me for them.
>
> We shall be proud to carry on to victory, elbow to elbow with the great and generous American Nation, the war which was let loose on the world by the imperialism of our foes, in spite of the strenuous efforts which the French Republic always exerted to avert so awful a cataclysm. I, like you, have no doubt that the defeat of autocracy and German militarism will at last open a future of industrious peace and prosperity to liberate mankind.

Creating the New American Armies

THE month's progress in building up the new armies of the United States has been rather in the nature of laying solid foundations for the future than in actual results. Recruiting to bring the regular army up to its full strength of 293,000 continues slow, despite the special effort of the President to obtain 70,000 recruits in the period between June 23 and June 30, which he designated as Recruiting Week. The call was for unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 years. At the end of the week over 50,000 men were still needed. On July 16 the deficiency had been reduced to just under 37,000 men. Three-fourths of the States had not yet filled their quotas.

Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that, when the United States entered the war, the strength of the regular army

was only 100,000, and in about three months this has been increased to nearly 250,000 by purely voluntary methods and in competition with the recruiters of the National Guard, the navy, and the marines. Thus, by the middle of July, 1917, nearly half a million men had volunteered for service in one or other of the different branches of the army and navy, while men had been obtained for various special units, and many candidates for officers' commissions were in training.

Mobilizing the National Guard

An important step to increase the strength of the army was the calling into Federal service of the National Guard regiments not already in service. This was done in three increments, one third being mobilized on July 15 and the other two thirds being warned to be ready on July 25 and Aug. 5. It was stated that after preliminary training the National Guard would soon be sent to France and that some regiments would leave the United States as early as November. At the date of mobilization the National Guard had reached a strength of about 300,000 men, and, as the war strength had been fixed at 400,000, recruiting continued. It was the intention of the War Department that if the full quota were not secured before the draft began, the vacancies in the National Guard, as in the regular army, would be filled by conscripted men. The only members of the National Guard who were not called up were officers holding general rank, as some of these appointments had been made on political grounds.

In addition to the sixteen cantonments which were begun for the new National Army, sixteen other camps were chosen for the training of the National Guard. The sites for practically all these camps were chosen in Southern States because, as Major Gen. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the Army, explained, the climate was milder in the Winter and rain less frequent. The accommodation was planned for about 35,000 men and 10,000 horses and mules in each camp.

Army Training Camps

The following are the locations of cantonments for the training of the nation's new armies:

NATIONAL ARMY

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
1	Northeastern	Ayer, Mass.
2	Eastern	Yapahank, Long Island
3	do	Wrightstown, N. J.
4	do	Annapolis Junction, Md.
5	do	Petersburg, Va.
6	Southeastern	Columbia, S. C.
7	do	Atlanta, Ga.
8	Central	Chillicothe, Ohio.
9	do	Louisville, Ky.
10	do	Battle Creek, Mich.
11	do	Rockford, Ill.
12	Southeastern	Little Rock, Ark.
13	Central	Des Moines, Iowa.
14	do	Fort Riley, Kan.
15	Southern	Fort Sam Houston, Tex.
16	Western	American Lake, Wash.

NATIONAL GUARD

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
5	Southeastern	Greenville, S. C.
6	do	Spartanburg, S. C.
7	do	Augusta, Ga.
8	do	Macon, Ga.
9	do	Montgomery, Ala.
10	do	Anniston, Ala.
11	Southern	Fort Worth, Tex.
12	do	Fort Sill, Okla.
13	do	Deming, N. M.
14	do	Waco, Tex.
15	do	Houston, Tex.
16	Southeastern	Charlotte, N. C.
17	do	Hattiesburg, Miss.
18	do	Alexandria, La.
19	Western	Linda Vista, Cal.
20	do	Palo Alto, Cal.

Navy Training Camps

Sites for naval training camps were selected as follows:

Philadelphia, for 5,000 men.
Newport, R. I., for 6,000 men.
Cape May, N. J., for 2,000 men.
Charleston, S. C., for 5,000 men.
Pensacola, Fla., for 1,000 additional men.
Key West, Fla., for 500 men.
Mare Island, Cal., for 5,000 men.
Puget Sound, Wash, for 5,000 men.
Hingham, Mass., for 500 men.
New Orleans, La., for 500 men.
San Diego, Cal., for 2,500 men.
Great Lakes Training Station, Chicago, accommodations for 15,000 additional recruits.
Port Royal, S. C., 5,000 men of the Marine Corps; also a Marine Corps Camp at Quantico, Va., for 8,000 men.
Hampton Roads naval operating base, 10,000 men.
Mississippi Exposition Grounds, Gulfport, Miss., 3,500 men.
New York, a camp for 3,000 regulars adjoining the navy yard; Pelham, N. Y., 5,000 reserves.
A camp will also be located at Boston.

An indication of the merging of the National Guard with the other military forces of the United States was furnished by the War Department statement that regiments were henceforth to be num-

bered without reference to the fact that a particular regiment belonged to the Regular Army, National Guard, or National Army. The numbers of the National Army regiments begin where those of the National Guard regiments end, but locality is indicated in parentheses.

Rapid Training of Officers

The training of officers has been more rapidly conducted than that of the men, because without qualified leaders the new armies cannot be organized. The President has signed the commissions of several hundred new officers of the Army Reserve Corps, and, according to an announcement from General Pershing's headquarters in Paris, these officers are to see service in France much earlier than was anticipated. In this way the demand for regular officers to train the men in France is being met. Every trainee in the Officers' Training Corps is assured of a commission if he can qualify. The officers' training camps are at Fort Myer, Virginia, (two camps,) Fort McPherson, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Benjamin, Indiana, (three camps,) Fort Logan H. Roots, Arkansas, (two camps,) Leon Springs, Texas, (two camps,) Fort Riley, Kansas, (two camps,) and Presidio, San Francisco, (one camp.)

Selecting the Conscript Army

SETTING up exemption boards and arranging for the drawing of lots to decide who shall serve in the first conscript army have been the principal developments in the operation of the selective draft law during the month.

The total registration was 9,659,382, or 95.9 per cent. of the preliminary estimate. The apparent shortage, about 413,000, is considerably less than the number of men 21 to 30 years of age, inclusive, who are estimated by the War Department to have been in the various branches of the military and naval services of the United States on June 5, and for that reason exempt from the requirement of registration. This number is 600,000. On the face of these figures, therefore, it appears that the number of men between the ages of 21 and 31 in the United States is slightly in excess of the number estimated by the Census Bureau on May 12—10,079,000.

Of the 9,659,382 registrants reported, 7,347,794 are white; 953,899 are colored; 1,239,865 are unnaturalized foreigners from countries other than Germany; 111,823 are unnaturalized Germans, including "declarants"; that is, persons having declared their intention to become citizens but not having received their final naturalization papers; and 6,001 are Indians.

There is nothing in the returns to indicate that there has been any general attempt at evasion of registration by any important element of the population.

The following table shows, by States, the total registration, the number of unnaturalized Germans, including those who have declared their intention to become citizens, and the percentage which the total represents of the census estimate:

	Total Registration.	Per Cent. of Estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
United States...	9,659,382	95.9	111,823
Alabama	179,828	85.7	89
Arizona	36,932	106.4	193
Arkansas	147,522	94.2	98
California	297,532	82.2	3,948
Colorado	83,038	75.8	372
Connecticut	159,761	129.3	1,126
Delaware	21,864	108.8	92
District of Columbia	32,327	87.1	79
Florida	84,033	88.9	208
Georgia	231,418	90.6	120
Idaho	41,150	79.4	181
Illinois	672,498	105.2	6,051
Indiana	235,145	100.6	1,149
owa	216,594	108.8	1,862
Kansas	150,029	85.3	736
Kentucky	187,573	92.8	.....
Louisiana	157,827	92.3	216
Maine	60,176	95.5	120
Maryland	120,458	99.1	912
Massachusetts	359,323	101.1	1,508
Michigan	372,872	129.4	3,021
Minnesota	221,715	90.6	1,971
Mississippi	139,525	79.7	45
Missouri	299,625	94.9	1,008
Montana	88,273	120.4	687
Nebraska	118,123	91.3	1,156
Nevada	11,821	71.6	87

COLONEL CHARLES A. DOYEN

Commander of the First Division of the United States Army Sent Abroad to Serve Under the Commander in Chief, General Pershing.

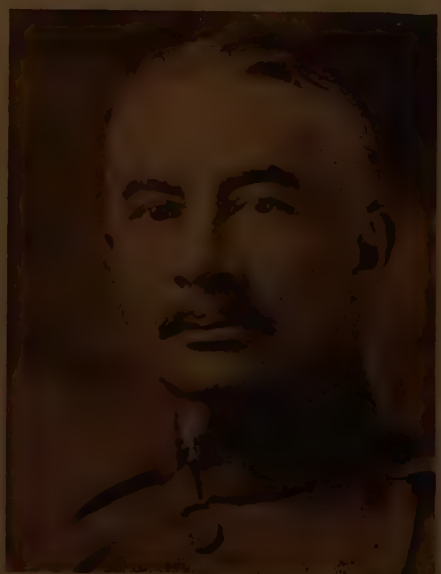
(Photo © Clinedinst from Underwood & Underwood.)

SOME OF AMERICA'S WAR CHIEFS

GEN. WILLIAM CROZIER
Chief of Ordnance of the Army
(Photo Harris & Ewing)

ADMIRAL W. S. BENSON
Chief of Office of Naval Operations.

COL. ISAAC W. LITTELL
Chief of Cantonment Construction.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)



GEN. JOSEPH E. KUHN
President of the Army War College at Washington.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

	Total Registration.	Per Cent. of Estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
New Hampshire	37,842	102.3	79
New Jersey	302,742	100.8	4,952
New Mexico	32,202	77.6	108
New York	1,054,302	99.4	30,870
North Carolina	200,032	102.9	73
North Dakota	65,007	73.0	615
Ohio	565,384	114.4	6,189
Oklahoma	169,211	79.3	219
Oregon	62,618	57.9	577
Pennsylvania	830,507	95.0	12,674
Rhode Island	53,415	88.7	126
South Carolina	128,039	93.4	28
South Dakota	58,014	72.1	484
Tennessee	187,611	96.2	85
Texas	408,702	97.3	1,834
Utah	41,952	90.8	344
Vermont	27,658	94.1	72
Virginia	181,826	97.5	179
Washington	108,330	49.8	791
West Virginia	127,409	90.0	1,003
Wisconsin	240,170	104.6	23,121
Wyoming	22,848	64.5	329
National parks	85	.....	2
Indians	6,001	.....	.....

The rules and regulations for the draft were issued to the local exemption boards by the War Department on June 21. Every board was required to make four copies of the registration list. One it kept for its own use, the second was posted in a conspicuous public place, the third was made available to the public press, and the fourth was sent to the Provost Marshal General at Washington.

Every board numbered the cards in its jurisdiction with red ink in a series running from 1 to the number representing the total number of cards in its jurisdiction, and it was provided that these serial numbers, not the names, should be drawn. Alphabetical arrangement of the names was expressly prohibited. The numbers were to be drawn at Washington. If 15 and 167 were drawn, for example, the two men in each registration district against whose names these numbers were written would be thereby automatically drafted. Exemption could be claimed only afterward—through the local board.

President Wilson on July 2 promulgated the regulations governing exemption from military service. These regulations permitted the local and appeal exemption boards already appointed to organize at once and prepare for the concluding stages of raising the draft army. In an accompanying statement the President called upon the boards to do their work fearlessly and impartially and to remember that "our armies at the front will be strengthened and sustained if they be composed of men free from any sense of injustice in their mode of selection." A statement issued by the War Department on July 13 set forth the number to be drafted from each State. The total for the first call was to be 687,000.

On July 20 all the numbered registration lists from the 4,550 districts had reached Washington, and the fateful drawing of numbers took place on that day. The story of the historic event will be told in the September issue of this magazine.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1917]

THE CHANCELLORS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

COUNT BISMARCK was the first Chancellor of the German Empire, being appointed on Jan. 18, 1871, the day on which King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, in the Mirror Room at Versailles. Bismarck was then raised to princely rank. He held office until March 20, 1890, less than two years after William II. became Emperor, on the death of his father, (June 15, 1888.) During his tenure of office Prince Bismarck accomplished two things: the Triple Alliance or Dreibund, uniting Germany, Austria, and Italy, and later including Rumania and Bulgaria; and the formation of Germany's colonial empire, in 1885, in East and West Africa and New Guinea.

Bismarck was succeeded by Count Caprivi, who held office until Oct. 29, 1894. Caprivi was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe, who gave place, on Oct. 17, 1900, to Count Bernhard von Bülow, then raised to princely rank. Prince von

Bülow was called upon to defend Kaiser Wilhelm's celebrated "mailed fist" speech on the departure of German troops to China, and, some years later, to extricate the Kaiser from the very difficult situation caused by an interview which he gave to The Daily Telegraph, (Oct. 28, 1908,) he carried the point that the Kaiser's pronouncements must first be approved by his responsible advisers. Prince von Bülow went out of office on July 14, 1909, being succeeded by Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who held office for exactly eight years.

Primarily, the Chancellor of the Empire is the head of the Bundesrat, the Federal Council, which represents, not the peoples of the various States which make up the empire, but the Kings, (of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg,) Grand Dukes, Dukes, and Princes who rule them. In the Bundesrat the Imperial Chancellor represents the King of Prussia, who has preponderant power in that body. The Chancellor is responsible solely to the Emperor. It has been pointed out that Dr. Georg Michaelis is the first man not of noble birth to be appointed Imperial Chancellor.

* * *

Austria, Bavaria, and Catholic South Germany

THE recent vigorous protest of Mathias Erzberger, the Catholic member of the Reichstag from Bavaria, against the autocratic militarism and annexationist policy of Lutheran Prussia, apparently with the knowledge, and perhaps the active consent, of Emperor Charles of Austria, suggests that one of the results of the war may be a regrouping of the kingdoms and principalities within the frontiers of the Central Empires in a way resembling their position before 1860, when Bismarck began to execute his plan to break the Austrian supremacy in German affairs and to put Prussia in Austria's place as the dominant German State, a plan furthered by the aggressive wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, and consummated when William I. was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles in January, 1871.

In the German Empire the Lutherans number 40,000,000; the Catholics 24,000,000, or some 37 per cent. In Prussia about two-thirds are Lutherans; in Saxony the vast majority are Lutherans; in Württemberg about two-thirds are Lutherans; these three kingdoms would form the nucleus of a Lutheran group of States. In Bavaria, on the contrary, there are about 5,000,000 Catholics to 2,000,000 Lutherans, while within the Kingdom of Prussia Catholics are in a majority in Posen, Silesia, Westphalia, and the Rhine Provinces. Austria is almost completely Catholic, having 22,500,000 Roman Catholics and 3,500,000 Greek Catholics; the Lutherans do not number 600,000. In Hungary, Roman Catholics likewise predominate, numbering 11,000,000 in a population of 21,000,000, the minority being divided between Protestants, members of the Greek churches, (Catholic and Oriental,) and others.

This would give two groups of States, the Catholic, with a population of some 60,000,000; the Lutheran, with a population of some 45,000,000. The growth of the present German Empire has largely consisted in the extension of the power of Lutheran Prussia over the Roman Catholic States, like Silesia, the Rhine Provinces, and Bavaria; to these Austria, in which Prussian influence predominates, may be added.

* * *

The Race Question in Austria-Hungary

IN Austria (excluding Hungary) the division of races, calculated on the not wholly accurate basis of language, is approximately as follows: Germans, 10,000,000; Bohemian Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, (all speaking practically the same language,) 6,500,000; Poles, 5,000,000; Ruthenians in Galicia and Bukowina, 3,500,000; Slovenes, Serbs, and Croatians, (all speaking what is practically Serbian,) 2,000,000; or, in all, 17,000,000 Slavs. There are also about 1,000,000 speaking Italian or Rumanian. Thus 18,000,000 non-Germans, nearly all of whom are Slavs, are dominated politically by 10,000,000 Germans.

In Hungary there are under 9,000,000 Hungarian Magyars; just over 2,000,000

Germans, 2,000,000 Slovaks, 2,600,000 Croato-Serbians, 400,000 Ruthenians, and something under 3,000,000 Rumanians. In Hungary the 9,000,000 Magyars and 2,000,000 Germans completely dominate the 5,000,000 Slavs and 3,000,000 Rumanians.

Taking the Dual Monarchy as a whole, we find that 12,000,000 Germans and 9,000,000 Magyars exercise political control over 22,000,000 Slavs and 4,000,000 Latins. That is, 21,000,000 dominating and 26,000,000 dominated.

An ideal reconstruction along the lines of race, (or, to speak more strictly, along the lines of language as calculated by the German-Magyar enumerators,) would divide the Dual Monarchy into four States, as follows: A German State, consisting of the northern part of what is now Austria and the western corner of Hungary, with 12,000,000 inhabitants; a north Slav State, (Czech-Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians,) with about 18,000,000 inhabitants; a Magyar State with about 9,000,000, and a south Slav State, predominantly Serbian, with about 5,000,000; but this last would be practically identical in blood and speech with Serbia and Montenegro, which, before the war, had a combined population of about 3,500,000; so that we have the basis of a Pan-Serbian State with about 8,500,000 inhabitants.

* * *

The Draft in 1863 and 1917

THE extraordinary smoothness and freedom from disturbance which have marked each stage of the enrollment of our huge national army stand out in sharp contrast with the violent outbreaks which accompanied the operation of the Conscription act signed on March 3, 1863. That act declared that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and foreigners intending to become citizens, between the ages of 20 and 45 were liable for military service; a second section defined exemptions, while a third favored married men. On July 7 the actual work of the draft was begun in Rhode Island; on the following day it began in Massachusetts.

Saturday, July 11, was the date set for New York City. That day everything went quietly, even gayly. But on Sunday, July 12, there were mutterings in the Ninth Congressional District, which was inhabited mainly by laborers, and which had a Democratic majority of over 3,000. These laborers, says Rhodes, when they faced the fact of three years' compulsory military service, "fell into despondency, while their wives and mothers abandoned themselves to excitement and rage." Prominent Democrats went about declaring the law was unconstitutional. A point of inflammation was the fact that a man might "buy himself loose" for $300, favoring the rich at the expense of the poor.

On July 13, at the headquarters of the Ninth District, at the corner of Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street, where the names were being drawn from a revolving wheel by a blindfolded man, pistols were fired, brickbats were hurled through the window, the crowd burst in, poured petroleum on the floor and set the building on fire. Workmen of the Second and Sixth Avenue street railroads noisily paraded the streets. The rioters were "almost all foreign born, with a large preponderance of Irish," who vented their wrath on the negroes, shooting and hanging them by the score and wrecking a Negro Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets. The rioters seized arms from the arsenals; troops were called; "cannon and howitzers raked the streets."

The battle raged during four days, more than 1,000 persons being killed and wounded, while damage amounting to $1,500,000 was done. In all, 10,000 infantry and three batteries of artillery assisted in quelling the riots. There was violence also in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

* * *

THE Secretary of War reported on June 22, 1917, that there were in the United States 1,239,179 persons born in foreign countries with which the United States was not at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens, and 111,933 persons of birth in countries with which the United States was at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens.

Success of the Liberty Loan

THE official announcement of the Liberty Loan, the first United States war loan, was in substance as follows:

The total of the subscriptions was $3,035,226,850, an oversubscription of $1,035,226,850, over 50 per cent. More than 4,000,000 men and women subscribed. Of this number about 3,960,000 took the bonds in amounts ranging from $50 to $10,000; 21 subscriptions were $5,000,000 and over, aggregating $188,789,900. The subscriptions by Federal Reserve districts were as follows:

Boston	$332,447,600
New York	1,186,788,400
Philadelphia	232,309,250
Cleveland	286,148,700
Richmond	109,737,100
Atlanta	57,878,550
Chicago	357,195,950
St. Louis	86,134,700
Minneapolis	70,255,500
Kansas City	91,758,850
Dallas	48,948,350
San Francisco	175,623,900

Allotments were made as follows: Subscriptions up to and including $10,000, 100 per cent.; up to $100,000, 60 per cent.; up to $250,000, 45 per cent.; up to $2,000,000, 30 per cent.; over $2,000,000 and up to $6,000,000, 25 per cent.; up to $10,000,000, 21 per cent.; $25,000,000, 22.22 per cent.; $25,230,000, 20.17 per cent.

* * *

British Cabinet Changes

IMPORTANT changes in the British Cabinet were announced July 17. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio; he was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes, former Director General of Munitions Supply. Winston Spencer Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, the latter to become Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction. Edwin Samuel Montagu became Secretary for India, vice Austen Chamberlain, who resigned on account of the Mesopotamia campaign disaster. Sir Edward Carson replaced Bonar Law as the fifth member of the War Cabinet, which consists of Premier Lloyd George, Labor Minister Henderson, Earl Curzon, Lord Milner, and Sir Edward Carson, the three latter being Conservatives of the most extreme type.

* * *

British Royal House Abolishes Its German Titles

KING GEORGE of England has changed the name of his family and house from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to the House of Windsor. He has also abolished the titles of the Princes of his family that bear German names and substituted British surnames, peerages being conferred as follows:

The Duke of Teck, a Marquis.
Prince Alexander of Teck, an Earl.
Prince Louis of Battenberg, a Marquis.
Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a Marquis.

Princess Victoria and Princess Marie Louise of Schleswig-Holstein shall be styled Helena Victoria and Marie Louise, respectively, and the Princesses of the royal family who bear the title of Duchess of Saxony have relinquished the title. Prince Leopold of Battenberg, whose elder brother, Prince Alexander, becomes a Marquis, will take the title of Lord Leopold of Mountbatten.

The action of the King reserves the title "Royal Highnesses" to the children and grandchildren of the sovereign, consequently the titles "Highness" and "Serene Highness" will disappear from English life, as well as the rank of Prince and Princess in the families upon which the King conferred peerages.

* * *

England's Munitions Output

DR. ADDISON, British Minister of Munitions, declared in an address to the House of Commons, that in March, 1917, England's capacity for the production of high explosives was more than four times that of 1916 and 28 times as great as that of March, 1915. He said the country was now turning out twenty times as many machine guns as two years ago. In the matter of small arms and small ammunition the country was entirely independent of outside supplies. At Woolwich there were 73,571 workers, of whom 25,000 were women, as against 10,860 workers in August, 1914, of whom 125 were women.

In May twice as many airplanes were produced as in December last. They were

producing now 10,000,000 tons of steel per annum as against 7,000,000 tons per annum in pre-war days, and by the end of 1918 the figures would have risen to 12,000,000 tons.

He announced that a plant was now available for supplying the entire quantity needed of potash; they had also a plant to supply their needs entirely in scientific instruments, optical glass, machine tools, sulphuric acid, superphosphates, and tungsten, for all of which they had been dependent on outside sources. Fully 2,000 miles of railway track had been supplied to the several fronts, together with nearly 1,000 locomotives, apart from hundreds supplied by the Railway Executive Committee. India, Australia, and Canada had sent their contributions.

* * *

Knightly Orders for Women

RECENT distinctions conferred upon women have suggested the question whether, in the past, the services and qualities of women have ever received recognition in the great knightly orders. The answer is distinctly in the affirmative. England, which has, in some ways, the most democratic government in the world, not only possesses the oldest existing knightly order, but is also the only country in existence where the ancient knightly custom of "dubbing" by the accolade, or laying on of the sword, is still preserved, as in the days when knighthood was in flower. The oldest knightly order is the Order of the Garter, which dates from about 1350; the "garter" is ascribed by tradition to Richard I., who sent it as a battle sign to the troops before Acre; to Edward III. at Crécy; to Joan, the "fair maid of Kent," Countess of Salisbury. Ladies were systematically admitted to the Order of the Garter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, (at a time when prioresses and abbesses had the vote;) the Queen Consort, the wives and daughters of Knights of the Order, and other women of exalted position being members, and known as "Dames de la Fraternité de Saint George," patron saint of the Garter. Entries of the delivery of robes and garters to ladies are found in the wardrobe accounts from 1376 to 1495, the first being to Isabel, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III.; the last, Margaret and Elizabeth, daughters of Henry VII. Effigies of Margaret Byron and Alice Chaucer at Ewelme have garters on their left arms. The Order of the Thistle, established by James II. in 1687, under the patronage of St. Andrew, counts among its heads Queen Anne and Queen Victoria, who were also heads of the Order of the Garter, as were Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. This is the order recently conferred on Sir Douglas Haig. The Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Philip the Good in 1492, counts Queens among its members. The Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, founded by Maria Theresa in 1764, was presided over by her. The British Order of Merit was conferred on Florence Nightingale. Women as well as men are eligible to the Imperial Service Order. The Royal Order of Victoria and Albert and the Imperial Order of the Crown of India are conferred only on women. The decoration of the French Legion of Honor, founded by Napoleon on May 19, 1802, has been conferred on several distinguished women, including Rosa Bonheur and Mme. Curie, the discoverer of radium.

* * *

British and German Prisoners

THE British have captured 117,776 prisoners since the beginning of the war, not counting natives taken in the African campaigns, many of whom have been released, according to the statement of Major Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director of Military Operations at the War Office in London. The British have lost to the enemy 51,088 men as prisoners, including Indian and native troops

The British have captured 739 guns during the war and lost 113. Of the guns lost 37 were recaptured, and of the 96 remaining in enemy hands 84 were lost by the British on the west front early in the war. The British have not lost a single gun on the west front since April, 1915.

There are 58,138 German prisoners of

war interned in England, as against 42,831 British prisoners of war or interned prisoners in Germany, according to a report made by the Postmaster General to the House of Commons on June 20. Each week the interned Germans receive an average of 9,260 parcels and money orders having a total value of $12,000. The number of parcels received has decreased nearly one-half from last year. This was attributed by the Postmaster General to greater difficulty in obtaining materials to send from Germany.

* * *

German Casualty Figures

GERMAN casualties reported in German official lists during May, 1917, were as follows:

	May.	Total to date.
Killed and died of wounds..	19,006	998,439
Died of sickness.....	2,994	69,688
Prisoners	886	303,309
Missing	25,676	254,101
Severely wounded.....	14,348	571,386
Wounded	3,858	310,616
Slightly wounded.....	36,133	1,599,743
Wounded remaining with units.	8,055	249,478
Total	110,956	4,356,760

* * *

Small Armies in Decisive Battles

THE attempt of a Chinese General to restore the fallen Manchu dynasty, which conquered China in 1644, having at his disposal only 7,000 troops with which he tried to change the destinies of 400,000,000 population covering 4,000,000 square miles, recalls the fact that many of the world's decisive battles have been fought with bodies of troops which, in comparison with the numbers involved in the present war, seem absolutely insignificant. But it should be remembered that only the very recent development of railroads has made possible the moving and victualing of the huge modern armies.

On the morning of the battle of Lexington 130 answered Captain John Parker's rollcall, and not all of these took part in the fighting; at Concord, later in the same day, April 19, 1775, there were 450 minutemen; men, that is, who "answered at a minute's notice." The Americans under Lieut. Col. Smith lost eighteen killed. At the battle of Long Island, Aug. 22, 1776, Lord Howe had 20,000 men, while Washington sent to General Putnam only 7,000 men, who, however, constituted more than one-third of his entire effective force. At the battle of Harlem Heights, Sept. 16, 1776, Lord Howe had 5,000 against Washington's 1,800 Americans, and the relative numbers were about the same at Bennington, Stony Point, and King's Mountain. At the battle of Princeton, Jan. 3, 1777, Lord Cornwallis had 6,000, while Washington had 3,600 men; yet this battle held Howe up for six months and laid the foundation of the French alliance. At Yorktown, Washington had 16,600 American and French troops, while Cornwallis had 5,316.

A recent historian asserts that there were not more than 5,000 knights in the feudal army of William the Conqueror, though older traditions placed the number at 60,000. John Fiske speaks of the forces in Cromwell's wars as "trivial," though Cromwell's victories had a world-wide significance.

* * *

THE lower house of Congress on July 14 passed without opposition a bill appropriating $640,000,000 for the creation of a great air fleet. It is understood that the personnel authorized will approximate 100,000 men.

* * *

THE Austrian Parliament decided July 17 that Dr. Friedrich Adler, the assassin of Dr. Karl Stürgkh, Premier of Austria, should have been tried by a civil instead of a military court, consequently the death sentence imposed on him will not be carried out. His address at his trial is given elsewhere in this issue.

* * *

TUAN CHI-JUI was reappointed Premier and War Minister of China after the collapse of the effort to restore the monarchy, and Li Yuan-hung announced that he would retire from the Presidency in favor of the Vice President, Feng Kuo-chang. Tuan favored China's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies.

Military Events of the Month

Period From June 18 to July 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

THE past month has seen one of the most remarkable events of the entire war—the renewal of the Russian offensive begun last year. On July 1, the anniversary of the beginning of the battle of the Somme, the Russians began a determined movement along the northern course of the Zlota Lipa from Brzezany to Zloczow.

From such information as had reached us as to the condition of affairs in the new republic, the conclusion was almost unavoidable that there was no hope of Russia giving any assistance to the Allies during the current year. The spirit of the army, it appeared, had been destroyed through the period of fraternization with the enemy; their discipline was believed to have broken down entirely and their morale to be seriously impaired. The ammunition industry, besides, was partially paralyzed through strikes and impossible demands of the workmen, and the transport service, by which food and supplies were sent to the front, was completely disorganized. There was also an element in Petrograd, supported by German interests, that was outspoken against a renewal of the fighting and in favor either of a separate peace or an indefinite armistice. In the face of this condition, it did not seem possible that Russia could be counted upon as a factor in the fighting until next year.

But there was one man in Russia who saw the condition of affairs in its true perspective, who knew that the success of the revolution depended upon a continuation of hostilities until Germany was beaten, and whose enthusiasm and personal magnetism were so great as to nullify all opposing influences. This man was the new Secretary of War, Kerensky. The credit for the renewal of the fighting on the Russian front is his and his alone, and its successful prosecution a tribute to his personal inspiration.

When the Russian offensive of last year was finally halted, the battle line followed the eastern bank of the Zlota Lipa from its source near Zloczow as far as Brzezany. Here it made a curve around the latter point, crossing the river, and continued southward to the Dniester, which it crossed just west of Maryimpol. Passing west of Stanislau, it continued south to the Carpathian Mountains, where it linked up to the Rumanian line along the border between Rumania and Transylvania.

First Russian Attack

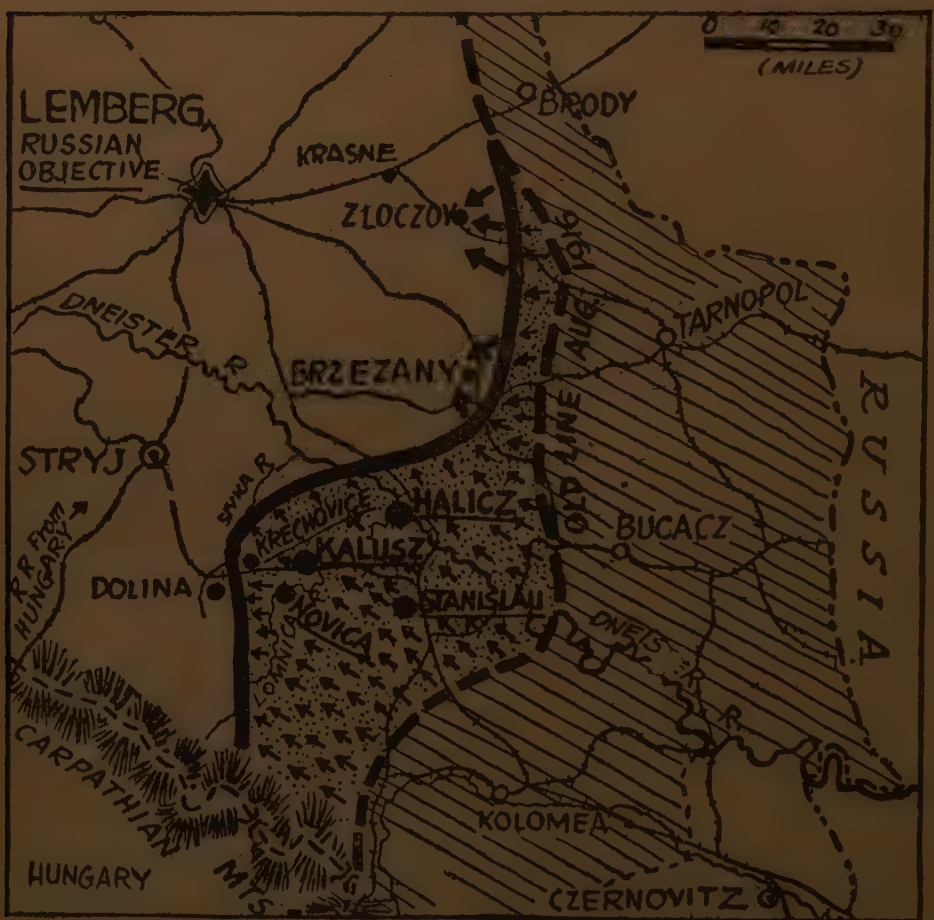
The first task which the Russians had to accomplish, then, if they proposed to reach out for Lemberg from the east, was to clear the line of the Zlota Lipa throughout its length. This river flows through a deep cut with almost perpendicular sides, making it a particularly nasty line to force. All the advantage lies with the defense, and only great preponderance of artillery would give an attack a reasonable chance of success. It could, however, be flanked by a crossing to the north, where the river is narrow and presents a less difficult problem, and this the Russians tried to do through an attack between Brzezany and Zloczow.

The small village of Koniuchy was taken in this first effort, and about 10,000 prisoners fell into Russian hands. The ground gained, however, added little to their achievement. It was in every way immaterial. There was, however, a valuable significance in the character of the fighting. The Russians used artillery on a very large scale. Apparently they had a great supply of shell and were disposed to use it. There was also evidence that the army which made the attack, the army of Brusiloff, had not been seriously affected by the revolution. No army which was in an unor-

ganized condition a short time before could have been driven, thoroughly in hand at all times, as was the army which took this small village and so many Austrian prisoners. The fighting was of the heaviest kind and must have been accompanied by very heavy losses on the part of the Russians. That they

Blow South of the Dniester

Suddenly, without pausing in their attacks at Brzezany, the Russians opened up a terrific attack south of the Dniester, driving due west from the vicinity of Stanislau toward Dolina and Stryj. It is somewhere in this vicinity that the Germans and the Austrians link up, and it



MAP SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN GALICIA

kept up the fighting is another indication of the morale which prevailed.

Not meeting with any great success at this point, the attack was switched further south, to Brzezany, where an effort was made to draw a noose around that important crossing, which, because of the high hills behind it, controls the country to the south and defends the railroad from Lemberg through Rohatyn. The Russian effort here was another failure.

was the Russian idea, undoubtedly, to separate the two forces by driving a wedge between them. This idea is sound. The history of the war on the eastern front will show conclusively that the Austrian is no match for the Russian. Wherever they have met on the field of battle the Austrian has invariably been beaten.

In the early days of the war it was the first invasion of Galicia which placed the Russian Army at the gates of Cracow

and threatened Silesia. Last year it was the great blow in Volhynia which nearly destroyed the Austrian Army. And now again Russia was attempting the same thing. How reasonable the argument is is shown by the results. The Austrian line cracked, the crack widened, and finally the line broke, permitting the Russians to pour through. We hear very often of a line being broken, but we seldom see it done. It is not sufficient merely to penetrate it. The gap through which the penetration is made must be very wide, so that sufficient troops can pass through to have some effect on the two wings thus separated. But the Austrian line was truly broken, and the Russian cavalry raced through, widening the gap as they passed.

The Lukwa River was reached and crossed almost without opposition. The Lomnica, the next stream met with, was the test. The east bank is low, the west bank very high and heavily wooded. If the Austrians could hold the Russians to the east bank of the stream they still had a chance to repair the damage. But the Russians were not to be halted here. The Cossack cavalry forced the river not more than fifteen miles south of the Dniester and drove at the town of Kalusz, the Austrians' former headquarters. They found it unoccupied and took possession.

Fall of Kalusz and Halicz

The Germans, however, had hurried reinforcements south to assist the beaten Austrians, and they came in contact with the advancing Russians first at this point. A heavy but local battle occurred, and the Russians, finding themselves temporarily outnumbered, withdrew. But reinforcements were arriving for both sides, and the real battle for the town was on. It changed hands several times, but finally fell securely to the Russians. Kalusz has an importance which in every way justified the effort to take it. West of the Lomnica River there is no barrier between it and the Stryj. The country is wide open, rolling, it is true, but without any definite natural barrier which would hinder the advance. If a stand is to be made anywhere east of the Stryj, the Lomnica is the line which would be selected. Kalusz is the most important town along the river, and is, moreover, on the Lemberg-Stanislau railroad. It was for these reasons that the Austrians selected it for their headquarters. With its fall went the line of the Lomnica, the Russians, as this article is written, being apparently firmly established on the west bank.

While this wedge was being pushed between the Austrian and the German armies the town of Halicz, on the Dniester, was stormed and taken. This place is important because it covers the first large bridge east of Chotin across the Dniester, and therefore may be said to guard Lemberg from an attack from the south. A covering force to guard the bridgehead was at once thrown across the Dniester, so that the Russians are now securely on the northern bank.

Effects of Russian Advance

The net results of the Russian advance up to the present time have been large. Nearly 50,000 prisoners have been taken —mostly Austrians—together with great quantities, not enumerated in dispatches, of guns and war material of all kinds. It is certain that the latter results have been considerable. The wedge which the Russians have pushed into the Teutonic lines is over twenty miles deep and at least half that width. The rate of advance was extremely rapid, the entire advance having been made in twelve days. There was not sufficient time to remove to safety the mass of materials normally held behind such a line. The fact that the taking of a number of guns of large calibre is sufficient indication of what must have happened to the Austrian reserve supply centres.

The Russian offensive is, however, infinitely more injurious to the Teutonic cause than the military damage so far inflicted. Ever since the beginning of the war Germany has played, as a most important card, the sympathy of a not inconsiderable number of Russians close to the Petrograd Court. Stürmer was almost openly a German tool. The result was hardly what Germany had been led to expect; nevertheless, it was not for the moment without a decided element of advantage.

When the Russian revolution broke, the German military councils had before them

two alternatives. It was inevitable that such a tremendous civil upheaval should bring in its wake a military upheaval of equal intensity. Disorganization in the military would follow as a matter of course. Should the German Army take advantage of the military situation and attack with chances of a conclusive victory, or should Germany play the diplomatic game, trusting to her complete organization in Russia to produce either a separate peace or a perpetual armistice? Either way the chances of success were bright. While Germany was hesitating between the two, the British and the French on the western front became most active. A perfect hurricane of attacks followed, almost without cessation, demanding all Germany's reserve strength to fight back. The situation was desperate.

A Diplomatic Battle Lost

Confronted, then, with this resistless, unrelenting pressure on the western front, Germany decided to fight Russia with diplomacy rather than with force of arms. It was a gamble, but, as far as was apparent at the time, in no sense a desperate gamble. There was no indication that Russia could get her organization straightened out for some time to come. German Socialists were continually active and had formed an anti-war party in Russia which precluded the idea of any immediate military activity. To them Germany intrusted the task of neutralizing Russia. To have attacked Russia under such circumstances would have been to run the danger of solidifying, on the theory of the defense of the new freedom, all the discordant elements. And a new Russia in the field, with all elements of treachery removed—a Russia in control of the people rather than of a weak aristocracy—would possess an element of potential force that Germany could not face with equanimity.

There were, moreover, certain military factors to be considered. The first was the situation on the western front, a situation upon which hung the reputation of von Hindenburg. His celebrated line was under attack, and a weakening of any portion just at that time might cause a breach and send the German Army scurrying back to the frontier. There was Italy, who had begun an offensive on a large scale on the Carso, the initial success of which promised badly for the Central Powers unless it could be checked. Austrian reinforcements had to be sent to Italy and to France. The available supply of human materials was small unless the needed men could be detached from the eastern theatre. Germany, therefore, abandoned the Russian front—particularly the northern portion—to the diplomats, and betook a not inconsiderable part of the army for service in the west and south.

But Russia has always been the great surprise of this war. At the end of 1915 he seemed completely out of it, as a result of her disastrous defeat along the Dunajec line, only to return to the fighting six months later more powerful than ever. And now Russia is again afield, possessing the power of at least a tremendous initial drive, whether or not it can be sustained for any considerable period. Germany played her cards and lost.

Delay Means German Defeat

The situation in which the Central Empires are placed is, therefore, that they must win the war in 1917, force the Allies to admit a draw during that year, or go down to inevitable defeat. In 1918 a new Russia will be in the field, a Russia of whose strength the present is but an indication. In that year the United States, fast mobilizing its resources for war purposes, will have material strength in Europe, and will be growing stronger as each day passes. It will not be a question, as was once contemplated, of America taking the place of Russia on the battlefield; America will be supplementing the resources of the new republic with her own.

There remains, as far as is apparent, the submarine campaign, which has fallen far short of the requirements admitted by Germany as necessary last February. The effect of this will have to be greatly increased if it is to accomplish its purpose. And, if we admit as true the statements of the German Chancellor, it is Germany's only and last hope.

The British at Lens

The most important series of actions on the western front during the month

was that of the British along that dirty little stream which flows about Lens—the Souchez River. Ever since taking Vimy Ridge the British have been pecking at the Lens position. Their aim is to surround it from the south and so force its occupants out by the squeezing process. The steps taken this month were begun by the Canadians seizing the high ground west of the suburb of Coulotte. From here, with the trenches close together, they advanced step by step, occupied Coulotte, and established a line squarely across the Lens-Arras road, a scant mile from the village.

The same slow but unhalting process resulted somewhat later in the occupation of Avion, and Lens was placed in a deep

SCENE OF BRITISH ADVANCES NEAR LENS

pocket, the mouth of which was being constantly narrowed. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the British could take Lens whenever it is desired to do so; but the Germans have so conducted matters that it would be a very expensive operation. In order to give a clear field of fire to the artillery, the houses of the town have been practically leveled. The whole town was then turned into one gigantic nest of machine guns, the cellar of every house being a machine-gun emplacement.

The process now going on is slow, but interesting. British raiding parties, made up almost entirely of Canadians, are entering the town with very small loss, and are destroying these positions one after the other by means of bombs. Sometimes a machine gun or two are taken, sometimes they are simply destroyed. But the raids are being carried on without cessation.

It is distinctly noticeable that several weeks have elapsed since the British have attempted any major attack. There is no way of gauging the situation as there was in the battle of the Somme. The operations of the year have consisted in a series of more or less detached attacks, each an independent battle. It is an entirely new development on this front, and has one distinguishing feature. Every attack has had for its object some one position of great local value—usually from the standpoint of observation. In almost every case, moreover, this object has been attained. What the next phase will bring forth it is impossible to forecast.

The Chemin des Dames

Except for one minor attack in the Champagne country east of Rheims, which produced only negative results, France has been on the defensive for the entire month. The Germans have attacked at a number of points between Soissons and Verdun, many of their attacks having reached the intensity and magnitude of a major effort. This is particularly true of the many attacks made along the Chemin des Dames. There is no line between Verdun and the North Sea that is more valuable than this Road of the Ladies. As long as it is in French hands it remains a constant threat against the German position at Laon, which is the very pillar of the whole line to the north.

This celebrated road runs along a tree-fringed ridge and brings under observation many miles of country northward. At the foot of the northern slopes runs the Aillette River, and from its valley rises the high ground on which Laon is situated. It is amost literally true that the German attacks against the French positions here have been unceasing. In-

deed, such has been their persistency that one is reminded of the attacks at Verdun. It might well be that what the Germans failed to do at Verdun—bleed the French to death—they are now trying to do on the Chemin des Dames. Whether this be the object or not, it is certainly true that the British are being left alone, and all strength concentrated against the French.

All the attacks, however, have been utterly fruitless. The French have broken them one after the other without having their lines even dented. Because of the great advantage of the French position the probabilities are that the German losses have far exceeded those of the French.

German Attack on the Yser

On the extreme left of the allied line, far to the north amid the sand dunes of Belgium, the Germans made the first offensive effort against the British that they have undertaken on their own initiative within a year. They had been whipped and spurred into many heavy and vicious counterattacks, but not for a long time had they undertaken an offensive effort voluntarily.

The northern extremity of the British line in Belgium is in a sense inclosed by a triangle formed by a bend in the Yser River. Going up the river from its mouth, we travel generally southward for a distance of about two miles, and then turn abruptly eastward. The British line, as it was established after the German attempt to drive to Calais, ran about 600 yards to the east of the southward stretch of the Yser, circled about the town of Nieuport, and, crossing the Yser Canal, continued south past Ypres to Armentières. It was against that stretch of line between the coast and the canal that the German attack fell.

Inasmuch as the establishment of the British lines in this sector was the result of a defensive engagement, it is a matter of surprise that a position on the far side of the river was selected. To make a stand before an aggressive enemy with a river only 600 yards in one's rear is a rather hazardous undertaking. A quick, hard blow which shatters the crossings in rear while the infantry presses forward in front is apt to pin the defenders in between the advancing infantry and the river in such a way that escape becomes impossible. The only reason that suggests itself as to the retention by the British of such a dangerous position is that the posibilities of an offensive from this quarter was contemplated, and in view of this it was considered better to have the river behind rather than a barrier before them. In other words, it was a gamble as to who would start the first offensive. If Germany acted first, the British were in

SCENE OF BRITISH REVERSE ON THE YSER RIVER

serious trouble. If the British began operations they stood a good chance of improving their situation and eliminating the danger of having the river in their rear.

The ground over which the German attack was made is perfectly flat, except for the dunes, the intrenchments being built up of sandbags instead of being dug. Apparently there has been but little airplane activity on this front, so that when the Germans were ready for the attack they had the great advantage of superiority in the air, which means the advantage of observation.

Attack Was a Surprise

The attack came as a distinct surprise. Unnoticed by the British air scouts, the Germans effected a heavy concentration

of guns on this small front and suddenly opened a hurricane of artillery fire on the sandbag defenses. At the same time the bridges over the river as well as over the canal were bombarded and destroyed. Reinforcements were thus held back of the river where they could not reach the front British trenches. After a brief but intense artillery preparation the German infantry was sent forward and caught the British against the river with no line of retreat.

The battle was of very brief duration and was a decided success. The British force north of the canal—not more than a few battalions—was completely destroyed either through capture or casualties. The prisoners taken were about 1,200, with probably very small loss to the Germans. It was a brilliant movement, but one of minor importance. Its result on the general situation is that it improves the defensive strength of the German line in this section by forcing the British into a position where they have to fight their way across a river under fire should they ever intend to take the offensive against the Belgian coast. The Germans at no point were able to cross the river themselves, and having destroyed the bridges with their own artillery they will have considerable difficulty following the affair any further should they be so disposed.

Failure in Western Asia

Russia's very effective and truly remarkable work on the European front has to some extent been offset by her complete failure in Western Asia, as evidenced by the Turkish reoccupation of the town of Khanikin. This small village has a peculiarly important strategic value in any campaign whose object is the occupation of the Mesopotamian plains. The mountains of Western Persia limit, as with a heavy wall, the eastern boundary of this plain. This wall is broken in but one place, and that by the excellent road from Kermanshah to Bagdad. This passage is covered by Khanikin. It was here that the Russian offensive broke down a year ago, and during the past months we have seen a similar retreat.

This means that contact with the British, upon which the success of the entire Asiatic campaign is based, has again been broken, leaving the British right flank completely in the air. On account of the excessive heat in this theatre, this matter is not as important or as serious as it would have been had the incident occurred earlier in the year. As a matter of fact, there has yet to be any activity in Mesopotamia during the Summer months, and this may explain the Russian action.

In all other theatres there has been marked quiet, as if all the powers were pausing for breath before undertaking new engagements.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From June 19 Up to and Including July 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

A Russian Commission headed by Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff and a Rumanian Commission headed by Dr. Basile Lucaciu conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war.

On June 19 Vice Admiral Sims was appointed to take general charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters.

All contingents of the American expeditionary forces arrived safely in France and were sent to training camps. The transports were attacked twice by German submarines, but the U-boats were driven off by American naval gunners, and at least one of them was sunk.

American airplane experts reached England to study modern aircraft designing and manufacturing.

On June 22 President Wilson signed an order authorizing the creation of an Exports Council, and on July 8 he issued a proclamation providing for Government control of exports.

An appeal to business men calling for fair war prices was issued by the President July 11.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamships Orleans, Kansan, Massapequa, and Grace, the schooner Mary W. Bowen, and the barkentine Hildegaard were sunk by submarines.

According to British official statements, England's losses for the week ended June 16 included twenty-seven vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended June 23, twenty-one vessels; for the week ended June 30, fifteen; for the week ended July 7, fourteen, and for the week ended July 14, fourteen. These included the Leyland liner Cestrian and the transport Armadale. A torpedo boat destroyer was sunk in the North Sea.

Announcement was made on June 23 that twelve Greek vessels, with tonnage of 31,542, had been sunk since April 1.

France reported two steamships of more than 1,600 tons lost in the week ended June 24 and four in the week ended July 1.

Germany ceded to Holland a number of German ships interned in the Dutch East Indies as payment for vessels destroyed by U-boats.

Argentina demanded an indemnity for the torpedoing of the vessels Oriana and Toro.

Spain barred submarines from her territorial waters.

Brazil revoked her decree of neutrality in the war between the Entente Allies and Germany, and her navy joined the United States fleet in patrolling the South Atlantic on watch for German sea raiders or submarines.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

June 26—Russians repulse strong attacks in Galicia in the direction of Zlochoff.

July 1-2—Russians, led by Kerensky in person, resume their drive toward Lemberg and advance on an eighteen-mile front; they raid Teuton positions in Volhynia, toward Kovel.

July 3—Austro-Germans are evacuating Brzezany; Russians take Presovce, Zborow, and Korshiduv, and drive the enemy across the Stripa River.

July 6—Teutons repulse Russian massed attacks between Zborow and Koniuchy.

July 7—Fighting begins near Pinsk; city of Pinsk reported in flames; Russians occupy German trenches in the Zlochoff region and near Koniuchy.

July 8-9—Russian offensive spreads north and south of Halicz; Russians cross the Bystritza River on both sides of the railroad line running west from Stanislau to Kalusz and Dolina, and capture several villages and the town of Jezupol.

July 10—Russians take Halicz; Austro-German forces driven across the Lomnica and Luvka Rivers.

July 11—Russians advance on 100-mile front, pursuing the Teutons across the upper Lomnica River.

July 12—Russians capture Kalusz and push on toward Dolina.

July 13—Russians press on in Galicia on a front of nearly fifty miles from Halicz to the foot of the Carpathians, capturing several important heights north of the Dniester and driving the Teutons back to northeast of Ehilus and capturing Perchinsko, west of Kalusz.

July 14—Russians beat off two attacks on Kalusz and capture Novicka.

July 15—Russians repulse attacks in the Lodziany region and take many Austrian prisoners.

July 16—Russians take eastern end of Lodziany.

July 17—Russians driven out of Kalusz by German reinforcements and lose Novicka, but retake it.

July 18—Teutons open heavy fire along the front from south of Brzezany and in the region of Halicz.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 19—French repulse German attempts to regain positions in the Champagne district between Mont Carnillet and Mont Blond.

June 20—British retake lost positions east of Monchy-le-Preux; Canadians repulse attacks on new positions near Lens; Germans on the Aisne capture part of French first-line trench east of Vauxaillon.

June 21—French retake part of lost ground at Vauxaillon and push their lines ahead near Mont Carnillet on a 600-yard front.

June 22—Germans pierce French salient on a front of one and a quarter miles along the Chemin des Dames from west of La Royère Farm to the Epine de Chevregny.

June 24—French recapture greater part of salient east of Vauxaillon.

June 25—British advance on a front of one and a half miles southwest of Lens.

June 26—Canadians capture La Coulotte and push beyond it toward Lens; French on the Aisne capture positions northwest of Hurtebise Farm.

June 27—French drive Germans from the Dragon's Cave near Hurtebise.

June 28—Canadians, in drive on Lens, push on half way through Avion.

June 29—British carry German line between Oppy and Gavrelle on a front of 2,000 yards; Germans at Verdun capture French positions on both sides of the Malancourt-Esnes road and storm Avocourt Wood.

June 30—British advance a mile toward Lens over a front of four miles; Germans make small gains at Dead Man Hill.

July 1—Heavy fighting around Avocourt Wood, Hill 304, and Dead Man Hill; British draw close to Lens.

July 2—French drive Germans out of positions west of Cerny village; British forced to retire west of Lens.

July 3—French repulse German attacks on

the Aisne on both sides of the Ailles-Paissy road; big artillery battle in the Ypres salient.

July 4—Germans launch powerful offensive north of the Aisne on a front of nearly eleven miles, from north of Joney to the Californie Plateau, but are repulsed with heavy losses; Germans attack French positions on the left bank of the Meuse with liquid fire, but are driven back.

July 5—British advance their line south of Ypres on a 600-yard front near Hollebeke.

July 7—British advance east of Wytschaete in Belgium.

July 8—German attack in four sectors on the Chemin des Dames repulsed; French seize three strongly organized salients on the west bank of the Meuse.

July 9—French drive Germans from positions on the Aisne front near Bovettes and Chevregny Ridge.

July 11—Germans launch a strong attack against the British north of Nieuport and drive them back on the Yser River.

July 12—Germans storm British trenches near Monchy and take many prisoners.

July 15—Germans penetrate French salient west of Cerny, but lose part of ground seized; French in Champagne capture German trenches north of Mont Haut and northwest of Teton height.

July 17—French capture German first and second lines on a wide front northwest of Verdun.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 20—Italians resume the offensive in the Trentino and capture Austrian positions on Monte Ortigara.

June 21—Italians explode a mine in the Val Casteana-Ampezzo sector under the spur of the Lagazroi Piccolo and destroy the Austrian garrison.

June 26—Austrians suffer heavy losses in attempt to retake positions in the Ortigara sector.

July 11—Italians advance on the Carso and occupy Dalino.

July 12—Austrians driven back in counter-attack after reaching advanced Italian position on Col Bricon.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

June 29—Turks drive Russians across the River Abis Hirman on the Persian frontier.

July 6—Russians attack Turks in the region of Sakkiz.

July 9—Turks reoccupy Panjwin, Khanikin, and Kasr-i-Shirin on the Persian border.

July 12—Announcement made in British House of Commons of capture by the Arabs of Turkish posts between the Tafila-Main district and Akaba.

July 15—Russians drive back Turkish advance guards on the left bank of the River Arish-Darasi.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators bombarded Ghistelles, Nieumunster, Ostend, and other towns in Belgium and brought down seven German machines at Dunkirk. On July 6 eighty-four French machines raided Germany, dropping bombs on Treves, Coblenz, Essen, and other towns of military importance, and causing heavy damage at the Krupp Works. In the biggest air battle of the war, July 12, the British brought down fourteen German airplanes on the French front and drove sixteen out of control. Nine British machines were lost.

Two great raids were made on England. On July 4 German airplanes dropped bombs on Harwich, killing eleven people and injuring thirty-six. Two German machines were lost. On July 11 London was raided and thirty-seven persons killed and 141 injured. Three of the twenty German machines that took part in the raid were brought down.

British naval aviators attacked the Turkish fleet off Constantinople and dropped bombs on the cruiser Sultan Selin, formerly the German cruiser Goeben. The War Office at Constantinople was also hit.

NAVAL RECORD

The American sailing ship Galena was sunk by a bomb off the French coast.

Great Britain, in a decree that became effective July 4, extended the danger zones in the North Sea northward and westward.

Ponta Delgada, in the Azores, was bombarded by a German submarine. An American transport joined in the firing at the U-boat.

The Peninsular and Oriental liner Mongolia was sunk by a mine off Bombay.

The French armored cruiser Kleber was sunk by a mine off Point St. Mathieu on June 27. Thirty-eight men were lost.

A British torpedo boat destroyer and a German torpedo boat were sunk by mines in the North Sea. British destroyers sank four German merchant ships, captured four, and routed others off the coast of Holland.

An armed American schooner returning to an Atlantic port reported that she had sunk an attacking U-boat.

A Russian torpedo boat was blown up by a mine in the Black Sea on June 30.

RUSSIA

The Pan-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted a minority resolution approving the creation of a Coalition Government, voted to dissolve the Duma and the Council of the Empire, and rejected the proposal for a separate peace with Germany.

Rear Admiral Glennon of the American diplomatic mission, by an address to the soldiers of the Black Sea fleet at Sebas-

topol, ended the mutiny there and secured the restoration of the officers.

Elihu Root and other members of the American Commission addressed the people of Petrograd and other large cities, pleading for the establishment of a secure Government and continued co-operation with the Allies.

The Social Democratic Congress of Finland adopted resolutions demanding the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The Finnish Diet passed the second reading of a bill establishing virtual independence, and refused to grant a full 350,000,000 mark loan to Russia.

Five Ministers resigned from the Cabinet because of their unwillingness to decree the autonomy of Ukraine in the absence of the Constituent Assembly.

Petrograd was placed under martial control on July 18, following outbreaks by the Maximalists.

GREECE

The Zaimis Cabinet resigned and a new Ministry was formed by Venizelos. On June 29 the Government severed diplomatic relations with the Teutonic Allies. Turkey announced that she would consider this act equivalent to a declaration of war and would deport the Greeks and confiscate their property. On July 16 the United States received official information that Greece considered herself a belligerent.

MISCELLANEOUS

German authorities seized twenty prominent Belgians and deported them to Germany in reprisal for what Germany alleged was inhuman treatment of German civilian prisoners taken by the Belgians at Tabora, in German East Africa.

The German Emperor divided Belgium into two districts and named one German administrator for the Flemish district and another for the Walloon section.

Germany imposed a fine of 250,000,000 francs on the occupied territory in Rumania.

An investigation into German plots for sinking Norwegian ships by concealing explosives in artificial lumps of coal in the coal bunkers resulted in the arrest of several Germans in Norway and a formal protest to the German Government.

A secret German wireless station was found on an island outside of Arendal.

The Austrian Ministry, headed by Count Clam-Martinic, resigned following the refusal of the Polish Party in Parliament to vote for the war budget. A temporary Ministry was formed by Dr. von Seydler.

The extent of Bohemian disaffection was revealed in a statement by F. von Georgi, retiring Minister of Defense, that three Czech regiments had deserted to the Russians and that Czech prisoners of war had volunteered for service against Austria.

Spain suspended constitutional guarantees on June 26. Catalonia and the Basque provinces demanded autonomy.

The young Manchu emperor, Hsuan Tung, was restored to the throne in China on July 1 by General Chang Hsun, who ordered President Li Yuan-hung to retire. He was forced to abdicate on July 7 when the Republican forces under Tuan Chi-jui routed the Monarchists near Lang Fang. The Republicans later captured Peking. President Li Yuan-hung decided not to resume office and Tuan Chi-jui assumed the Premiership and took over the war portfolio.

Germany was convulsed by a political crisis. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, in a speech before the Reichstag on July 9, rejected the Socialist-Centrist program of peace without annexation and declared for continued fighting for conquest. The Emperor promised electoral reforms in Prussia. Dr. A. F. M. Zimmermann resigned as Secretary of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau. Count von Roedern, the Finance Minister, replaced Dr. Karl Helfferich as Minister of the Interior. Bethmann Hollweg resigned on July 14 after a conference between the Kaiser and the Crown Prince and other military leaders. He was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis.

Vice Admiral Delbono succeeded Vice Admiral Arturo as Italian Minister of Marine.

Albanian leaders asked the Italian Government to represent them and their interests at the coming allied conference in Paris, and to demand for them Epirus and parts of Serbia.

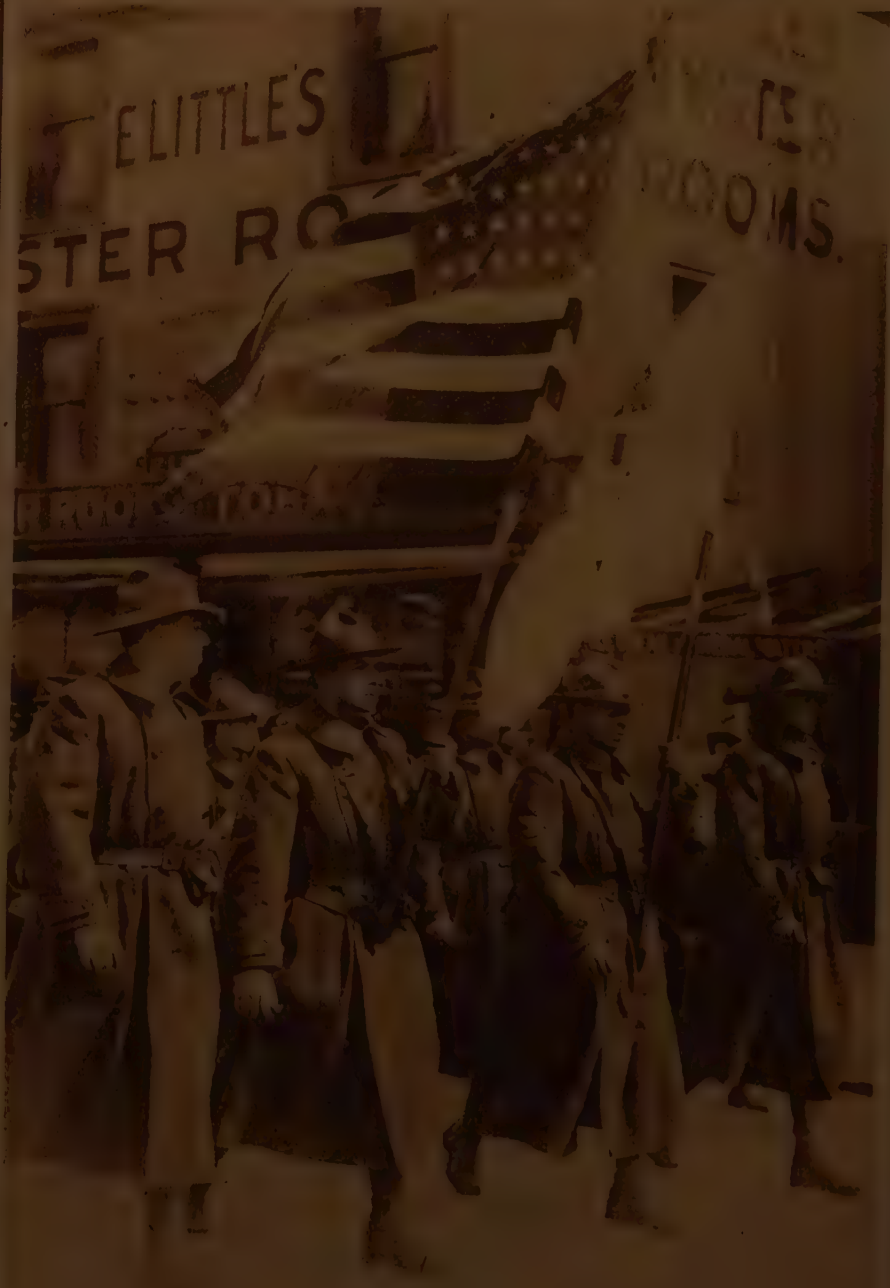
Anti-conscription agitation on the part of the French Canadians resulted in riots in Montreal and Quebec.

As a result of a report on the mismanagement of the British campaign in Mesopotamia, J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary of State for India. He was succeeded by Edwin Samuel Montagu. Lord Hardinge also presented his resignation as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but it was not accepted. Bonar Law announced in Commons that a judicial inquiry would be made to place the blame for the fiasco. Several other changes were made in the British Ministry. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio. He was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes. Winston Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, Dr. Addison becoming Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction.

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE O. SQUIER

Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Whose Department Is Responsible for Aviation.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)



The Standard Bearers of a United States Army Medical Unit at Blackpool, England.

(Photo Central News)

GENERAL JOFFRE BREAKING GROUND FOR THE LAFAYETTE MONUMENT AT BALTIMORE. BEHIND HIM IS M. VIVIANI, AND ON THE LEFT, WITH HAND EXTENDED, IS MAYOR JAMES H. PRESTON

Joffre's Tribute to Lafayette at Baltimore

By J. H. Barget

AFTER the lapse of 136 years the close ties of friendship uniting French and American hearts were renewed in a dramatic episode in which the recent French Mission took part at Baltimore, Md. It was one of those moments in which history repeats itself. On Nov. 5, 1781, when this nation was just emerging from its struggle for independence, the citizens of Baltimore addressed these words to the Marquis de Lafayette as he passed through that place on his way from the South: "Your good offices could not but increase a cordiality which must render our union with France a permanent one." The presence of our troops today on the battle front in France is a fulfillment of that pledge. General Lafayette said in reply:

"In the affections of the citizens of a "free town I find a reward for the "services of a whole life. The honor of "being among America's first soldiers "is for me a source of great happiness. "The time when I had command of an "army in Virginia, which you are pleased "so politely to mention, has only shown "that the courage and fortitude of "American troops are superior to every "kind of difficulty."

Like an echo from the tomb of that beloved Frenchman came the expressions of gratitude uttered by Marshal Joffre on May 14, 1917, when the hero of the Marne, with Vice Premier Viviani and other French dignitaries, stood upon the site in Mount Vernon Square, Baltimore, where a monument is shortly to rise in memory of Lafayette. And two months later, on July 14, Frenchmen at home celebrated their own national fête, recall

ing still more vividly the meaning of the great epoch of human liberty which, dawning in America in 1776, reached a new fullness in France in 1789, and is about to culminate in the destruction of the last Bastile of absolutism.

In Baltimore during the Revolution men and women provided General Lafayette's troops with flour and clothing on his march to the South; and today, through popular subscription, they are raising funds to erect a monument to the illustrious Frenchman. Nothing more was needed to stir the blood and sentiment of Americans than the presence of the Marquis de Chambrun, a member of the French War Commission. When he followed General Joffre in breaking the ground on which the monument to his great-grandfather will rise in Baltimore the cheering of the masses rose in volumes for the hero of their ancestors, and the echo passed the gigantic monument of his friend, General George Washington, whose shadow falls on the Lafayette site.

Many of those present at the dedication of the Lafayette site were ancestors of the association of youths known as the De Kalb Cadets, which took part in the great ovation given Lafayette when he visited Baltimore on Oct. 24, 1824, as the guest of the city, through a resolution passed by the City Council. General Lafayette arrived on the steamboat United States, which conveyed him from Frenchtown. After being shown about the city and entertained at the City Hall, General Lafayette was taken to an elevated pavilion at Baltimore and Light Streets. At this point the De Kalb Cadets passed in review and a scene took place which has been repeated in thousands of homes to show how the great soldier of freedom loved the people of Baltimore.

Each Marshal of the De Kalb Association carried a scroll in his hand bound with blue ribbon, upon which was inscribed the word "Gratitude." Each Marshal deposited the scroll at the feet of the General. He repeatedly opened and closed his arms as if in the act of pressing them to his heart; and, when the procession had passed, Lafayette suddenly turned away and burst into tears.

The breaking of the ground for the Lafayette Monument recalled this scene as the earth was turned over by the French Commission. The thousands of school children seemed thrilled and fairly throbbed the sentiments of the noble Lafayette. They each recalled the story of the banner of crimson silk with which Lafayette was saluted on his visit to the city in 1824—the banner whose memory lives in Longfellow's poem, "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner." The banner was presented to Count Pulaski by the nuns of Bethlehem. At the time he was raising a corps of cavalry in Baltimore, having been made a Brigadier in the Continental Army, and had called on Lafayette, who was wounded.

The visit to our shores of General Joffre, former Premier Viviani, and the French War Commission, coupled with the celebration in Paris this year, brings back vividly the days of the Revolution. It appears singular that after all these years we find ourselves in a rôle similar to that played by Lafayette and his fellow-countrymen in our hour of peril.

Thomas Hastings, who designed the Lafayette Monument in Paris, is now working on the plans for its completion. It is proposed to have the monument erected in Baltimore before the next national holiday of France, July 14, 1918.

War's Inferno on the Aisne Ridge

By Wythe Williams

(*Cabled to The New York Times, July* 12, 1917)

YESTERDAY at dawn I stood on the Chemin des Dames. For the first time in almost three years some one other than the struggling soldiery has been able to reach that bloody ridge. It is called the Road of the Ladies, because it was built by Louis XV. for his daughters. Although grim irony now, the name must remain famous forever as the scene of the mighty conflict still raging for its final possession.

Only a few yards from me was the spot where once stood the monument of Hurtebise, commemorating the battles of Napoleon. Nothing remains of it. It is just a spot pointed out by my officer in that waste of tortured earth. The whole road is the same. It is only a place no different from all that surrounds, and which my officer told me was the Chemin des Dames.

I crawled forward and down deep into the earth through a great granite cavern known as the Den of the Dragons. I passed out beyond the Chemin des Dames and crept slowly and cautiously into the first line of shellholes of the French Army—not trenches, but shellholes vaguely connected by gullies of mud and water. The first line of German shellholes was directly down the ridge beneath me.

The last of the stars were burning out and the light of a new day was just beginning to make things clear. There had been four alarms sounded on that particular section of the line in the twenty-four hours previous, and during the evening a strong but futile German attack. But now it was intensely quiet. Soldiers lay all about me—rifles and hand grenades always ready—but no sound broke the silence. The artillery was taking an early morning sleep, which fact alone was responsible for the permission granted to me to get so close to the very hand grapple of war.

What Our Troops Will See

Many miles behind lay an American army. With its early coffee it might dimly hear the artillery awake from slumber—the awakening wafted to it on the breezes of a July morning. I thought of the American Army as I sat in the mud beside a French poilu carefully sighting his rifle on a ridge of wet earth before us. I thought of the day, so soon to come, when that army must march forward to relieve some similar portion of this line that is hell's very own. I thought of the great armies now being organized back home—armies containing my friends and relatives, my own people—which must come soon to take their places in order that the world's civilization may be saved.

Last November I tried to describe the blasted slopes of Douaumont and the battle front of Verdun. That battlefield remains and always will remain the very last word in modern war. Nothing surpasses its appearance. Nothing can ever surpass it. But now the whole battle line is getting just like that. Some of it gradually, some quickly, like the Chemin des Dames, which is almost as awful a sight as Verdun after nearly a year of constant grueling artillery fire.

Along the Chemin des Dames I counted four charred and splintered stumps at great intervals. That was all that remained to mark a roadway, once macadamized and lined with great trees and hedge rows. In a day or even an hour they are likely to vanish, too, so that nothing will remain but a long expanse of tortured, shell-pocked, upturned, and battered earth. It is like a wild sea suddenly made to be still a moment, drawing under the caps of its waves thousands of pieces from the wreckage of sunken ships—the débris of battle and the remnants of men. No other comparison than a sea fits the battlefield,

both in its appearance and its desolation.

Importance of the Highroad

The Chemin des Dames runs for miles along the very top of the crest captured by the French at the time of the last great offensive. It is something probably the most coveted by the Germans on the whole battle line. Its possession gives the French all the observatories overlooking the valley of the Aillette. Its continued possession by the French makes the Germans tremble for their future. So the battle is always going on. Every day, almost every hour, at some point or other along the Chemin des Dames, the enemy strives desperately to regain some portion of the old line he held so long.

On this particular evening I was billeted at an Army Headquarters far in the rear, but was awakened by the sound of the guns. There was a continuous, unending roar that sounded plainly through the night. I feared that the trip would be called off, but on the stroke of 2 o'clock—the hour set for the start—an orderly came to my cot with a pot of hot coffee and told me an auto was waiting. Getting into my boots, I noticed the bombardment had died down, and went outside into a heavy drizzle which made me quite happy. Not that I particularly welcomed walking some hours in the rain and mud, but because the air was so heavy I felt positively there would be no German gas attack just while making the last stages of the journey. The thought of a gas attack at dawn on the unsheltered slopes of the Chemin des Dames was anything but cheerful.

We went some miles in the car with lights bright, then at a certain point everything was made dark. We plowed away over tiny twisting new roads leading in the general direction of the front. We went very slowly. I could see through the dark long lines of troops plodding along the roadside going in the same direction. They were fresh troops, as we learned later, going to relieve the men in the front line who had borne the brunt of the attack that night.

At 4 o'clock—it was still dark on account of the heavy weather—we left the car in the rear at a post called the Moulin Rouge. I could faintly see a cluster of wooden shacks through the trees. I was met by a French Major. It was the gay welcome habitual to French officers, no matter what their business in hand. * * *

Sharpshooters at Work

We reached the listening post and slumped down into the mud. The soldier there was standing erect. We were all exactly the same color as the mud about, and the soldier told us it was quite safe to stand up and take a look over the barrier at the valley below. He explained casually, but in whispers, that the Germans were straight down the slope at our feet, so if they looked up to see what he was doing they would be sure to be killed by any one of scores of riflemen in similar positions to our own all along the line.

He was leaning over the parapet, aiming his rifle as he spoke. He was so unconcerned, so ordinary, so matter of fact, that I jumped back, startled and amazed, as the sound of the rifle fired suddenly broke the thread of conversation.

"Got an officer that time," he said, after a moment, and kept holding the same apparently casual but very careful aim over the edge.

I stepped forward and looked about. The entire valley of the Aillette stretched away to distant hills. On the left I could see moving Germans through a grove of trees through glasses. They seemed no further distant than across an ordinary street. The artillery was still sleeping, and they continued to move unchecked. Over the tiny stream I could see several white flags on what seemed to be bridges. The officer explained that they were fake Red Cross flags hung there by the Germans in a vain hope to avert fire.

I looked once more across the waste of mud. Only a few yards out lay a headless body. It was recognizable as a body then, but in a little while when the artillery duel would again be under way it would quickly be torn and retorn, buried and reburied under the storm until nothing remained.

As I stepped into the shelter a cannon roared. It was broad daylight on the Road of the Ladies.

Weary Troops From the Front

In a few minutes we began passing lines of poilus headed for the rear. We could not see clearly, but we understood they were troops just out of the front line. They paid no attention to us, and we noticed a sense of weariness in their walk as they plodded silently along.

We continued on our path beyond the village, where we met another party marching to the rear. At their heads was a small detachment of stretcher bearers. But the stretchers were rolled. There were no wounded. The sight of those rolled stretchers gave us a thrill as great as if that detachment had been a band playing martial music. The Germans had indeed failed if these Red Cross men were going back with their stretchers empty. Several of them smiled a greeting as we passed. But the men coming behind were like those we had seen among the stones of the village. They did not smile. Stumbling along in the dim light they looked as forlorn as scarecrows and just as bedraggled and unkempt. The glory of fighting and winning had all gone. They were just a gang of dog-tired men and they did not care a hang who we were or what. They did not even see us; they stared straight ahead with eyes so fixed, yet so lifeless, that it almost seemed as if they were blind.

They had come from that hell on the Chemin des Dames. They had been there for a prescribed number of days. They had not slept; they had only fought and fought and fought. Now they were going back for several days' rest, the same prescribed number. Then they would return to the Chemin des Dames or elsewhere, where they would go through the same performance over and over again, some of them. And they would do it willingly and bravely to the end. They were soldiers of France fighting for more than men ever fought for before.

We got our slow barrage as we came out from the trees into the open desolation that now exists everywhere in the immediate neighborhood of the line of fire. We hugged the lower stretches of the ridge which is the Chemin des Dames. The Germans were sending over shrapnel, but it fell into the valley at our left, and only occasionally were we forced to wait when black clouds of smoke hung in the sky directly before our path.

In the Dragons' Den

We gradually crept up the sides of the slope until about a third of the way from the top. We welcomed with a sigh of relief a yawning hole that is the entrance of the Dragons' Den. This vast winding cavern, one of scores along the Chemin des Dames front, is chiefly remarkable in that it extends clear across the ridge under the roadway and gives a view from the opposite side across the valley of the Aillette. It was held by the Germans long after the surrounding positions were captured, the French having only the end where we entered and a few yards of the tunnel. It is part quarry, part natural grotto, and big enough to conceal whole regiments. It resisted until a couple of weeks ago. When the French entered they merely had to count and bury the dead where they had fallen, and count the unresisting prisoners. We wandered through it lighted by candles. It still held a faint, sickly odor of gas. It is now used as a shelter for troops holding the front lines.

There are several holes where one can crawl directly to the summit of the ridge, others on the far side leading just above the present lines. It was by scrambling up through one of these holes on the Chemin des Dames and through a second one that we crawled to a listening post only fifteen yards from the Germans. The second exit was very difficult, and it made me wonder how it had been possible for all the German soldiers to pass through it whenever an alarm sounded calling them to their places in the shellholes.

A British Reverse on the Yser

By Philip Gibbs

[Cabled to The New York Times]

The Germans struck a heavy, unexpected blow on July 10, 1917, against the British lines north of Nieuport, on the Belgian Coast. After twenty-four hours of terrible artillery fire they broke through on a front of nearly a mile, driving the defenders back upon the Yser River (or Canal) and capturing a strip of sand dunes to a depth of 600 yards. The defenders, the King's Royal Rifles and Northamptons, were cut off from relief by the shell fire, which smashed all defenses and destroyed the bridges, so that only a few wounded men escaped by swimming. The Germans took 1,250 prisoners; the rest of the force died fighting.

[See Map on Page 232]

IT began early on the morning of July 10, when the enemy concentrated a great power of artillery on the British trenches and breastworks in the sands of the east side of the Yser Canal, north of Nieuport, with their left on the seashore. The enemy's position was in a network of trenches, tunnels, concrete emplacements, and breastworks of thick sandbag walls, built down from the coast to south of Lombaertzyde. Facing him were other trenches and breastworks which the British had recently taken over from the French. Behind them was the Yser Canal, with pontoon bridges crossing to Nieuport and Nieuport-les-Bains. Without these bridges there was no way back or around for the men holding the lines in the dunes.

The enemy began early in the morning by putting a barrage down on the British front-line system of defenses from a large number of batteries of heavy howitzers. His shells swept up and down the British front, smashing breastworks and emplacements and flinging up a storm of sand. After that hour the enemy altered his line of fire. There was five minutes pause, five minutes of breathing space for the men still left alive among the many dead, and then the wall of shells crossed the canal and stayed there for another hour, churning up the sand with a tornado of steel.

The guns then drifted to the front line again, and for another hour continued their work of destruction, pausing for one of those short silences which had given the men hope that the bombardment had ceased. It had not ceased. It traveled again to the support line and stayed, smashing there for sixty minutes, then across the canal. There was one interval of a whole quarter of an hour, and officers had time to tell their men it must be a fight to the death, because the position must be held until death. At best when the shelling began it was thought by some of the officers it was retaliation for a raid on Lombaertzyde the night before, and would not be followed by an attack from the German marines, who were known to be holding the enemy's line.

But the commanding officer of the Sixtieth became convinced by 3 o'clock in the afternoon that all this destructive fire was preparatory to a big attack. He saw his bridges had gone behind him, so there was no way of escape, and he saw that the enemy was trying to cut off all means of relief and communication. He tried to get massages through, but without success.

Two shells came into his battalion headquarters, killing and wounding some of the officers and men crowded in the sandbag shelter and dugout in the dune. He took the survivors into a tunnel bored by miners along the seashore, and here for a time they were able to carry on. But it was almost impossible to get out to reconnoitre the situation or to give some word of comfort or courage to the men standing to arms among the wreckage. Flights of hostile airplanes were overhead, and they flew low and poured machine-gun fire at any living man who showed. Away behind they were searching for British batteries.

At 6:15 all the German batteries broke into a drum fire and poured shells all over the British position for three-quarters of an hour without pause. After all these previous barrages it reached greater heights of hellishness, destroying what

already had not been destroyed, sweeping all this wide tract of sand dunes right away from coast to south of Lombaertzyde with flame and smoke and steel and reaping another harvest of death.

There are many details of this action which may never be known. No man saw it from other ground, and those who were across that bank of the Yser could see very little beyond their own neighborhood of bursting shell. But a Sergeant of the Northamptons, who had an astounding escape, saw the first three waves of German marines advance with bombing parties. That was shortly after 7 o'clock in the evening. They were in heavy numbers against the few scattered groups of English soldiers still left alive after a day of agony and blood. They came forward bombing in a crescent formation, one horn of the crescent trying to work around behind the flank of rifles on the seashore as the other tried to outflank the Northamptons on the right.

A party of machine gunners crept along the edge of the sands, taking advantage of the low tide, and enfiladed the support line, now a mere mass of sand in which some wounded and unwounded men held out, and swept them with bullets. Another party of marines made straight for the tunnel, which now was the battalion headquarters of the Sixtieth, and poured liquid fire down it. Then they passed on, but, as if uncertain of having completed their work, came back after a time and bombed it. Even then there was at least one man not killed in that tunnel. He stayed there among the dead till night, then crept out and swam across the canal.

Two platoons of riflemen fought to the last man, refusing to surrender. One little group of five lay behind a band of sand and fired with rifles and bombs until they were destroyed. Meanwhile the Northamptons on the right were fighting desperately against the German marines, trying to get behind them on the right flank. Seeing that they had not the strength to resist this, they got a message through to some troops further down in front of Lombaertzyde to form a barrier, so that the enemy could not come through, and these fought their way grimly up, thrusting back the enemy's storm troops, and then made a defensive block through which the marines could not force.

The German marines brought up a machine gun and fixed it behind the place where the Northampton officers had established their headquarters and fired upon it. The British machine guns were out of action, filled with sand or buried in the sand. One gunner managed to get his weapon into position, but it jammed at once, and with a curse on it he flung it into the waters of the Yser, and then jumped in and swam back. Another gunner lay by the side of his machine gun, hit twice by shells, so that he could not work it. One of his comrades wanted to drag him off to the canal bank, in the hope of swimming back with him. To linger there a minute meant certain death.

"Don't mind about me," said the machine gunner of the Northamptons. "Smash my gun and get back."

There was no time for both, so the gun was smashed and the wounded man stayed on the wrong side of the bank.

The fighting lasted an hour and a half after the beginning of the infantry attack. It was over at 8:30 P. M. A wounded Sergeant of the Northamptons who swam back saw the last of the struggle. He saw a little group of his own officers, not more than six of them, surrounded by marine bombers, fighting to the end with their revolvers. The picture of these six boys out there in the sand with their dead lying around them, refusing to yield and fighting on to certain death, is one of the memories of this war that should not be allowed to die.

Over the Yser Canal men were trying to swim, men dripping with blood and too weak to swim, and men who could not swim. Some gallant fellow on the Nieuport side swam across with a rope under a heavy fire, and fixed it so that the men could drag themselves across.

So a few survivors came over, and so we know, at least in its broad outline, how all this happened. It is a tragic tale, and there will be tears when it is read, but above the tragedy there is the splendor of these poor boys, young soldiers all, who fought with a courage as great as any in history.

Report on the British Disaster at Kut-el-Amara

THE report of the British commission which investigated the first Mesopotamia expedition was submitted to Parliament June 26, 1917, and created a profound sensation. The report finds that the expedition was a justifiable military enterprise, but was undertaken "with insufficient forces and inadequate preparation," and that its initial failure, with the loss of Kut, was due to lack of foresight, mistakes, and miscalculations. The report frankly declares that the shortcomings revealed reflect discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all concerned.

The report finds that the main responsibility for recommending an advance in 1915 with insufficient transport and equipment rests with General Sir John Eccles Nixon, the former commander of the British forces in Mesopotamia, while the others sharing responsibility are placed in the following sequence: In India, Baron Hardinge, the former Viceroy, and General Sir Beauchamp Duff, the former Commander in Chief of the British forces in India; and in England, Major Gen. Sir Edmund Barrow, the Military Secretary of the India Office; J. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, and the War Committee of the Cabinet. The report shows the mistakes and miscalculations incident to the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which involved the surrender of more than a division of the finest fighting troops, while the casualties incurred in the ineffectual attempt to relieve Kut amounted to about 23,000 men.

The report says that the general armament and equipment were not up to the standard of modern European warfare and were quite insufficient for the purpose. Up to the end of 1915 the efforts made to rectify the deficiency in river transport were wholly inadequate. The report concludes:

> Looking at the facts, the want of foresight and provision for the most fundamental needs of the expedition reflects discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all the authorities concerned. To Lord Hardinge, as Viceroy, belongs the general responsibility attaching to his position as head of the Indian Government. More severe censure must be passed upon the Commander in Chief, for not only did he fail closely to superintend the adequacy of the medical provision, but he declined for a considerable time, until ultimately forced by the superior authority of the Viceroy, to give credence to rumors which proved to be true, and failed to take measures which subsequent experience shows would have saved the wounded from avoidable suffering.

The report largely attributes the shortcomings to the policy of indiscriminate retrenchment pursued for some years before the war by the India Government under instructions from the home Government. Transport and medical services are indicated as the weakest spots in the expedition, the lack of transport preventing reinforcements from reaching Kut in time. For "the lamentable breakdown" of the technical services the responsibility is attributed to Surgeon General H. G. Hathaway, who "showed singular unfitness for the high administrative office he held."

The signatories to the report are Lord George Hamilton, Earl Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Archibald Williamson, Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttelton, and John Hodge, Minister of Labor.

In consequence of this report J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary for India. It is understood that judicial proceedings are contemplated against the responsible military officers.

Arthur Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons July 18 supported Lord Hardinge, formerly Viceroy of India and now Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour declared criticism of Baron Hardinge to be grossly unjust, and said that, while he held his present office, he would not permit such a gross act of injustice to any of his subordinates. The House of Commons then supported Mr. Balfour's refusal to accept Baron Hardinge's resignation as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs by a vote of 176 to 81.

The Submarine Situation

By Thomas G. Frothingham

The material in this article was supplied to the writer by an American scientist, one of the leading practical experts on the submarine.

IT is evident that in times of war there are many things that cannot be discussed, but it is allowable to give a better idea of the situation, and especially to correct widely accepted errors concerning the U-boat, the most persistently misunderstood factor in the present war.

If one realizes that the proposition is being soberly considered, from a purely commercial point of view, of shortening the voyage from Northern Europe to the Pacific some 10,000 miles by sending goods in submarines under the arctic ice, it brings home the possibilities of what were considered a few years ago unreliable mechanical toys.

Even after the results accomplished by the U-boats in this war there is a general easy-going tendency in the public mind to regard the submarine as an outside factor that somehow or other will be done away with. This is all wrong, and it should be recognized that the U-boat is today the most active force in the war, the most dangerous weapon of the Teutonic allies. Submarines are steadily doing more damage than any other military arm of the enemy. To curb the U-boat is the greatest problem of the war. This does not mean that Americans should fall into pessimism and believe that the U-boats are now accomplishing military results that are decisive of the war. For this is not true. But Americans should not allow themselves to remain blind to the fact that our greatest danger is this American invention, and every resource of American ingenuity must be called upon to overcome it.

The truth should be baldly stated, that the submarine evil is at its worst. It would be a good thing for our people to understand this, for an intelligent public demand is an incentive to military activity. The lack of such a spur in Great Britain has been harmful. It is only recently that the British public has begun to realize the submarine situation. At first there was no conception that the U-boats were a menace, then came overconfidence from a few successes against them in the early stages—and then the censored concealment of the damage they were doing.

Growth of the U-Boat Peril

The above is largely the reason for the unrestricted growth of the evil. After the first shock of the blow at British control of the seas, if the British Navy, stimulated by an aroused public, had devoted its best energies to devising means to suppress the U-boat there might have been a different story today. Instead of this the first lull in U-boat activity was regarded as a complete victory. There had been some successes, using nets, chasers, ramming, &c., and these means were assumed to be sufficient. It is known that many devices lay for months without being looked at. The "authorized" tales of Kipling, Noyes, &c., lulled the public into security, and the British Navy thought the problem was solved.

Then the U-boats outgrew the methods that had been relied upon. The engine noises that helped the chasers have been muffled. The nets are not effective in broad areas of ocean. The U-boat, which at first required three to five minutes to submerge, now rises, observes, and submerges in fifteen seconds. What chance is there of ramming one now, except by the most unheard-of luck?

The U-boats spread their activities over wide areas on the seas, and there were no new schemes of defense ready to cope with the new conditions. As the sinkings increased, the losses were concealed or minimized by the British censors, and the British public did not realize the extent of the damage until it was so self-evident that the censorship could not conceal it.

Full Truth Not Told

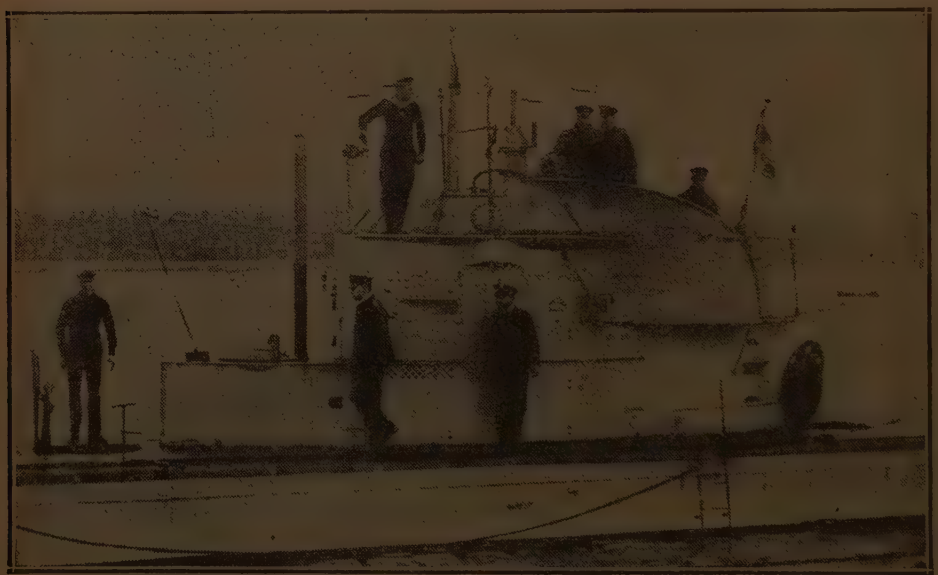
Even today there is no frankness in telling the story. The carefully pre-

pared weekly tables are most misleading. The five thousand and odd sailings and arrivals include all the local craft that make short trips in and out of British ports. Upon these numbers the small percentages are computed. The actual losses are a large percentage of the cargo-carrying tonnage, and far exceed any replacements that are in sight.

We must not allow ourselves to be misled, or to think that the submarine danger is abating. On the contrary, its perils are as great as ever, and sinkings can be prevented only by ceaseless vigilance and the use of every possible means of defense.

On the best authority it can be stated that the Teutonic allies have some 800 U-boats engaged in the present campaign. These may be roughly described as divided into three "watches," one-third coming from the base, one-third on active service, and one-third on its way back to the base. The average time of this turn of service, from the base and return, is about three weeks. It is known that there is a certain amount of supplying at sea, but it may be safely assumed that the great majority of the U-boats return to their bases to refit. As is natural in such an arrangement, there are at times lulls, and at other times greater numbers in active service.

Of course it is now evident that the tales of great captures of U-boats, kept secret to impress the enemy with the horror of "disappearance," are wholly imaginary. Throughout all the warfare against the submarines the actual captures have been very few. There is good authority to say that the number of U-boats taken has not yet come anywhere near to two figures.



THE NEW TYPE OF GERMAN U-BOAT, WITH 3-INCH ARMORED CONNING TOWER
(© *American Press Association*)

Some submarines have been destroyed, but it is believed that a larger proportion of the losses have been from accidents at sea, probably in most cases from the diving mechanism getting out of order and letting the submarine sink to a great depth. This is the main danger to the U-boats, and this will happen at times even in the most effectively operating types of submarines. We have been saved from frequent accidents of this nature in the United States Navy by trying out and developing our U-boats in shallow waters. We have great stretches of comparatively shallow water off our coast, and most of the operating of the submarines has been so safeguarded. The tragic accident at Honolulu in a great depth of water will be remembered as an example of this kind of accident.

Enemy Submarines Increasing

In the period of warfare against the U-boats the German losses of these craft from all causes are believed by the best experts to have averaged from three to five per month. It is known that the Germans are able to turn out U-boats rapidly, and that they have much more than replaced these losses. This is very far from the popular idea, but it is better to try to get at the truth.

One great mistake is to exaggerate the weaknesses of the submarine, yet this is the usual habit. It is an untrue picture to paint the U-boat as a fugitive cheerily chased by a swarm of mosquito boats, each armed with a feeble sting, and each certain that the submarine must soon rise to the surface to meet destruction from the one-pounder's shot in the periscope—to disappear in a spot of oil.

In the first place, the idea that the U-boat must come to the surface at frequent intervals, though still exploited, is no longer true. The present types of submarines can remain two days submerged with perfect comfort, and can easily travel 250 miles while thus submerged. The smitten periscope and the swirl of oil, announcing the doom of a U-boat, are also too frequently in print. All the submarines now carry two periscopes, some also have emergency periscopes, and most of them several spares. So evidently the wound in the periscope alone does not put out the submarine. It must also be remembered that the essential hull of the submarine is inside the oil tanks, and a liberal pouring of oil on the waters may only mean a punctured oil tank. The real hull must be injured to destroy the U-boat.

Gun Power of U-Boats

While the fleet of small patrol boats is of real use in scouting, and most valuable in developing and educating an intelligent personnel that will be a valuable auxiliary to the navy, it should be realized that these patrol boats alone cannot hope to engage submarines. If they are to attempt more than keeping a lookout, they must work in company with craft that are heavily enough armed to dominate the gunfire of the U-boats. Otherwise, all a submarine would have to do, when attacked by these lightly gunned patrol boats, would be to thrust its protected superstructure above the surface and then destroy the patrols at its leisure by gunfire. The present submarines carry very able guns, 4-inch, 5-inch, and in some cases 6-inch. These are short-calibre guns, as they must be designed to be housed down into the hull, and consequently they are not equal to the naval guns of corresponding calibre, but they are very effective at the ranges of the U-boat's operations.

Although in the war game the life of the U-boat is given as one hit, it must be a real hit with a real gun. Besides this, any craft that is to engage a U-boat must have more than one gun, to be sure of destroying its enemy, as the U-boat has the advantage of offering a smaller target—and the U-boat itself has more than one gun.

The usual two naval guns in the bow and stern of the armed merchantman have not proved an insurance against the U-boat, as there already have been cases of ships so armed being worsted by the gunnery of the U-boats. It is now evident that arming merchantmen, while it is a help, is not a panacea against the submarine peril, as was hoped at first.

Value of Destroyers

It should be kept in mind that the destroyer is the lowest denominator in warships that can be considered strong enough really to dominate a U-boat with gunfire. That is, a flotilla of destroyers consists of units each one of which is able to destroy a U-boat in action.

The destroyer type, which was less esteemed before the present war, has won for itself recognition because its value has been proved in war conditions. At Jutland the destroyer showed its worth as an auxiliary of the battleship. In the warfare against the submarine the destroyer has proved the most effective warship.

The destroyers of the United States Navy which were sent abroad made an impression at once in Great Britain. Our destroyers are far superior to those of the British Navy. From our idea of a wider use of these craft as scouts we

have evolved a type that is a better sea boat, and consequently they can buck the weather and stay at sea much longer without being docked. There were not very many of our destroyers sent abroad, but their presence in British waters at once set a new standard, and this has been a great stimulus to the British Navy. Without undue self-praise we may believe that there is now much more alertness and vigilance in the operations against the U-boats.

Sending Admiral Sims, in command of our naval contingent, to co-operate with the British Navy meant even more than giving the assistance of one of our ablest officers. Admiral Sims had been for some months the President of the Naval War College, and he carried with him the results of the study of the submarine problem in the United States Navy.

Early in the game the United States Navy had recognized the submarine as the greatest danger on the sea, and much work has been done in seeking means to neutralize this menace. Admiral Sims and his officers have had all the benefit of this. There are many promising devices that may be worked out, but it is not wise to hope for sensational developments at once. It is more sensible to believe that evasion of the U-boats and protection of their intended victims will prove the present task of the united navies.

Undoubtedly an increasing amount of zealous skill is being devoted to the use of all means of defense available, and vigilance is taking the place of self-confidence. It is probable that the whole game is being plotted out as never before, and to this should be attributed any check on the sinkings, not to radical inventions.

The reports of sinkings have recently been more favorable, and this gives ground for hope that the more systematic use of every safeguard, and the new spirit in the campaign against the U-boats, may be already showing good results. In any case, there must be no delusions as to lessened danger from the U-boats, and no return of self-confidence, either in the navies or on the merchantmen.

Best Methods for Safety

As has been said, arming the merchantman has not insured safety against the U-boat. In many cases it has saved the ship—but it is to be feared that in others it has done harm in making the merchant Captains overconfident. From the first this quality has caused a great many sinkings. There have been too many Captains cocksure that, though the enemy craft might get other boats, they would never "get him"—and at all times too many ships have been coming and going in their same old lanes. The tragedy of the Lusitania was an instance of this.

Unexpected courses, the use of speed at the right time, concealment, and protection are all necessary means of evading the U-boats, and it is probable that the use of these precautions is now being imposed upon the merchant Captains.

Convoying has from the first been recognized as a great protection. But it is evident that the convoying destroyer or other armed ship, if simply moving along abreast of its charge, shares the same danger from waiting submarines. What is called "stationary convoying" is now considered much more effective. This implies large areas policed by patrols, into and through which the ship moves on her voyage. The increase in safety is obvious, and it is probable that this means of defense will be increasingly used. In these days of steam navigation a voyage can be plotted out with definite rendezvous at all stages, and it is possible to arrange a schedule so as to insure a comparatively protected voyage.

Use of Smoke Screens

The smoke screen, which was developed by the United States Navy, has probably been found the best protection for a ship in actual danger of attack by a U-boat. Concealment is given quickly and effectively. In most cases this screen is thrown out by convoying craft, but our navy has devised a practical and economical way of equipping merchantmen with this protection.

The United States Navy is known to have developed an improved high explosive bomb for use against the U-boat. In warfare against submarines the British

Navy had used bombs, especially when the presence of the U-boat was shown by the "Pram" nets, which were buoyed out on the surface of the water. But these bombs did no damage unless they were practically in contact with the U-boat. Cases are known of escapes when the bomb exploded within four feet of the craft attacked. In the improved American bombs the delayed explosion below the surface is so powerful that it will seriously injure the hull of a U-boat twenty-five or thirty feet away.

It is too generally believed that an airplane can detect a submerged U-boat. With the present tendency to overestimate the tactical value of aircraft, this is one of the functions glibly assigned to these machines. The truth is that the airplane can detect a submarine only in a perfect calm. Even the slightest ripple reduces greatly the depths at which it can be seen. In any sea at all the submerged U-boat cannot be detected by an airplane flying over it.

In May of this year there were two weeks of abnormally calm weather in the North Sea, and some U-boats were observed by airplanes, especially in shallow water, assisted by the shadow of the U-boat. Curiously enough, the submerged U-boats so seen are said to appear like whitish objects, no matter what color they are painted. This exceptional weather condition is so rare that it proves the rule cannot be counted upon —and there is not a great future for the airplane in detecting U-boats under the surface.

Hydroplanes Effective

A more practical utility for aircraft against submarines is to use hydroplanes to observe large areas of water, to watch out for U-boats rising to the surface, and to signal their presence to ships. With their wide range of vision hydroplanes can cover long distances on the seas. Perhaps at present, with the difficulties of navigating planes at sea, dirigibles of a reliable type might do this work better, but probably these difficulties of navigating the hydroplanes will be overcome in the future.

Any system of safeguarding against the submarine must reckon on the possibility of attack without the U-boat showing a periscope at all. It is known that some of the submarines are equipped with apparatus that will locate the position of an enemy ship in an astonishingly accurate way. A ship 400 feet long at 8,000 feet range might become a target for a U-boat thus equipped, so that the U-boat, without observing through its periscope, would be able to discharge its torpedo at the target without a large angle of error. This last, however, increases the chances of a miss sufficiently to make the U-boat prefer the periscope, as the submarine's torpedoes are expensive and few in number; but such ability on the part of the U-boat must always be considered in the problem.

This is only one more reason to emphasize the need of some means of detecting the position of the U-boat when submerged. The importance of finding a practical detector will be self-evident to the reader. There are great hopes of such an invention in the near future—but of course there can be no discussion of this at present. Neither can there be any mention of other means that are being worked out; but the above is a fair statement of "the case so far."

To sum up the elements of defense, we should have:

Stationary convoying, with policed areas.

Destroyers to dominate the U-boats.

Smoke screens as the best concealment.

Aircraft to observe U-boats coming to the surface.

Some means of detecting submarines.

The utmost zeal and vigilance in the navies and on the merchantmen.

U-Boat Destruction of Shipping

Record From June 13 to July 15, 1917

THE destruction of merchant ships belonging to the Allies and neutrals has reached a stage where the outlook is regarded in some quarters as serious. A startling dispatch from a press correspondent in London on July 18 asserted that "the loss of ships by submarines totals 1,600,000 tons a month, or from two to three times the total of new construction." The available figures by no means support this estimate; they are, however, incomplete. The figures issued by the British Admiralty, while referring only to British ships, and concealing the tonnage totals, do not suggest that more than about 500,000 tons of British shipping are being destroyed monthly. The available figures of all other losses of Allies' and neutrals' ships by no means bridge the indicated difference.

The British merchant ships destroyed by submarines and mines since the last figures published in this magazine are, according to the Admiralty reports:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17	27	5	0
Week ended June 24	21	7	0
Week ended July 1	15	5	11
Week ended July 8	14	3	7
Week ended July 15	14	4	8
Total for five weeks.	91	24	26

The totals for the last three months (thirteen weeks) are:

Over 1,600 tons	284
Under 1,600 tons	102
Fishing vessels	78

It is stated that the average tonnage of vessels of over 1,600 tons is 4,500. On that basis 1,278,000 tons of British shipping has been destroyed in three months, or an average of 426,000 tons per month. Add the ships under 1,600 tons and the fishing vessels, and it is certain the average tonnage lost is considerably under 500,000—probably about 470,000—tons a month.

French official figures show the following losses:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17	0	5	0
Week ended June 24	2	3	0
Total for two weeks.	2	8	0

Complete figures for June showed the loss of fourteen ships. Later dispatches from Paris report two steamers of the Messageries Maritimes sunk, the Himalaya, 5,620 tons, on July 1, and the Caledonien, 4,140 tons, on July 10.

Italian ships lost included two steamers and five sailing ships during the week ended June 17, one steamer, eight small sailing vessels, and four fishing barks during the week ended July 1, and one steamer and four small sailing vessels during the week ended July 15.

Norwegian ships reported lost included three steamers of 2,829 tons, 2,798 tons, and 1,458 tons, respectively. The Argentine steamer Toro, 1,141 tons, was torpedoed and sunk off Gibraltar.

Greek shipping has suffered heavily, according to a report received by the State Department at Washington and published on June 23. Twelve Greek ships, with a total tonnage of 31,542, valued at $4,592,000, had been sunk by German and Austrian submarines since April 1.

To the foregoing should be added American losses. No complete official figures have yet been published, but news dispatches and reports received by marine insurance companies mention the sinking of eight vessels with a total tonnage of 38,345, between June 12 and July 16. The eight vessels were the Kansan, Haverford, Bay State, Moreni, Petrolite, Massapequa, Orleans, and Grace. Some smaller vessels were also destroyed during the period mentioned.

The conflict of opinion is evidenced by a statement on July 13 by Admiral La-

caze, the French Minister of Marine. He said in part:

> It is true we are suffering considerable losses, but every month increases our certainty of being able to repair them. Furthermore, we are in a position to stand these losses, as a large part in new construction will be taken by the United States. The shipbuilding already under way, the effect of which will naturally only be felt after a certain time, is great enough to replace the highest average of destruction the submarines are likely to reach.
>
> Never in peace times have the entries into French ports been so numerous as now. The German authorities exaggerate the results of the submarine activity by from 30 to 50 per cent., while the French statistics are absolutely correct. The curve representing the tonnage sunk does not mount steadily, but rises and falls. We know, too, that the Germans find great difficulty in obtaining trained crews for submarines.

On the other hand, Senator Marconi, the inventor and a member of the Italian War Mission, stated in an interview while in New York City that the submarine situation was becoming increasingly serious. Speaking of the Mediterranean he described how the larger U-boats go through the Strait of Gibraltar and how the smaller ones are constructed in Germany and sent by rail to Pola, the Austrian naval base on the Adriatic, where they are put together and sent to sea. The Italian Navy had between 300 and 400 patrol boats on duty trying to cope with the submarine menace.

A German Admiralty statement published on June 30 asserted that the total tonnage available for Great Britain's supply of food, munitions, and materials, based upon two independent sets of figures, was 10,000,000, including new construction, confiscated German ships, and purchases from neutrals. More than 5,500,000 tons of this total had been destroyed up to June 1, leaving 4,500,000, or, at the utmost, 5,000,000 tons then available. With a further loss of 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons a month, the German Admiralty believed that it could be confidently expected that Great Britain would be brought to a point where she would be willing to make peace.

Great Britain's Royal Family Now the House of Windsor

KING GEORGE of Great Britain, at a meeting of the Privy Council held in St. James's Palace July 17, 1917, announced that the name of his royal house and family had been changed from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to "the House of Windsor."

Those present on this historic occasion included Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, and other members of the Cabinet; the Archbishop of Canterbury, ex-Premier Asquith, and all members of the Colonial Government who were then in London. The Privy Council unanimously indorsed King George's announcement, and the proclamation putting it into effect was published that afternoon. It says:

> We out of our royal will and authority do hereby declare and announce that as from the date of our royal proclamation our house and family shall be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor, and that all descendants in the male line of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, other than the female descendants who may marry or may have married, shall bear the said name of Windsor.
>
> And we do hereby declare and announce that we for ourselves, and for and on behalf of our descendants and all other descendants of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, relinquish and enjoin the discontinuance of the use of degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors of the Dukes and Duchesses of Saxony and the Princes and Princesses of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and all other German degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors, and the appellation to us or to them heretofore belonging or appertaining.

What the American Navy Has Done

Summary by Secretary Daniels

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, made the following statement to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES, *summarizing the naval progress of the United States in war measures up to June* 24, 1917:

THE policy of the United States Navy is simply to do at at any given moment the thing most effective to win the war for our allies and ourselves. As to the specific things we have done so far and are still doing in accordance with that policy, I can mention four. We have armed and manned with navy gun crews about 200 merchant ships, and are increasing the number daily. We have sent our destroyers to the other side to help the British fleet in the war on the submarines, and will send more. We are taking over the cruiser patrol of the Atlantic Coast on this side of the ocean from Brazil to Newfoundland. We have trained our naval gunners in the most difficult marksmanship in the world, until they have become as efficient in training a small gun on a distant, hardly visible, and constantly moving periscope as they are in shooting the big turret guns at a target as big as a battleship. And a big work for the navy that is in the future will be the convoying of our troops.

The arming of the merchantmen came before this country had entered the war, and was ordered by the President. This was a new problem for the navy, something which never had been contemplated before by the United States Government, and it was not the easiest thing in the world to find all the guns that were needed. Some of them we had to take from ships of the navy. Then the owners of the merchant vessels called upon us to furnish the gun crews. From the mere technical navy viewpoint that was not the thing to do. We needed the men on our naval vessels, but it proved to be the next thing that had to be done; so we manned every armed merchant ship with efficient gunners. I gave orders that none but the best marksmen in the navy should be sent into this new service because of the extreme difficulties of the shooting they were to be called upon to do. So it meant a temporary drain on the battleship crews.

To some of the larger merchant vessels I sent as many as sixteen men each. But this has turned out to be one of the best things the navy has ever done because of the training it has afforded in the new kind of shooting that has become necessary in this war. Every battleship has become a school for marksmanship with a periscope as the target, and with remarkable results. Previously all the emphasis had been placed on the necessity of accuracy in working the big guns in the turrets, with the result that the American Navy had the best records of the world at big-gun practice. Needless to say, we are not neglecting that turret work or acquiring our skill in shooting submarines at the expense of our preparation for fighting bigger ships if the opportunity comes. Up to the present time the dreadnoughts have no work in this war except to wait in complete readiness for the big thing that they may be called upon to do. In that respect our fleet would be a fair match for the Germans, even assuming the apparently impossible situation in which we, alone, would be called upon to engage in a great sea fight off our own coast.

Another big educational work now in progress on the battleships is the training of the engine and fire room crews so that they will be ready for efficient service aboard the big merchant ships that will be used later on for the transportation of our troops. America, as a nation, has become so lacking in what you may call a seagoing personnel that we have to look to the navy as the source of supply in any big emergency.

The next service undertaken by the navy was the sending of our destroyers over to the other side for actual participation in the hostilities at sea. This was

done in spite of the theory that the place of the destroyers was with the battleship, that every dreadnought should have at least four destroyers to act as her eyes and scouts, and screen her with their smoke. But a great many former theories have had to be revised in this war; so we sent the type of craft that, under normal conditions, would have been the last to go, and our allies were greatly elated by our decision.

Both the English and French Commissions told us that the smaller vessels of our navy would be the most useful to them, and they expressed the hope that we might be able to send destroyers, although they did not expect it. But after consultation with Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, and later with Admiral Mayo, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, I ordered the destroyers to go, even though it seemed a somewhat risky thing to do.

In addition to the destroyers, we have sent over enough fuel and supply ships to serve our own naval vessels without calling on the Allies, and we also have placed several of our small craft at the disposal of France. These latter ships are already there, and the number will be increased. We have two bases established on the French coast. Still more, we have sent over 100 navy aviators to France, and are now preparing to establish two hospital units in England and one in France.

Of course, I cannot say how many destroyers were sent, but there were enough to be effective, and more will go later. Sixty new destroyers for the American Navy are now under construction. The time allowed for their completion has been cut from the customary eighteen months to one year. We hope to have them on time within the shorter period.

But I can say of our ships now on the other side that they are all manned by picked officers and men. Nobody was allowed to go on this expedition who had not had experience on destroyers, which is in these days the hardest and most exacting service in the navy. But it develops a wonderful breed of men. They are young, alert, ambitious. The Captain of a destroyer is generally a Lieutenant Commander, and it is a great thing for a youngster of that rank to be in command of his own ship. The best of them strive for it, and the other officers of the destroyer are of the same stamp, and the personnel of the crew is a good match for them. It was because of the quality of these officers and men and because of the splendid construction and equipment of the ships themselves that they were able to surprise the English with the statement that they were ready to go to work immediately upon their arrival on the other side. The spirit of the men in this part of the navy had been greatly improved by the organizing of the destroyers into a flotilla of their own, and they had had the great inspiration of serving under Admiral Sims when he was in command of that flotilla, and later under Admiral Gleaves.

It was Sims who declared at a dinner in London about fifteen years ago that blood was thicker than water and that if war ever came England could count upon America as an ally. Germany resented that officially through diplomatic channels, and Sims was reprimanded. Of course, he should have been reprimanded. I told him so myself not so very long ago, and then selected him to go to England and France before America entered the war. Even then I thought I could see the clouds and felt the need of getting in touch with the British and French Admiralties. Sims was the youngest Rear Admiral in the service. It was for that reason a violation of another tradition to select him, but he has been the right man in the right place, both from our point of view and that of our allies, which, after all, is the same point of view in everything we undertake.

As to the fourth thing I mentioned, the coast patrol, that is as thorough as we can make it and is under the command of one of our ablest officers, Captain Henry B. Wilson, who is soon to be made an Admiral. In addition to the big naval vessels assigned to this patrol, there are small craft on guard, which will be steadily increased in number. These, together with the Coast Guard and Lighthouse Services, the Navy Department has taken over for the purpose of more

efficient coast protection. There is not a harbor, not even a cove, between Brazil and Newfoundland that we do not know about. We have investigated many reports and rumors that the Germans had submarine bases on this coast, but none has been discovered.

To do all this work has put a tremendous pressure on the officers and men of the navy. We need more of both, in spite of the recent big increases. By graduating two classes at Annapolis far ahead of their time we have gained 380 new officers, and the enlisted strength of the navy has increased from 53,000 to 120,928 since the beginning of the year. By the end of the year we must have 150,000 men, the limit fixed by the law as it stands today. I have no doubt about getting these men, thanks to the new plan of dividing the country into fourteen naval districts and the perfecting of the recruiting organization in each of those districts. One big factor in our favor is the greatly improved chance which the enlisted man now has to become an officer. I am now authorized by law to appoint 100 enlisted men to Annapolis every year, so the chance of the man who enters the navy as a sailor to become an Admiral is now much more than a pleasant fiction. Last year an appointee from the ranks was the President of his class at the Academy.

Embargo on Exports of Food and Other Commodities

ACTING under the authority conferred on him by the Espionage act, President Wilson has adopted drastic and far-reaching war measures for the control of exports from the United States. By an executive order, dated June 22, 1917, he established an Exports Council "to formulate policies for the consideration and approval of the President, and make the recommendations necessary to carry out the purposes" of the Espionage act. The members appointed to form the Exports Council were:

Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State.
Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce.
Mr. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture.
Mr. Hoover, Food Administrator.

The administrative end of the work was assigned to Secretary Redfield and the Commerce Department.

In a statement issued on June 25, President Wilson made it quite clear that the work of the Exports Council would be merely advisory, and that there would be no prohibition of exports. The statement continued:

> The whole object will be to direct exports in such a way that they will go first and by preference where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and temporarily to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared.
>
> Our primary duty in the matter of foodstuffs and like necessaries is to see to it that the peoples associated with us in the war get as generous a proportion as possible of our surplus, but it will also be our wish and purpose to supply the neutral nations whose peoples depend upon us for such supplies as nearly in proportion to their need as the amount to be divided permits.
>
> There will thus be little check put upon the volume of exports, and the prices obtained for them will not be affected by this regulation.
>
> This policy will be carried out, not by prohibitive regulations, therefore, but by a system of licensing exports.
>
> The Government is taking, or has taken, steps to ascertain, for example, just what the available present supply of wheat and corn is remaining from the crops of last year; to learn from each of the countries exporting these foodstuffs from the United States what their purchases in this country now are and where they are stored, and what their needs are, in order that we may adjust things, so far as possible, to our own needs and free stocks; and this information is in course of being rapidly supplied.

The step by which the President assumed absolute control of exports of essential wartime commodities was taken in a proclamation dated July 9 and brought into operation on July 15. It provided that none of the commodities named might be exported except under license. Fifty-six nations and their possessions, including allied, neutral, and

enemy countries, were specified as those to which the licensing system applied. The commodities named were coal, coke, fuel oils, kerosene, and gasoline, including bunkers, food grains, flour and meal, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, pig iron, steel billets, ship plates and structural shapes, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferro-manganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition and explosives.

Immediately after issuing the proclamation the President made a statement in the course of which he said:

> In controlling by license the export of certain indispensable commodities from the United States, the Government has first and chiefly in view the amelioration of the food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested. Not only is the conservation of our prime food and fodder supplies a matter which vitally concerns our own people, but the retention of an adequate supply of raw materials is essential to our program of military and naval construction and the continuance of our necessary domestic activities. We shall therefore similarly safeguard all our fundamental supplies.

The statement added that the Government did not want to hamper neutral nations, but rather to co-operate with them so long as supplies from the United States would not become available, either directly or indirectly, to feed the enemy.

A Bureau of Export Licenses, as part of the Department of Commerce, was immediately created, and its organization completed by creating a division of war trade intelligence with Paul Fuller, Jr., of New York as its head. Mr. Fuller is widely known as an international lawyer, and has served as a special agent abroad for President Wilson. As a member of the Haitian Commission he helped reorganize Haiti's fiscal system. The Intelligence Division is charged with keeping the Government informed of the movement of American exports after they reach foreign shores.

The action of the United States Government was warmly approved by the Allies. Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, said that the President's action was typical of the way in which the United States had thrown itself into the war. Public opinion in England generally welcomed the embargo as a means of tightening the blockade of Germany. The neutral nations of Europe, particularly Holland and the Scandinavian countries, however, viewed these measures with feelings of something more than misgiving, believing that the effect would be to reduce their necessary supplies of food and raw materials. Attempts were made to refute the accusation that the neutral countries were helping Germany with their own supplies and also importing commodities for re-export to Germany. The whole of this controversy, which has been in progress since the early months of the war, was revived in an acute form.

A request was made to the United States by the British Government on June 28, 1917, for the adoption of measures to prevent neutral countries contiguous to the Central Powers from importing anything beyond their needs, so that little or nothing could be sent into the enemy countries. Viscount Milner, member of the British War Cabinet, said in the House of Lords on July 4 that there was undoubtedly still a considerable amount of exporting from the neutral countries into Germany, but it was entirely the neutrals' own home products.

The news of the impending embargo on exports from the United States caused considerable alarm in Sweden. E. B. Trolle, former Foreign Minister and now President of the Swedish Government War Trade Commission, made a statement on July 6 in reply to the assertions that Sweden's imports were not intended solely for Swedish consumption. He said in part:

> Official statistics of Sweden's importations for 1916, which are now nearly complete, demonstrate conclusively the absolute erroneousness of assertions that we have been bringing in American products for the purpose of passing them on to the Central Powers. In several instances our total importations from America show a decided decrease compared with 1913, the last normal year, and in many instances in which our imports from the United States have increased, this increase has fallen considerably short of making good the deficit caused by the decrease or total discontinuance of our pre-war importations from belligerent countries.

A Paris paper recently said that exports

to Scandinavia and Switzerland rose from $40,000,000 in 1913 to $183,000,000 in 1916. Leading American papers have published similar statistics and have maintained that the increase was largely due to the fact that Sweden had been re-exporting to Germany. This assertion will not stand the test of examination.

I may remind you that a considerable part of the merchandise mentioned in the American export statistics never reached us, having been detained by the British, and hence this cannot be considered.

Let us consider first the group showing the greatest increase. This embraces agricultural products, and, in particular, cereals. It is a fact that our importations of cereals from the United States in 1916 showed an increase of 72,846,000 crowns over 1913, but it must not be forgotten that in 1913 we imported 55,000,000 crowns' worth of cereals from Germany, whereas we did not bring in a crown's worth last year. Nor must it be forgotten that an increase in the value of products imported by no means indicates an increase in the quantity, in view of the tremendous rise in prices. As a matter of fact, our total imports of cereals in 1916 amounted to only 355,000 tons, against 515,000 in 1913.

I could continue similar citations, but these show the hollowness of assertions regarding our imports from the United States.

As against these explanations an official report made to the United States Government and published on July 8 showed the extent to which Sweden was furnishing supplies to Germany. Large quantities of materials used in the manufacture of war supplies figured prominently in the report. Iron ore shipments from Sweden to Germany have reached a total of 9,000,000 tons, all of the high grade required in the production of fine steel, and representing an amount equal to Sweden's entire pre-war export. In addition to this, the report stated that Sweden had shipped to Germany 15,000 tons of ferro-silicon and ferro-manganese for hardening shells, together with large quantities of copper, zinc, manganese, sulphur, and other ores. Germany had also imported from Sweden in two years fully 200,000 tons of wood pulp for use as a basis for cellulose, used instead of cotton for the manufacture of high explosives, and large quantities of ball-bearings for use in the manufacture of war vehicles and submarines.

Another charge against Sweden made in the report was that she had discriminated against the Allies in the use of her railroads. Agricultural machinery destined for Russia had been held up for months, Sweden exacting from Russia extraordinary bargains before delivery was permitted.

A similar report was made in regard to large quantities of American cotton, said to have been passed on by neutrals to Germany for use in making high explosives. Neutrals are believed to have taken 90,000,000 pounds of cotton over and above their own requirements since the war began. The United States Government therefore is considering the laying of an export ban on that commodity.

On July 13 the State Department requested the neutrals contiguous to Germany to furnish this Government with complete information concerning their production and supplies of foodstuffs, the amount exported, to what countries exported, and their estimates as to their minimum import requirements. This information, supplemented by statistics already in the possession of the Exports Council, will determine the amount of exports to go from the United States to those countries.

Text of President Wilson's Appeal Against Profiteering

PRESIDENT WILSON has insisted from the beginning that the large business interests of the country should be content with normal profits, instead of excessive wartime profits, upon all supplies and materials entering into the Government's prosecution of the war. The recommendation of the Federal Trade Commission (June 20) that the railroads, coal mines, and coke-producing companies be operated by the Government was one of the more radical

steps by which the authorities have sought to bring about a definite understanding on the whole range of wartime prices. On July 11, 1917, the President issued the following extraordinary appeal to the business interests of the country:

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The Government is about to attempt to determine the prices at which it will ask you henceforth to furnish various supplies which are necessary for the prosecution of the war and various materials which will be needed in the industries by which the war must be sustained. We shall, of course, try to determine them justly and to the best advantage of the nation as a whole, but justice is easier to speak of than to arrive at, and there are some considerations which I hope we shall keep steadily in mind while this particular problem of justice is being worked out. I, therefore, take the liberty of stating very candidly my own view of the situation and of the principles which should guide both the Government and the mine owners and manufacturers of the country in this difficult matter.

A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansions of their enterprises which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry, and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have in hand.

But I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism has nothing to do with profits in a case like this. Patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances be mentioned together. It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business, with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical months when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself trembles in the balance, but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country.

Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them and sustain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor. No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives will he not at least give his money?

I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay very liberal and unusual profits in order to "stimulate production"; that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—rewards paid in money, not in the mere liberation of the world.

I take it for granted that those who argue thus do not stop to think what that means. Do they mean that you must be paid, must be bribed, to make your contribution, a contribution that costs you neither a drop of blood nor a tear, when the whole world is in travail and men everywhere depend upon and call to you to bring them out of bondage and make the world a fit place to live in again amidst peace and justice? Do they mean that you will exact a price, drive a bargain with the men who are enduring the agony of this war on the battlefield, in the trenches, amidst the lurking dangers of the sea, or with the bereaved women and pitiful children, before you will come forward to do your duty and give some part of your life, in easy peaceful fashion, for the things we are fighting for, the things we have pledged our fortunes, our lives, our sacred honor, to vindicate and defend—liberty and justice and fair dealing and the peace of nations?

Of course you will not. It is inconceivable. Your patriotism is of the same self-denying stuff as the patriotism of the men dead or maimed on the fields of France, or else it is no patriotism at all. Let us never speak, then, of profits and of patriotism in the same sentence, but face facts and meet them. Let us do sound business, but not in the midst of a mist. Many a grievous burden of taxation will be laid on this nation, in this generation and in the next, to pay for this war. Let us see to it that for every dollar that is taken from the people's pockets it shall be possible to obtain a dollar's worth of the sound stuffs they need.

Let me turn for a moment to the ship owners of the United States and the other ocean carriers whose example they have followed and ask them if they realize what obstacles, what almost insuperable obstacles, they have been putting in the way of the successful prosecution of this war by the ocean freight rates they have been exacting. They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible. I do not say that they realize

this or intend it. The thing has happened naturally enough, because the commercial processes which we are content to see operate in ordinary times have, without sufficient thought, been continued into a period where they have no proper place. I am not questioning motives. I am merely stating a fact, and stating it in order that attention may be fixed upon it.

The fact is that those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany. When they realize this, we may—I take it for granted—count upon them to reconsider the whole matter. It is high time. Their extra hazards are covered by war risk insurance.

I know, and you know, what response to this great challange of duty and of opportunity the nation will expect of you; and I know what response you will make. Those who do not respond, who do not respond in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away, may safely be left to be dealt with by opinion and the law—for the law must, of course, command these things. I am dealing with the matter thus publicly and frankly, not because I have any doubt or fear as to the result, but only in order that in all our thinking and in all our dealings with one another we may move in a perfectly clear air of mutual understanding.

And there is something more that we must add to our thinking. The public is now as much part of the Government as are the army and navy themselves; the whole people in all their activities are now mobilized and in service for the accomplishment of the nation's task in this war; it is in such circumstances impossible justly to distinguish between industrial purchases made by the Government and industrial purchases made by the managers of individual industries; and it is just as much our duty to sustain the industries of the country, all the industries that contribute to its life, as to sustain our forces in the field and on the sea. We must make the prices to the public the same as the prices to the Government.

Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or the inefficiency of the nation, whether it is the Government that pays them or not. They mean victory or defeat. They mean that America will win her place once for all among the foremost free nations of the world, or that she will sink to defeat and become a second-rate power alike in thought and in action. This is a day of her reckoning and every man amongst us must personally face that reckoning along with her.

The case needs no arguing. I assume that I am only expressing your own thoughts—what must be in the mind of every true man when he faces the tragedy and the solemn glory of the present war for the emancipation of mankind. I summon you to a great duty, a great privilege, a shining dignity and distinction. I shall expect every man who is not a slacker to be at my side throughout this great enterprise. In it no man can win honor who thinks of himself.

One Source of Germany's Poison Gases

A pamphlet on the field work conducted by and for the Smithsonian Institution states that while carrying on botanical explorations in Venezuela in the Fall of 1916 Dr. J. N. Rose, Associate Curator of Plants in the National Museum, secured some interesting specimens of sabadilla, a Venezuelan plant of the lily family, from the seeds of which are produced some of the asphyxiating and tear-producing gases used by the Germans in the present war.

The specimens were secured by Dr. Rose through the co-operation of Consul Homer Brett, La Guaira, Venezuela, who stated in a report of the Department of Commerce that this plant is known locally as cevadilla, a diminutive of the Spanish word cebada, meaning barley, and occurs in Venezuela and Mexico. Its highly poisonous seeds have long been used in medicine. The substances produced from sabadilla seed are cavadine, or crystallized veratric, an alkaloid; veratric acid, and sabadalline, a heart stimulant.

The dust from the seed in the field irritated the eyes, throat, and especially the nose, so much that the native laborers were obliged to wear masks. It has been reported that the Germans had bought all the available supply of these seeds before the declaration of war. Both the sabadilla seeds and all preparations compounded from them are now, however, declared contraband by England.

China Foils a Royalist Coup

Attempt to Restore the Manchu Emperor

THE first chapter of the rebellion in China closed on June 24, 1917, when a compromise was arranged between the rebels and the Constitutionalist leaders, which appeared to have bridged over the principal difficulties without recourse to bloodshed. President Li Yuan-hung's dissolution of Parliament on June 14, although against the counsel of Dr. George Morrison, his British constitutional adviser, and deeply resented throughout South China, was on that day accepted by the southern leaders on the understanding that a new election of both houses of Parliament would be held soon without military interference.

Li Ching-hsi, the President's original appointee to the Premiership in place of Tuan Chi-jui, was accepted by the rebels as Premier, and the beginnings toward a reorganized Cabinet were made with General Wang Shih-cheng, former Chief of Staff, as Minister of War, and Admiral Sah Chen-ping, China's well-known naval leader—who once served on a British battleship—as Minister of the Navy. Negotiations then opened for the rest of the Cabinet posts, and messages from the legations in Peking generally agreed that the civil war between the militarists and the southerners had for the time being been avoided by reassuring and patriotic concessions on both sides.

The world was suddenly amazed to hear on July 1, however, that Hsuan Tung, the little Manchu Emperor, had been put back on the Imperial Throne by the notorious Tartar General, Chang Hsun. On July 2, the young Emperor took possession of the palace occupied by President Li Yuan-hung, and Chang, as his protector, issued an edict explaining that Li Yuan-hung "bemoans his defects and asks us to punish him. We recognize his mistakes and also his merits," the edict continued; "we hereby appoint him Duke of the first class."

Chang Hsun accomplished his coup by concentrating strong divisions of troops in Peking of what was practically his personal army, and he carried out the final arrangements, including the conveying of the little Emperor to the Forbidden City, at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, July 1. Though the rest of the country, even the hitherto reactionary rebel Generals, began at once to stir to the defense of the republic, Chang Hsun continued to issue edicts from Peking, promising, among other things, an administration according to the constitutional laws promulgated by the Manchus, the forbidding

GENERAL CHANG HSUN

Chinese Portrait

of all blood Princes to interfere in politics, enforcement of all foreign treaties and contracts, abolition of distinction and permission of marriage between Manchus and Chinese, the pardoning of all political offenders, and the optional wearing of the queue. The expenses of the Imperial household were to remain the same as under the republic, (which has treated the Manchu family with the status of "visiting royalty.") Chang Hsun was appointed Viceroy of Chihli, the position held by Li Hung-chang un-

der the Dowager Empress when Chang Hsun was a Tartar General in her service. The nominee to the office of Foreign Affairs was Liang Tun-yen, Minister to America in 1911, a famous emissary on foreign diplomacy under the Manchus, and Yuan Shih-kai's late Minister of Communications.

So rapid was the concentration of the republican armies on Peking, however, that by July 5 this romantic Manchu restoration was already on the verge of collapse. No important leader in China came to Chang Hsun's relief; and no armies from either North or South China repaired to his imperial standard. His 30,000 troops were faced on the 5th of July by more than 50,000, with many thousands of others hurrying up from the south and west. By the 8th, exactly a week after his sensational re-entry into the public life of the world, the Manchu Emperor accepted Chang Hsun's resignation and abdicated from his throne. The armies continued to close in, however, and on July 9 Chang Hsun handed over the administration of the City of Peking to General Wang Shih-cheng, the Minister of War, fighting having meanwhile taken place at the village of Lang Fang, south of the city.

The republican troops entered the city in force on the 11th, and hemmed in Chang Hsun and his fast dwindling troops in the imperial city. Large numbers of these were captured, and the final flight of Chang Hsun from the capital was reported on the 14th, at which time the city had again been taken over by the police gendarmerie, who had successfully prevented looting.

Meanwhile, Vice President Feng Kuo-chang had succeeded temporaily to the Presidency on July 7, and had administered the republican Government since that time from Nanking. The failure of Chang Hsun's imperial coup caused the situation to revert to the compromise of June 24, on the basis of which it is expected, now that republicanism is assured, the reorganization of the Government may continue in China.

"We Grazed the Very Edge of Cowardice"

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, retorting on July 14 to Senator Stone's assertion that "we are in the war unwisely," delivered a speech in the Senate in which he said:

The President and the Administration did do everything that human intellect could conceive for the purpose, if possible, of bringing an end to the war. We did everything we had a right to do. The President came to this Chamber and made that speech which was criticised, not only abroad but here in this Chamber, as being a "peace-at-any-price" speech—the celebrated speech in which he said we must have peace without victory.

The President traveled the whole gamut, up and down. He allowed this nation to suffer humiliation after humiliation, shame piled upon shame—grazed the very edge of cowardice because his heart beat in unison with the cause of a just and lasting peace.

Now we are in it, we have got to see it through—not only to a successful issue of this war, but, while we are about it, to a just and permanent treaty which shall as far as possible make war cease to be a game of national athletes.

We have got to see it through to a point where the world can hope that there will be peace for some generations—at any rate to a point where the civilized world shall say to any nation which goes to war without having previously submitted the cause in controversy, or proposed to submit it, to fair and impartial arbitration: "You are an outlaw nation. You are no longer within the pale of international law. You are everybody's enemy, and we shall treat you as such until you come back to your senses."

We do not propose in time of peace to prepare for war, always. We propose now in time of war to prepare for peace, and for a just and lasting peace, and we are going through with it with men and money and ships, on land and on sea, and in the air, and above the land and sea and under the sea, until we have seen it through not only to peace, but to a just and lasting peace, a righteous peace.

War Aims and Peace Terms Restated

Official Utterances of Premier Lloyd George, Baron Sonnino, and Other Ministers

David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, made a noteworthy speech before the Burgesses in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on June 29, 1917. The most significant passages were aimed at the German Social Democratic peace program as stated at Stockholm, and were as follows:

NEVER have good men stood more in need of sympathy, support, and co-operation than the men who are guiding the fate of the nation in this hour in all lands. They were called to the helm in a raging tornado, the most destructive that ever swept over the world on land or sea. Great Britain so far has weathered the storm. She has successfully ridden the waves, but the hurricane is not yet over and it will need all the efforts, all the skill, all the patience and all the courage and endurance of all on board to steer the country through without foundering in the angry deep.

But with the co-operation of everybody we should get through once again. It is a satisfaction that Great Britain had no share in the responsibility for these grim events. Our part was as honorable and as chivalrous a part as was ever taken by any country in any war. The people must be sustained by the unswerving conviction that no part of the guilt for this terrible bloodshed rests on the conscience of their native land.

The story of the early days of the war is not that of the wolf and the lamb, for Germany, expecting to find a lamb, found a lion. * * *

In my judgment the war will come to an end when the allied armies have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany. As soon as these objectives have been reached and guaranteed, this war will come to an end, but if the war comes to an end a single minute before, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind.

No doubt we can have peace now at a price. Germany wants peace—even Prussia ardently desires it. They said give us some indemnity for the wrongs we have done, just a little territory here and a little there and just a few privileges in other directions, and we will clear out. We are told that if we are prepared to make peace now Germany will restore the independence of Belgium. But who has said so?

No German statesman has ever said he would restore the independence of Belgium. The German Chancellor came very near to it, but all the Junkers fell on him and he received a sound box on the ears from the mailed fist.

The only terms on which Germany has suggested restoring Belgium are not those of independence, but of vassalage. Then came the doctrine of the status quo and no annexation and no indemnities. No German statesman has accepted even that.

But what did indemnity mean? Indemnity is an essential part of the mechanism of civilization in every land and clime. Otherwise what guarantee have we against a repetition? Then it is said, "That is not what you are after. You are after our colonies, and probably Palestine and Mesopotamia." If we had entered into this war purely for the German colonies we would not have raised an army of 3,000,000 or 4,000,000. We could have got them without adding a single battalion to the army.

Our greatest army is in France. We are there to recover for the people who have been driven out of their patrimony the land which belonged to them.

As to Mesopotamia, it is not and never has been Turkish. You have only

to read the terrible reports to see what a wilderness the Turks have made of the Garden of Eden. What is to happen to Mesopotamia must be left to the peace conference, and there is one thing that will never happen to it. It will never be restored to the blasting tyranny of the Turks. The same observation applies to Armenia.

As to the German colonies, that again is a matter which must be settled by the great international peace conference. When we come to settle who must be the future trustees of those uncivilized lands we must take into account the sentiments of the peoples themselves and whether they are anxious to secure the return of their former masters or whether they would rather trust their destinies to other and juster and gentler hands. The wishes, desires, and interests of the peoples themselves of those countries must be the dominant factors in settling their future government.

Peace must be framed on so equitable a basis that the nations would not wish to disturb it. It must be guaranteed by destruction of Prussian military power, so that the confidence of the German people shall be put in the equity of their cause and not in the might of their armies. A better guarantee than either would be democratization of the German Government.

No one wishes to dictate to the German people the form of government under which they should choose to live. But it is right that we should say that we will enter into negotiations with a free Government of Germany with a different attitude of mind and a different temper and different spirit and with less suspicion and more confidence than we should with a Government whom we feel today to be dominated by the aggressive and arrogant spirit of Prussian militarism.

All the allied Governments will, in my judgment, be acting wisely if they draw that distinction in their general attitude toward the discussion of peace terms.

As to the military situation, there is no doubt that the startling developments in Russia have modified the military situation this year temporarily to our disadvantage, but permanently for the better. What happened on the western front showed what could have been accomplished this year if all the allied forces had been ready to bring all-round pressure to bear.

In training, equipment, and experience our army is infinitely better than it ever has been. The finest collection of trench-pounding machines which any army has ever seen is now in the possession of the British forces.

The Russian revolution, beneficent as it undoubtedly is, great as will be its results both this year and even more hereafter, undoubtedly has had the effect of postponing complete victory. But Russia will regain her strength with a bound, and become mightier and more formidable than ever. * * *

The strength of Great Britain, once more flung into the breach, has once more saved Europe and human liberty. But now Russia is gaining strength every day. It has a capable Government. It never had a better one, and her power in the future will be inspired by freedom.

America, always the mainstay of freedom, is beginning to send her valiant sons to the battlefields of Europe to rally around the standard of liberty. That is why victory now is more assured and more complete than we could have hoped for.

Victory is assured under two conditions. The first is that the German submarine attacks must be defeated or kept within reasonable bounds.

The losses are heavy. They may, and probably will, drive us to further restrictions in some trades and perhaps to hardships. That all depends on the nation, for, after carefully reckoning the chances and the possibilities, the Government has come to the conclusion, based on best advice, that submarines can neither starve us at home nor drive our armies out of the field abroad. Our losses during May and June were heavy, but they were hundreds of thousands of tons beneath the Admiralty forecast.

We are beginning to get them. Arrangements also have been made for

frustrating them and for destroying them. I have no hesitation in saying that if we all do our part the German submarine will be almost as great a failure as the German Zeppelin.

If we do not waste we shall not starve. We have succeeded in increasing the food supply, and we are engaged in a great shipbuilding program for fighting and for carrying purposes. If every employer and every workman would pull together, between them they would pull us through. * * *

Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and its best, but do not forget the great succession of hallowed causes. They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. I again appeal to the people of this country and beyond that they should continue to fight for the great goal of international rights and international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre over liberty.

Sonnino On Italy's War Aims

Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of War, addressing the Chamber of Deputies at Rome on June 21, 1917, declared that Italy did not aspire to frontiers constituting a menace to any neighboring State, but was seeking a bulwark adequate to protect the independence of a pacific country. He said, in part:

The hour is solemn for our country. We cannot deny that. By the prolongation of the war general conditions have become worse day by day, and they have become even more disagreeable for the nations aspiring now, or who may be expected to aspire, to an equitable and durable peace. It must be equitable to prove durable—a peace which will mark an advance in the march of civilization. It is to obtain such a peace that we appeal to the entire nation without distinction of rank, sex or age, asking that each continue his efforts in the sacred name of all our brothers who have given their health or life for the common cause.

Every momentary weakness, every hesitation, might render useless the steps which have been taken up to the present amid so many arduous difficulties and innumerable sacrifices, and might even imperil the victorious outcome.

Italy counts today absolutely upon the devotion of her sons, upon their actions, their words, and their sublime spirit of self-abnegation.

Baron Sonnino pointed out that it was impossible for the country of Mazzini and Garibaldi to accept a peace which should leave a country under foreign oppression, which should exclude all reparation for all the iniquities and violent cruelties endured by Belgium, which, by implication, should tolerate the organized extermination of the Armenians by the Turks, and stand in the way of a unified and independent Poland. Baron Sonnino continued:

Would that ever be a peace such as has been proposed by President Wilson, which his memorable message guaranteed for the future and for which the United States has chivalrously drawn the sword? It would be an insult to suppose so. The objective for which all our politics are striving and by which all our warfare is being guided is peace, not conquests or imperialism—a desire to assure the country of the future of durable peace and free competition in the development of civilization and material resources. And for a durable peace it is necessary for Italy to have assurance of frontiers according to nationality, a condition which is indispensable to its effective independence.

Far from us is the thought not only of the oppression but also of the debasement of any race or State, far or near, big or little. We seek, on the contrary, to co-operate in the constitution of an equilibrium of power which is a condition and guarantee of reciprocal respect and mutual concessions—essential elements in the liberty and equality of the communal and social life of individuals as of peoples.

French Note to Russia Defining War Aims

Great Britain and France both replied on June 11, 1917, to the Russian proclamation of April 9, restating their war aims in the light of the Russian dictum concerning "no annexations and no indemnities." The British reply was printed in the preceding issue of this magazine. The text of the French note is as follows:

It is with entire satisfaction that the Gov-

ernment of the French Republic has taken cognizance of the proclamation of the Russian Provisional Government of April 9, (March 27, Old Style,) which the Russian Ambassador was instructed to communicate to it. The Government of the republic shares the full confidence which the Provisional Government entertains in the restoration of the political, economical, and military forces of the country.

It does not doubt that the measures announced for the improvement of the conditions in which the people mean to carry through to victory the war against an adversary who threatens their national patrimony more than ever, will permit them to drive him from their soil, definitely establish their reconquered liberty, and thus effectively take their part in the common struggle of the Allies. In this way the efforts, which our enemies do not cease to renew, to sow misunderstanding among the Allies, and to obtain credit for the most lying reports regarding their reciprocal decisions, will be rendered vain.

The Government of the French Republic, always confident in the sentiment of its old and faithful ally, is glad to feel itself in full community of ideas with the Russian Government and people regarding the principles by which its policy has not ceased to be inspired during the present conflict. France thinks of oppressing no people and no nationality, not even those of her enemies of today, but she intends that the oppression which has so long weighed upon the world shall be finally destroyed and that the authors of the crimes which will remain for our enemies the shame of this war shall be chastised.

Leaving to her enemies the spirit of conquest and greed by which they are inspired in peace as in war, France will never aspire to snatch any territory from its legitimate owners. Rebuffed in all the efforts which she made to maintain peace, forced to reply by arms to the most unjust of aggressions, she entered the war only to defend her liberty and her national patrimony, and to assure henceforward in the world a respect for the independence of peoples. Just as Russia proclaimed the restoration of Poland to her former independence, so France hails with joy the effort which is being carried on in different parts of the world by peoples still tied by the bonds of a dependence which has been condemned by history.

ALSACE-LORRAINE

Be it to conquer or recover their national independence, to assert their rights to the respect of an ancient civilization, or to shake this Germanic tyranny ready to weigh so heavily on peoples less advanced on the path of progress, the only end of the war which France looks to is the triumph of right and justice. For herself she intends that her faithful and loyal provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which were snatched from her in the past by violence shall be liberated and shall return to her.

With her allies France will fight until victory in order that they may be assured the complete restoration of their territorial rights and their political and economic independence, as well as reparatory indemnities for the long toll of inhuman and unjustified acts of devastation and the indispensable guarantees against a recurrence of the evils caused by the incessant acts of provocation of our enemies.

The Government of the republic remains, like the Russian people, convinced that it is by drawing inspiration from these principles that the foreign policy of Russia will attain the aims of a people enamored of justice and liberty, and that after a victorious struggle the Allies will be able to create a solid and lasting peace founded on right. The Russian Government may be assured that the French Government is desirous of coming to an understanding with it not only regarding the means for continuing the struggle, but also regarding those for ending it, by examining and settling a common agreement as to the conditions in which they may hope to reach a final settlement in accordance with the ideas by which their conduct in this war is directed.

To this reply was attached the text of the Order of the Day voted on June 5 by the French Chamber of Deputies.

Alsace-Lorraine: The Declaration of Bordeaux

The Order of the Day adopted on June 5, 1917, by the French Chamber of Deputies, at the close of the debate on the Stockholm peace movement, contained this passage:

"Unanimously indorsing the protest made before the National Assembly in 1871 by the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine against the wresting of that territory from France, the Chamber declares that it awaits from the present war, which has been imposed upon Europe by the aggression of imperialist Germany, along with the liberation of the invaded provinces, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, and the just reparation of damages."

The Declaration of Bordeaux referred to in this Order of the Day was printed in full in the Bulletin des Armées a few days later, and is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

DECLARATION OF BORDEAUX

National Assembly, Session of 1871. Annex to the Official Report of Feb. 16, 1871.

Proposition relative to the declaration of the Deputies of the Departments of the Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and of the Vosges, in regard to Alsace and Lorraine.

Presented by Messrs Leon Gambetta, Grosjean, Humbert, Kuss, Saglio, H. Varroy, Titot, André, Kablé, Tachard, Rehm, Edouard, Teutsch, Dornès, Hartmann, Ostermann, La Flize, Deschange, Billy, Bardon, Viox, Albrecht, Alfred Koechlin, Charles Boersch, Grandpierre, Chauffour, Rencker, Melsheim, Keller, Brice, Berlet, Schneegans, Ed. Bamberger, Noblott A. Boell, Scheurer-Kestner, Ancevon.

We, the undersigned, French citizens chosen and deputed by the Departments of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and the Vosges, to bring to the National Assembly of France the expression of the unanimous will of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, after having met and deliberated, have resolved to proclaim in a solemn declaration their sacred and unalterable rights, in order that the National Assembly, France, and Europe, having under their eyes the prayers and the resolutions of our constituents, can neither commit nor allow to be committed any act that shall attaint the rights whose guardianship and defense have been intrusted to us by formal mandate.

DECLARATION

I.—Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated.

Associated for more than two centuries with France in both good and ill fortune, these two provinces, ceaselessly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national welfare; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble pact that binds them to a united France. Made the subject of dispute today by the pretensions of a foreign aggressor, they affirm in the face of all obstacles and all dangers, under the very yoke of the invader, their unshakable fidelity.

In full unanimity the citizens who remained in their homes, like the soldiers who rallied to the flag, the former by voting, the latter by fighting, have made known to Germany and to the world the immovable will of Alsace and Lorraine to remain French territory.

II.—France can neither consent to nor sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

She cannot, without imperiling her national existence, deal a mortal blow at her own unity by abandoning those who have acquired by two hundred years of patriotic devotion the right to be defended by the whole country against the aggressions of victorious force.

An assembly, even though a product of universal suffrage, could not invoke its sovereignty to cover or ratify exactions destructive of the national integrity: it would be arrogating to itself a right which does not belong even to a people united in its legislative functions. Such an excess of power, whose effect would be to mutilate the mother community, would expose those guilty of it to the just denunciations of history. France can endure the blows of brute force; she cannot sanction its decrees.

III.—Europe can neither permit nor ratify the abandonment of Alsace and Lorraine.

Guardians of the rules of justice and international law, the civilized nations could not long remain insensible to the fate of their neighbor, under pain of being, in their turn, victims of the aggression which they had tolerated. Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a wretched herd; it cannot remain deaf to the repeated protests of the threatened communities; it owes it to its own safety to forbid such abuses of force. It knows, besides, that the unity of France is today, as in the past, a guaranty of the general order of the world, a barrier against the spirit of conquest and invasion. Peace made at the price of a cession of territory would only be a ruinous truce and not a definitive peace. It would be for all a cause of internal agitation, of legitimate and permanent provocation throughout the earth.

In brief, Alsace and Lorraine protest highly against all cession; France cannot consent to it, Europe cannot sanction it.

In support of this we call upon our fellow-citizens of France, and upon the Governments and nations of the whole world, to witness that in advance we hold null and void all acts and treaties, votes or plébiscites, which shall consent to abandoning to the stranger all or part of our provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

We proclaim by these presents forever inviolable the right of citizens of Alsace and Lorraine to remain members of the French Nation, and we swear, both for ourselves and for those we represent, likewise for our children and their descendants, to claim it eternally by all ways and means and against all usurpers.

The undersigned members of the National Assembly place on file the following proposition with the Chamber of Deputies: "The National Assembly has taken under consideration the unanimous declaration of the Deputies of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and Vosges." [Followed by the signatures.]

Russian Mission to United States

Ambassador Bakhmeteff, in a Series of Addresses, Tells of Free Russia's Purposes

THE Russian Mission to the United States, which was appointed before the reconstruction of the Provisional Government, arrived at Seattle on June 13, 1917. The mission was headed by Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, and included about forty officials and experts, representing nearly every department of the Russian Government. The following constituted the special embassy, in order of their rank:

Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, (and wife.)

Lieut. Gen. Roop, representative of the Russian Army.

Professor Lomonosoff, member of the Council of Engineers and representative of the Ministry.

Professor Borodine, representative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

M. Novitzky, representative of the Ministry of Finance.

Attachés—M. Soukine, First Secretary of Legation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Captain Dubassoff of the Guard, aide de camp, (and wife,) and Captain Chutt.

Reaching Washington on June 19, the visitors were greeted by Secretary of State Lansing, and received an enthusiastic welcome as they passed through the streets from the station. Next day Ambassador Bakhmeteff was formally presented to President Wilson, while General Roop paid his respects to Secretary Baker.

Program of New Russia

Outlining the political and military program of "New Russia" to the newspaper correspondents at Washington, M. Bakhmeteff said:

In behalf of the Russian Provisional Government and in behalf of all the people of new Russia, I have been first of all sent here to express their gratitude to the Government of the United States for the prompt recognition of the new political order in Russia. This noble action of the world's greatest democracy has afforded us strong moral support and has created among our people a general feeling of profound appreciation. Close and active relationship between the two nations based upon complete and sincere understanding encountered inevitable obstacles during the old régime because of its very nature. The situation is now radically changed with free Russia starting a new era in her national life.

The Provisional Government is actively mobilizing all its resources and is making great efforts to organize the country and the army for the purpose of conducting the war. We hope to establish a very close and active co-operation with the United States, in order to secure the most successful and intensive accomplishment of all work necessary for our common end. For the purpose of discussing all matters relating to military affairs, munitions and supplies, railways and transportation, finance, and agriculture, our mission includes eminent and distinguished specialists.

On the other hand, I hope that the result of our stay and work in America will bring about a clear understanding on the part of your public of what has happened in Russia and also of the present situation and the end for which our people are most earnestly striving. The achievements of the revolution are to be formally set forth in fundamental laws enacted by a Constitutional Assembly, which is to be convoked as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the Provisional Government is confronted with the task of bringing into life the democratic principles which were promulgated during the revolution.

New Russia received from the old Government a burdensome heritage of economic and technical disorganization which affected all branches of the life of the State, a disorganization which weighs yet heavily on the whole country. The Provisional Government is doing everything in its power to relieve the difficult situation. It has adopted many measures for supplying plants with raw material and fuel, for regulating the transportation of the food supply for the army and for the country, and for relieving the financial difficulties.

The participation in the new Government by new members who are active and prominent leaders in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has secured full support from the democratic masses. The esteem in which such leaders as M. Kerensky and M. Tseretelli and others are held among the working classes and soldiers is contributing to the strength and stability of the new Government. The Constitutional-Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Socialist-Populists, and, excepting a small group of extremists, the Social Democrats—all these parties, embracing the vast majority of the peo-

ple, are represented by strong leaders in the new Government, thereby securing for it authority.

Plans of the Government

Firmly convinced that unity of power is essential, and casting aside class and special interests, all social and political elements have joined in the national program which the new Government proclaimed and which it is striving to fulfill. This program reads:

"The Provisional Government, rejecting, "in accord with the whole people of Russia, "all thought of separate peace, puts it "openly as its deliberate purpose the "promptest achievement of universal peace; "such peace to presume no dominion over "other nations, no seizure of their national "property nor any forced usurpation of for-"eign territory; peace with no annexations "or contributions, based upon the free de-"termination by each nation of its des-"tinies.

"Being fully convinced that the establish-"ment of democratic principles in its in-"ternal and external policy has created a new "factor in the striving of allied democracies "for durable peace and fraternity of all na-"tions, the Provisional Government will take "preparatory steps for an agreement with "the Allies founded on its declaration of "March 27. The Provisional Government is "conscious that the defeat of Russia and her "allies would be the source of the greatest "misery, and would not only postpone but "even make impossible the establishment of "universal peace on a firm basis.

"The Provisional Government is convinced "that the revolutionary army of Russia will "not allow the German troops to destroy "our allies on the western front and then "fall upon us with the whole might of their "weapons. The chief aim of the Provisional "Government will be to fortify the demo-"cratic foundations of the army and organ-"ize and consolidate the army's fighting "power for its defensive as well as offensive "purpose."

The last decision of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the decision of the All-Russian Peasant Congress, the decision of the Duma, the voice of the country as expressed from day to day by almost the entire Russian press, in resolutions adopted at different conferences and congresses—all these confirm their full support to this national program and leave not the slightest doubt that Russia is decided as to the necessity to fight the German autocracy until the conditions for a general and stable peace in Europe are established. Such decision is becoming more and more evident each day by practical work and results and shows itself in the pressing and rapid reorganization of the army which is now being fulfilled under the firm and efficient measures adopted by Minister Kerensky.

New Russia, in full accord with the motives which impelled the United States to enter the war, is striving to destroy tyranny, to establish peace on a secure and permanent foundation and to make the world safe for democracy.

Address Before the House

Stirring scenes were witnessed when the House of Representatives gave a formal reception to the mission on June 23. Speaker Champ Clark caused the first outburst of enthusiasm when he reminded the House that Russia was the twenty-seventh republic and "that there was one other republic on earth (Switzerland) when our fathers proclaimed our independence in 1776." M. Bakhmeteff, speaking in excellent English and with much fervor, was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. He said, in part:

Does not one feel occasionally that the very greatness and significance of events are not fully appreciated, due to the facility and spontaneity with which the change has been completed? Does one realize what it really means to humanity that a nation of 180,000,000, a country boundless in expanse, has been suddenly set free from the worst of oppressions, has been given the joy of a free, self-conscious existence?

Instead of the old forms there are now being firmly established and deeply imbedded in the minds of the nation principles that power is reposed and springs from and only from the people. To effectuate these principles and to enact appropriate fundamental laws is going to be the main function of the Constitutional Assembly which is to be convoked as promptly as possible.

Guided by democratic precepts, the Provisional Government is meanwhile reorganizing the country on the basis of freedom, equality, and self-government, rebuilding its economic and financial structure.

The people are realizing more and more that for the very sake of further freedom law must be maintained and manifestation of anarchy suppressed. In this respect local life has exemplified a wonderful exertion of spontaneous public spirit. On many occasions, following the removal of the old authorities, a new elected administration has naturally arisen, conscious of national interest and often developing in its spontaneity amazing examples of practical statesmanship.

The latest resolutions, framed by the Council of Workingmen, the Congress of Peasants, and other democratic organizations, render the best proof of the general understanding of the necessity of creating strong power. The coalitionary character of the new Cabinet, which includes eminent Socialist leaders, and represents all the vital elements of the nation, therefore enjoying its full support, is most effectively securing the unity and power of the Central Government,

the lack of which was so keenly felt during the first two months after the revolution.

Realizing the grandeur and complexity of present events and conscious of the danger which is threatening the very achievement of the revolution, the Russian people are gathering around the new Government, united on a "national program." It is this program of "national salvation" which has united the middle classes, as well as the Populists, the labor elements, and Socialists. Deep political wisdom has been exhibited by subordinating class interests and differences to national welfare. In this way this Government is supported by an immense majority of the nation, and outside of reactionaries only is being opposed by comparatively small groups of Extremists and Internationalists.

As to foreign policy, Russia's national program has been clearly set forth in the statement of the Provisional Government of March 27, and more explicitly in the declaration of the new Government of May 18. With all emphasis may I state that Russia rejects any idea of separate peace. I am aware that rumors were circulated in this country that a separate peace seemed probable. I am happy to affirm that such rumors are wholly without foundation in fact.

Gentlemen of the House, I will close my address by saying—Russia will not fail to be a worthy partner in the "league of honor."

After this address members of the mission stood in a receiving line while members of the House passed by. Every one warmly congratulated Ambassador Bakhmeteff on his address.

At Washington's Tomb

The Russian Mission joined with the Belgian Mission on June 24 to pay homage at the tomb of George Washington at Mount Vernon. M. Bakhmeteff concluded his address with these words:

With a feeling of solemn veneration and overwhelming emotion I bestow on this immortal tomb this wreath as a tribute to the hero, to the knight of liberty and democracy, from the messengers of Russia's freedom.

Professor Lomonosoff, in a statement on June 25 regarding the condition of the Russian railroads, said that locomotives were the fundamental need of Russia today. "Quite frankly I can say to you, our American friends," he said, "give us locomotives, and we shall give you military success." Russia needs at once 1,000 ten-wheel American locomotives to put her idle cars in operation; another 1,000, with appropriate number of cars, to free the congested freight terminals, and another 850 annually to meet the discrepancy between Russia's manufacture and her needs for renewal and new construction. "I must frankly tell you," Professor Lomonosoff added, "that the Russian railways are now in a most critical state. Heroism can do nothing when there is a lack of munitions and food." The Siberian railroad was in splendid condition for the immense task put upon it. Coal was available and adequate sidings had been completed.

Speech in the Senate

The Senate reception to M. Bakhmeteff and his colleagues on June 26 was in every way as enthusiastic as that given previously by the House. The Ambassador's address followed the same lines as that delivered before the House. In part he said:

Two considerations make me feel that Russia has passed the stage of the world when the future appeared vague and uncertain. In the first place is the firm conviction of the necessity of legality, which is widely developing and firmly establishing itself throughout the country. My latest advices give joyful confirmation of the establishment of a firm power, strong in its democratic precepts and activity, strong in the trust reposed in it by the people in its ability to enforce law and order.

In the second place, and no less important, is the growing conviction that the issues of the revolution and the future of Russia's freedom are closely connected with the fighting might of the country. It is such power, it is the force of arms, which alone can defend and make certain the achievements of the revolution against autocratic aggression. Like the nation, the army, an offspring of the people, had to be built on democratic lines. Such work takes time, and friction and partial disorganization must be overcome.

Conscious of the enormous task, the Provisional Government is taking measures to restore promptly throughout the country conditions of life so deeply disorganized by the inefficiency of the previous rulers and to provide for whatever is necessary for military success.

In this respect exceptional and grave conditions provide for exceptional means. In close touch with the Pan Peasant Congress, the Government has taken control of stores of food supplies and is providing for effective transportation and just distribution. Following examples of other countries at war, the Government has undertaken the regulation of the production of main products vital for the country and the army. The Government at the same time is making all endeavor to settle labor difficulties, taking measures for the welfare of workmen consistent with the

The Russian Mission—Boris Bakhmeteff, the New Ambassador, in Civilian Clothes, in the Front Row, with General Roop on His Left and Professor Lomonossof on His Right.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

The Belgian Mission—Baron Moncheur, Head of the Mission, Is Seated to the Right of General Leclerq, Who Is at the Extreme Left of the Row.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

Scene in the City College Stadium, New York City, During the Pageant Given by the Italian Societies of New York in Honor of the Prince of Udine and the Italian War Mission.

(Photo Times Photo Service)

active production necessitated by national welfare.

Senators shook hands with all members of the commission, and later, by unanimous consent, adopted a resolution by Senator Gore of Oklahoma expressing "profound satisfaction over the assurances of the determination of the Russian people in their new-found liberty and republican institutions to defend and maintain them."

New York's reception to the Russian Mission on July 6 was a fitting expression of the enthusiasm which "the most democratic city in the world," as Ambassador Bakhmeteff described it, felt at the presence of the representatives of the new democracy. The procession through the streets was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds; and everywhere the red flag of the revolution was in evidence. Replying to Mayor Mitchel's greetings, the Ambassador, speaking in English, said that the enthusiasm that had been manifested represented "the joy of America that a new democracy had been born. So momentous is the present hour," he continued, "that solemn gravity and earnest sincerity are in our greeting, and our two nations have extended to each other their brotherly hands. Liberty and democracy, such are the aims of the Russian revolution. Democracy and liberty, such are the aims which this great Republic is seeking to obtain for all nations. Is there not a deep historic meaning in the fact that while the first American troops stepped upon the soil of Europe as true champions of mankind, Russia, inspired by the vision of freedom and democracy, has thrust her warriors with unyielding impulse upon the yet unbroken ranks of the foe of liberty?"

On July 7 a crowd of 20,000 people gathered at a concert on the Mall of Central Park. In his speech Ambassador Bakhmeteff said:

> I have come to this country in behalf of the new Russia, a Russia freed from the shackles of hundreds of years of oppression and hatreds. With a deadly blow has the Russian people shattered the chains of serfdom.
>
> Russia is free! One hundred and eighty millions of men, women, and children now have the blessings of self-government and self-rule. And with us others are free. The Pole is free. The Jew enjoys full equality. The Jew is a full fellow-citizen of free Russia.
>
> This war in which we are comrades is not a common war between nations seeking personal ends. It is a war for a principle. On the issues of this war will depend the future of the world, whether the world will be "safe for democracy" or whether it will be fettered with autocracy.
>
> Liberty and democracy! That was what the great hero Kerensky pleaded for when he led the soldier-citizen to fight. Let us be united. Let us all be one. Let us fight for liberty and democracy—that is the message to you, the oldest democracy of the New World, from the newest democracy of the Old World.

One episode marred the otherwise unbroken flow of harmony which characterized the visit of the mission to New York. At the great meeting in Madison Square Garden on the evening of July 7 a crowd of 12,000 persons was thrown into disorder by a hostile demonstration against a declaration that the Russians must fight until the Kaiser was removed from power. The speaker interrupted was a representative of Russian workers in the United States. The disturbance was stopped, and a little later Ambassador Bakhmeteff made an address. Without challenging the pacifist sentiment in the audience by making any direct reference to the determination on the part of the new Russia to continue the war until victory is secure, the Ambassador paid glowing compliments to the revolutionary army. He spoke in Russian, and was interrupted frequently by tumultuous cheers. He described the critical moments of the revolution, the economic, political, and social disorganization which necessarily followed the overturn of the old régime. For a time, he said, it seemed as though the revolution might prove a failure, that the obstacles were too great. "But the moment of salvation came," he added, "when Tseretelli, Skobeleff, and Tchernoff united and formed the coalition which strengthened the Provisional Government and put the young nation on a firm and reliable foundation."

The mission on July 5 resolved itself into the permanent Russian Embassy in

the United States. Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff presented to President Wilson his credentials as permanent Ambassador, but continued to exercise extraordinary powers of negotiation. The former Russian Embassy at Washington has been transformed into a network of offices. From there Ambassador Bakhmeteff now directs all the special, technical, and purchasing missions. The other members of the special mission are working under his direction, some of them for the length of the war and others for at least four or five months.

The text of the new Ambassador's formal address to the President, delivered when he presented his credentials, will be found on a preceding page, in connection with articles on the Russian situation.

Tour of the Italian Mission

THE story of the arrival of the Italian Mission in the United States was given in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, with the first public utterances of Prince Udine and his distinguished associates. To continue the narrative: In the course of a tour of the Middle West the commission visited Chicago on June 18, 1917. At a formal dinner in the evening the principal speaker was Guglielmo Marconi, who told of Italy's difficult position in the war, saying in part:

> Among all the nations at war Italy is silently taking the greatest strain and the greatest privation. Only when the kind of war Italy is fighting becomes fully known will the world realize what sacrifices the army and the people of Italy have accomplished. For more than two years Italy has had an army of more than 3,000,000 men. It is now approaching 4,000,000. You must bear in mind that her population is a little over 37,000,000—about one-third that of the United States. If America were to make an equal sacrifice she would have to maintain under arms for more than two years about 12,000,000 men, and even then her effort would not be equal to ours, for the wealth of the United States is incomparably greater than that of Italy. To feel an equal strain America would have to fling at least $30,000,000,000 into the furnace of war.

The Italian Mission arrived in New York on June 21, and received a hearty welcome. The crowds that gathered about the Battery, where Prince Udine and his colleagues came ashore from a ferryboat, the crowds in City Hall Park, in Washington Square, and along the rest of the way to Sixty-first Street were almost as large as those which had greeted the French Commission a few weeks previously. The city's Italian population turned out in great numbers. An interesting episode was the stoppage of the procession at the Garibaldi Statue, on the pedestal of which Prince Udine, the head of the mission, laid a wreath of evergreens. Then he saluted, and stood a moment contemplating the figure of the man who had helped to create modern Italy.

At the luncheon given on June 22 by the Merchants' Association, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, reminded the audience that Italy had almost invented banking and that Genoa and Venice were the founders of the great overseas commerce of modern times. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican candidate for President in 1916, said that to state the indebtedness of America to Italy was to recite the history of navigation and discovery, of arts and letters, of commerce and invention—a long line of obligations, extending from Columbus to Marconi. "We also record the fact," Mr. Hughes added, "that Italian skill and industry are part of the very substance of American prosperity."

Marconi, in his speech, came down to the practical and critical question of Italy's shortage of coal, the importation of which had fallen to half the normal quantity. He proceeded:

> We want coal, we must have coal, to keep our munition factories going, to run our railroads carrying ammunition to the front and food to all the scattered populations of the country, and to run our factories, the stoppage of which would mean the throwing of a million men out of work to starve and increase our difficulties. And if we do not get this coal, and get it quick, our ammunition factories will have to work half time or

stop, our trains will cease to run, diminishing the efficiency of the army, and even perhaps bringing about local famines. Above all, we must hasten the construction of ships, hundreds of ships, thousands of ships, ships of wood and ships of steel, so long as they will float and carry coal, iron, and wheat to Europe.

We expect the United States to put forth a great effort; given the spirit of organization and the industrial power of this great country, it should not be impossible to build one and a half million tons of shipping by the end of this year, and at least double that amount in 1918.

In addition to all these difficulties we must realize that the production of war material diminishes agricultural production, whereas the latter should be increased at all costs. Here again the United States can help us better than any one else if they will realize fully that the essential conditions of victory are an increase in agricultural production and the construction of many ships.

Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Transportation, pointed out the initial service to the Allies constituted by Italy's declaration of neutrality. He declared that, despite the increase of her budget from 2,500,000,000f. a year to eighteen billions, Italy had so well organized her finances that every new loan was met with new income adequate to cover the interest. He duplicated Marconi's plea for war materials and ships:

The commodities needed are wheat and other cereals, steel for the munitions, and, above all, coal; but these three things have now one name only, and this name is "ships, ships, and more ships." Italy used to take before the war about twenty millions of tons of goods, out of which one million was represented by coal imported from England and the United States. Now this figure is almost cut down to half, and this diminution represents the greatest sacrifice we could impose on our population.

Gentlemen, I said I would speak to you as a merchant does with a merchant. We have all signed a bill of exchange, and this bill of exchange is indorsed by England, by France, by Italy, by Russia, and so on. Now the United States has put its signature on this bill of exchange, and as nations live on credit, just as merchants do, when the bill of exchange is due we must pay it by winning the war. Otherwise we shall all be bankrupt.

Prince Udine on the afternoon of June 22 journeyed to Staten Island to pay a tribute to the memory of Garibaldi, who had lived for a while in a little frame house on the crest of a hill at Rosebank. It was estimated that at least 100,000 Italians took part in the demonstration, one of the most picturesque ever seen in New York. Members of Italian communities as far away as a hundred miles were represented in the crowd. The little house in which Garibaldi lived is now an Italian shrine, and is inclosed in another building, above it the words in gold, "The Garibaldi Memorial." In this old house Garibaldi supported himself by making candles, and in the rooms is still some of the humble furniture which the Italian patriot used. The Prince remained at the memorial about twenty minutes and the cheering never ceased for an instant while he was there. A committee representing the Order of the Sons of Italy greeted the Prince and handed him a check for $10,000, to be applied to the relief of war sufferers in Italy. Prince Udine accepted the check, and expressed his deep gratitude for the gift. He said:

Before this memorial to Italy's great hero and in the country which Garibaldi loved so dearly, and at this historic moment when Italy is fighting for the principles which Garibaldi held most sacred, it is indeed a source of great gratification to me to greet so many Italian and so many American citizens at such a place as is this.

The Prince referred to the present war as one for the complete realization of the dreams of Garibaldi, and he believed that the ideals of liberty and justice championed by the Italian patriot would triumph. He closed with a tribute to George Washington, whose ideals, he added, were the ideals of Garibaldi.

The official entertainment of the Italian Mission ended on June 23 with a celebration at the City College stadium. In the afternoon a visit was paid to Colonel Roosevelt at his Long Island home, and in the evening Prince Udine and his colleagues left for Boston.

Italy's Part in the Marne Victory

Senator Guglielmo Marconi of wireless fame, speaking as a member of the Italian Diplomatic Mission at the dinner given to the visitors by Mayor Mitchel of New York, June 22, 1917, revealed for the first time the circumstances in which

Italy announced to France her decision to remain neutral at the outset of the war, thereby releasing a million French soldiers on the Italian frontier and enabling France to win the battle of the Marne. This portion of Mr. Marconi's speech was as follows:

And now, gentlemen, I come to what is perhaps one of the least well-known matters in connection with this war, the absolutely decisive influence of Italy's conduct at the very outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Let me tell you a few facts concerning the inner political history of those fateful few days of July, 1914, when the fate of Europe was trembling in the balance.

Germany did not expect us to join her in her savage attack on the liberties of Europe; she did not even care much whether we eventually agreed to remain neutral. Her game was a much deeper and more treacherous one. She wanted us to leave France, our great Latin sister, in doubt as to our intentions.

On the morning of July 30, 1914, that is to say, one day before Germany declared war on Russia, and two days before she declared war on France, the Marquis de San Giuliano, who was then our Foreign Minister, unofficially informed the French Ambassador in Rome that Italy would never side with the Central Powers in a war of aggression. This information was immediately wired to Paris, but it was not sufficient to make France feel absolutely certain that Italy's attitude was favorable to her, because there was as yet no official declaration of neutrality on our part.

On the 2d of August, 1914, three days before England declared war against Germany, at a Council of Ministers held in Rome, Italy decided formally to declare her neutrality. The news was immediately communicated to our Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, the Ambassador being absent. For some reason the telegram did not reach him until 1 o'clock in the morning. Without a moment's hesitation he went to see M. Viviani, the French Prime Minister, in the middle of the night.

When he was introduced into M. Viviani's presence the latter turned pale and drew back, for he was almost convinced that nothing but Italy's decision to join Germany would have brought the Italian Chargé d'Affaires there at that hour. The revulsion of feeling when M. Viviani read the telegram was such that he could not hide his emotion. Within half an hour orders had gone forth for the mobilization for service in the north of nearly 1,000,000 men which France would have had to keep on her southern and eastern frontier to guard against a possible attack from Italy.

That million men helped to stem the advancing tide of Germans, to win the battle of the Marne, and to save France from being crushed by the heel of German militarism. Had there been the slightest wavering, the smallest hesitation on the part of Italy, had any Italian politician been found to do one-tenth the part of what Bismarck did when he altered the wording of the famous Ems telegram, and thus brought about the Franco-Prussian war, France would not have dared to withdraw a single man from the Italian frontier, and the history of the world might have been written differently.

Gentlemen, is there any man who can think, in view of what I have just told you, that Italy's conduct was not a decisive factor in the war?

The Belgian Mission in America

ALMOST sympathetic reception was accorded to the Belgian Commission, which arrived in the United States on June 16, 1917. Its personnel included:

Baron Ludovic Moncheur, Chief of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Foreign Office at Havre and former Belgian Minister to the United States, President of the commission.

General Leclercq, a cavalry commander.

Hector Carlier, member of a Belgian banking family, counselor of the commission.

Major Osterrieth, long attached to the Belgian Legation in Petrograd.

Count Louis d'Ursel, former Secretary of the Belgian Legation in Teheran, Persia.

The members of the mission were formally received on June 18 by President Wilson, to whom Baron Moncheur presented the following letter from the King of the Belgians:

HIS EXCELLENCY, WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.

Great and good friend: I commend to your Excellency's kindly reception the mission which bears this letter. This mission will express to the President the feelings of understanding and enthusiastic admiration with which my Government and people have received the decision reached by him in his wisdom. The mission will also tell you how greatly the important and glorious rôle enacted by the United States has confirmed the confidence which the Belgian Nation has always had in free America's spirit of justice.

The great American Nation was particularly moved by the unwarranted and violent attacks made upon Belgium. It

has sorrowed over the distress of my subjects subjected to the yoke of the enemy. It has succored them with incomparable generosity. I am happy to have an opportunity again to express to your Excellency the gratitude which my country owes you and the firm hope entertained by Belgium that on the day of reparation toward which America will contribute so bountifully, full and entire justice will be rendered to my country.

My Government has chosen to express its sentiments to your Excellency through two distinguished men whose services will command credence for what they have to say, Baron Moncheur, who for eight years was my representative at Washington, and Lieut. Gen. Leclercq, who has earned high appreciation during a long military career.

I venture to hope, Mr. President, that you will accord full faith and credence to everything that they say, especially when they assure you of the hopes I entertain for the happiness and prosperity of the United States of America and of my faithful and very sincere friendship.

ALBERT.

In the course of a statement to the newspaper correspondents at Washington on June 20 Baron Moncheur said:

Your entry into the war not only brings to us the satisfaction of finding in an old friend a new ally, but fires us with complete confidence in an early and victorious issue of the great struggle which has brought to my country so much of misery and suffering.

Our admiration for your decision in entering the war is all the greater because we know that you did so in full knowledge of all its horrors, and realized fully the sacrifices you will be called upon to make, the tears that will flow, the inevitable heartache and sorrow that will darken your homes.

In voicing my country's gratitude I am happy to be able to pay a tribute of admiration and affection to Mr. Hoover, under whose able and untiring direction the great work of feeding Belgium was carried on. We rejoice for you that a man so eminently fitted by ability and experience should be at your service in handling the great food problems that confront you.

From being one of the foremost industrial nations of the world, ranking fourth among exporting countries, Belgium for the time being has been ruthlessly wiped out. Her factories are closed. With cold calculation for the ruin of the country, the invader has even removed the machinery from our factories and shipped it to Germany as part of a far-sighted and cynical program of economic annihilation. And, worst of all, a part of Belgium's unoffending laboring class has been torn from their families and sent to toil in Germany under a system that would have offended the moral sense of the Middle Ages.

The Senate received the mission on June 22 with every mark of appreciation and sympathy. Baron Moncheur's address expressing Belgium's gratitude for America's aid was punctuated with frequent applause. "The sympathy of America," he declared, "gives us new courage."

Baron Moncheur's Eloquence

Baron Moncheur was one of the speakers at the impressive ceremony on June 24, when the Belgian and Russian Missions visited Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon. Speaking very earnestly and slowly, he said:

In this solemn hour when freedom is locked in a death struggle with the powers of darkness we come to pay homage to the great founder of American liberty. Although his body lies here, his work survives and his spirit still lives in the American people. I know of nothing which typifies that spirit better than the words of Washington when, in bequeathing his sword to his nephew, he added the injunction that it should never be drawn except in defense of liberty and justice, and that when once drawn it should never be sheathed before the complete victory of right over wrong.

It is that spirit which animates your nation in the present as in the past. You looked across the sea and saw liberty struggling in the grasp of autocracy, that hideous monster, the enemy of mankind. You came to her aid, and by throwing your mighty sword into the scales you have insured that right will prevail and that the world will be made safe for all honest nations—the small as well as the great.

You have done what Washington would have done. And, therefore, in paying homage to the father of your country I offer a tribute of devotion and gratitude to the whole American people.

Another notable address by Baron Moncheur was that delivered to the House of Representatives on June 27. He said, in part:

As in the Middle Ages the knights were accustomed to hold a vigil, watching their armor in the chapel, so you today are making the same holy and prayerful preparation for the battle to come. Everywhere you are carrying on work which day by day brings nearer the moment of supreme victory. While the flower of American youth is preparing itself in your splendid training camps, your shipyards, your factories, and munition plants resound with the hum of feverish work providing your soldiers with the implements of war.

American aviation, that marvelous product of the New World, is making ready to lend

its powerful aid, also, to support our armies. Is it not natural, indeed, that the American eagle from the skies should strike the death-blow to the enemy?

After your great stroke for liberty in 1776 you formed a society, which you called the Order of the Cincinnati, to indicate that when war was finished you knew how to beat your swords into plowshares; and now, when war has been forced upon you, you have given proof that you know equally well how to turn your plowshares into swords.

Some twenty years ago Prince Albert of Belgium, heir to a throne which seemed to be safely sheltered from the blast of war, came to America, where he studied with the deepest interest your marvelous country and the wonderful works of industry and commerce which you had developed in the quietude of peace. And now, how can I express the sentiments which fill his heroic soul when, fighting at the head of his troops in the last trench on Belgian soil, he sees the sons of that same industrious America land upon the coast of Europe, brave champions of the most noble principles and ready to lay down their lives in defense of right and justice?

On a certain occasion a mighty sovereign declared, "The Pyrenees exist no more," and today we can say with even more truth, "There is no longer any ocean," for endless friendship, cemented by gratitude and joint effort and suffering in the cause of justice and liberty, will forever obliterate the barrier of the seas and unite the children of old Belgium to the sons of the young and powerful Republic of the New World.

Lord Northcliffe and Other Envoys

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, after his arrival in the United States as special representative of the British Government, delivered his first speech at a luncheon in New York City on June 28. He said, in part:

It is only by an absolute mobilization of man power and machine power that this war can be won. Industries that at this moment seem remote from mobilization for the war will sooner or later be called upon to do their part. In Europe, for example, one of the largest corset factories is now turning out very delicate pieces of machinery needed in the construction of airplanes. The war, which has proved the efficacy of motor transport to an almost incredible degree, will make a tremendous drain upon the automobile industry of your country. For one thing, the great bulk of automobile output will have to be concentrated on trucks. In the second place, the automobile factories will inevitably be commandeered for the manufacture of airplane parts and airplane construction generally.

In the airplane lies one great hope of allied victory. The war has taught that the airplane engine of Spring may be almost useless for actual fighting by the next Autumn, so rapid are the developments produced by the fierce competition of war.

When America has got her full stride in the war, as surely she will get it, it will be found that there will be a tremendous demand for chauffeurs. England today has nearly a hundred thousand motor trucks in France, and is constantly sending more. Every one of these trucks must be manned by a trained driver. If skilled chauffeurs can be sent to operate your trucks it will be possible to release an equal number of men for the fighting lines.

Lord Northcliffe prophesied a post-bellum federation of allied nations:

I have a strong conviction that with peace will come a close federation of the nations who are now fighting the great fight for freedom. You have only to look at the spectacle of what I might call the United Nations of Great Britain today to see the effect that the war has upon the co-ordination of peoples and nations of widely conflicting temperaments and national structures. You see democratic Australia, a near socialistic New Zealand, a vast country like India, with its feudal princes and other rulers, a free Canada, and what is nothing less than the Republic of South Africa, all pouring their blood and treasure out upon the battlefields of France, linked by a common feeling of empire and sustained by a common hope of liberation from the militarism that sought to dominate the world.

A close federation of the nations now fighting the good fight will be the only insurance against the autocracy that made this war possible and the horrors that the armies of the autocrat perpetrated on innocent non-combatants. The world must be made free for democracy.

Irish Nationalist Leaders

The Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons appointed T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and Richard Hazleton, M. P., and Secretary of the party, to visit the United States as its representatives. On their arrival in New York on June 24 Mr. O'Connor explained the purpose of his visit as follows:

I am here as the official representative, with my colleague, Mr. Hazleton, of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, to

lay before the men of my race and before the friends of Ireland of all races the realities and the issues, for the opinion of the Greater Ireland and of this democratic Republic beyond the seas remains the most potent factor in working out the liberation of Ireland and of all other nationalities in the world.

The situation in Ireland is still somewhat confused. A series of unfortunate mistakes and tragic events have produced resentment and thrown many of the younger men of the country off their balance for the moment. But this, in my opinion, represents a mood and not a settled preference for the hopeless program of armed insurrection over a constitutional movement.

As to the war, opinion in England grows more united and harder. I need say nothing more at the moment of America's welcome intervention except that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg and President Wilson's address to Congress represent to me the clearest definitions of the issues and purposes for which all free men today are fighting.

The war has made a new world and has transformed the soul of Europe. No man's political, social, or mental standpoint has remained the same. The whole groundwork of society has adapted itself to a new state of things in which men fighting in the air and under the sea are recognized as prominent factors.

Men who have lost two or three sons in the war do not speak of their grief in going about their daily duties. It is only by the whitened hair and the drawn features that we can judge of what they are inwardly suffering.

The war and the demand for wheat, oats, and other grains have caused the British Government to till all available land, tending toward the solution in Ireland of the ranch problem. While the land under cultivation in England has increased 200,000 acres, in Ireland it has increased by 700,000 acres. Fully 10 per cent. of this Irish land, broken up for tillage, was drawn by the Government from grazing lands reserved for breeding sheep, horses, and cattle.

The series of conferences with prominent Irishmen, by which Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Hazleton hope to be able to carry back to the Irish convention the correct sentiment of America in regard to home rule, was started in New York City upon the arrival from Boston of T. B. Fitzgerald and Michael J. Jordan, respectively Treasurer and Secretary of the United Irish League of America. Mr. O'Connor divided the sentiment in Ireland into three classes: pro-Irish, pro-English, and the so-called pro-German, the last being, in his opinion, a sentiment formed not on love of Germany, but rather on an inveterate pacifism.

Andre Tardieu's Advice

André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, is laboring at Washington and elsewhere for the business efficiency of the Allies and the co-ordination of all their economic forces. He was the guest of honor in New York on July 11 at a luncheon of the Franco-American Society, which was attended

ANDRE TARDIEU
French High Commissioner

by many of the leading financiers of the United States and other notables and diplomats. After a brief beginning in English, M. Tardieu spoke in French, and the more important passages, duly translated, are these:

To set at nought the insolent hope of our enemies the United States must organize its own resources without ceasing to supply its allies. This problem is difficult, but it is not insoluble for a nation of decision and realization such as yours. That solution calls for the concentration of the whole of your financial, economic, and human resources in the hands of the Government.

The Congress has voted the conscription of men. It remains to organize the conscription of material means. To that end two conditions must be fulfilled—a thorough knowledge of those means and an equitable fixation of prices, insuring to the allied armies the same treatment in America as to the American Army itself, because we are now one common army fighting in a common cause.

The great duty of the United States at the present moment is to put on the same footing all those who are fighting for the same cause. Since you have been in this war you have been beset with isolated financial, industrial, and military requests by each of the powers of the Entente. You gave them a generous answer, but you are beginning to realize that if your assistance should be indefinitely solicited in the same manner your immense resources would not be sufficient to comply with requests when ill-regulated.

You are compelled to say yes to some, no to others. You must consider the order of urgency of the solicitations which reach you. We must put an end to confusion. We are entitled to ask you to discipline your means with a view to victory, but also, with a view to victory, you are entitled to ask us to discipline our needs.

For that purpose, there is clearly one method —that is to create in Europe as near the front as possible an inter-allied committee to centralize all the demands, study and control them, and to submit them to you on behalf of all the Allies, grouped according to their urgency in relation to military operations.

The one vital thing is to win the war. Discipline of the American resources upon the basis of the common interest, discipline of the European needs upon the basis of the same interest—such is the aim and such is the duty. The aim must be attained, the duty must be fulfilled.

Such is, freed from innumerable details, the task which I have undertaken—such is the task for which I shall need all your assistance.

Rumania's Patriotic Mission

The Rumanian Patriotic Mission arrived in America on June 22, 1917, and was received by the Secretary of State on July 2. The mission consists of the Rev. Basil Lucaciu, President of the Rumanian League, which was formed for the purpose of inducing Rumania to enter the war on the side of the Allies; Jean Mota, the Rumanian Speaker, and Lieutenant Vasili Stoica of the Rumanian Army. Father Lucaciu told the Secretary of State that the mission had come to the United States for the purpose of inducing Rumanians to enlist in the American Army and fight for the allied cause. The Secretary of State gave the visitors a cordial greeting and welcome, and said that the Government of the United States looked with sympathy upon the object of the mission. The members are now at work among their fellow-countrymen in the United States, urging them to enlist and fight for the Allies.

The Norwegian Government nominated a special commission of six members, with Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, formerly Norwegian Minister at London, as President, to visit the United States to organize and procure the importation of food supplies from that country.

Objects of the Japanese Mission

THE Department of State announced that the Japanese Government was sending a diplomatic mission to the United States, headed by Baron Kikujiro Ishii, to arrive in the latter part of July. Baron Ishii was formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was an attaché of the legation in France in 1891 and went through the siege of Peking during the Boxer trouble. In addition to Viscount Ishii, who is made an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, the mission includes:

Isamu Takeshita, Vice Admiral, Imperial Japanese Navy, formerly Naval Attaché in Washington.

Hisaichi Sugano, Major General, Imperial Japanese Army.

Matsuzo Nagai, Secretary of the Foreign Office, formerly a Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Washington.

Masataka Ando, Lieutenant Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy.

Seiji Tanikawa, Major, Imperial Japanese Army.

Tadanao Imai, Vice Consul.

Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, head of the Japanese Mission to the United States, made the following address at a farewell dinner given to the mission at Tokio, July 4, 1917, regarding the objects in view:

> My mission, I consider, is a military one in one respect and one of peace in another—military as against the Central European system of militarism and domination, but one of peace to be consolidated and reaffirmed as between the Pacific powers—Japan and the United States.

He declared that the Japanese Nation unanimously and enthusiastically welcomed the decision to send a mission to America as wise, proper, and eminently useful. He was therefore proud that

part of his duty would be to convey to the 100,000,000 Americans the sympathy and good-will of the 70,000,000 Japanese. The intercourse between Japan and America had gradually come to assume a more popular character, which he considered a happy augury of the consolidation of a genuine friendship, since that friendship no longer hung perilously on the caprice of individual statesmen, but rested on the well-understood mutual interests and reciprocal respect of the two nations. Viscount Ishii concluded as follows:

> It is gratifying to think of one great benefit with which the war has already endowed Japan and the United States. I mean the disappearance of Germany in this quarter of the world. Now that Germany, the universal disturber of the peace, has been completely and once for all driven out of her Asiatic bases, there remains no longer any one who will venture to cherish the design of estranging Japan from America. Consequently, the Pacific henceforth will have the noble destiny to join the two great nations and never to separate them.

Viscount Kentaro Kaneko, member of the House of Peers and a Privy Councilar, who presided at the dinner, emphasized the nobility and uprightness of the attitude of America, which, he said, was fighting for the individual liberty, national freedom, peace, and civilization of mankind. The appearance of an American army at the front was certain to breathe new life into the gallantry and patriotism of the Allies. When Germany was crushed and the belligerents sat in a council of peace, he believed the voice of the United States would have great weight in determining the terms of peace, not for the belligerents only, but for the peace of the whole world.

"A clear and good understanding with the United States is most important for the present and the future," he added. "This may be the reason and aim of Viscount Ishii's mission."

Former Minister Hioki expressed the opinion that, in addition to the questions of the day, no question of any importance existing between the United States and Japan would escape either settlement or discussion while Viscount Ishii was in America. The mission was a difficult one because of the vastness of the field and the complexity of the problems to be handled, he said, but the two groups would not be throwing dust into each other's eyes. There would be plain dealing, just and fair, actuated by mutual respect and sympathy.

Viviani's Tribute to America

[Speech in the French Chamber, June 14, 1917.]

Three things united to make the session of the French Chamber of Deputies on June 14 a memorable occasion: General Pershing was present, Premier Ribot spoke on the reasons for dethroning King Constantine, and Réne Viviani, Keeper of the Seals, told the Chamber, in one of his most eloquent speeches, what he had seen and felt during his mission to the United States. The chief passages of M. Viviani's oration are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

After an introductory tribute to American hospitality and to the qualities of President Wilson, M. Viviani continued:

SOLELY because I represented the French Nation, gentlemen, and in contravention of century-old rules, I was admitted to the unforgettable honor of addressing the United States Congress; and I desire that at this hour you should send across space to the great American Republic the fraternal salute of the French Republic. [All the Deputies arose, amid applause.]

Gentlemen, how does the American soul group before its vision those vigorous principles and sentiments which have carried that country into the war? This is a complex and delicate question. Was it solely a matter of esteem for France, in remembrance of the glorious services of Lafayette and the French soldiers who took part in the winning of independence? No one here can realize the privileged place that France occupies in the vibrant heart of vast America. And the gratitude to Lafyette is infinite. * * *

[M. Viviani went on to say that this,

however, was not what had moved the American people; it was, rather, the silence, the dignity, the calm courage of France amid her present trials. He continued:]

To see a nation receiving fierce blows from an aggressor without crying out, and returning them without boasting; to see that nation united, the people of the factories and those of the trenches, the people of thought and the people of toil, to see these grouping themselves around their fighters; to see at the Marne the triumph of dash, at Verdun the triumph of patience; to see this palpitating capital, which German calumny had called the capital of pleasure and frivolity, so peaceful in tragic hours, so calm when glory later came to shine upon our banners, reserving its enthusiasm for the day when universal right, by force of our arms, shall be implanted throughout the whole world—that is the spectacle which, I assure you, stirred to its depths the American soul. * * *

It would have been easy for America, if she had desired to stand aloof, to think only of her individual grievances at the hands of imperial Germany. She might have said that she could not tolerate on her own soil the tortuous intrigues of a faithless Ambassador. She might have said that she would never subject the honor of the land of Washington to the arrogance of the Germanic boot; that she could not bear to hear the cries of those unfortunate victims who, in Summer evenings and Winter nights, were hurled without warning, by criminal hands, into the depths of the sea.

America did say these things, but she said more. Her merit, after stating her own grievances, the thing that will constitute her historic honor before the world, is that she heard the cry of all humanity, that she invoked human right, universal right!

Never have I felt that profound truth so deeply as in the great City of Chicago, the greatest German city after Berlin, where, pressed by 20,000 breasts, wearied by effort and emotion, I proclaimed in your name the whole truth about Alsace-Lorraine, repudiating the historic and juridical fraud that has proceeded out of a lying plébiscite. And I still hear the storm of applause that followed, and the words of the Governor elected by several millions of men: "To the last cent, to the last man, to the last heart-beat!"

America has entered the war with the belief that there can be no peace without victory, unless we are to be recreant in our duty to the tomb and to the cradle, and, by the barbarous rhythm that returns every thirty years, are to allow our sons to go upon the battlefield and stand where their fathers have fallen. She has entered knowing what she has to do: not only to continue what she did while still chained to neutrality—render us financial and economic service—but to go to the end with her full might, giving to the Allies immediate aid of every kind until victory is won by constant co-operation.

Ah, well! It is universal justice that has thus been proclaimed by America as she takes her place by the side of France and the Allies to champion it. But what! Is France going to permit a portion of her heritage to be snatched from her? Human rights, universal justice, the independence of nations—whence have these sprung? It was by the spirit of our philosophers that the fire of independence was lighted in the world; it was by our men of action in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the foundations of justice and liberty were laid. Ah, I know, I understand!

Yes, yes, three years of war, of economic and political difficulties, of griefs, of graves added to graves, of cradles over which mothers ask whether this is the punishment for life itself! All the sorrows, all the anguish, all the anxieties that tear our hearts; yes, all these—and after them?

[Here the whole Chamber, thrilled, rose as one man, carried away by the speaker's eloquence. M. Viviani spoke of the sacrifices that his people would still have to bear before victory could come, and concluded with this peroration:]

Such is the result that we must attain. For this, oh! life is hard, difficult, delicate! The mourning robes, the tears, the sufferings of the widows whom we meet at every step of the way, and who try to hide under their veils their saddening

grief, yet who demand expiation; all that we meet, all that we know, all that is written to us, all that we think, yes, all this creates around us an inextricable difficulty. But do not forget: you are not accountable to the France of today, you are accountable to the France of yesterday, you are accountable to the France of tomorrow.

To conquer and prevent the repetition of such crimes, after victory, when the American Army stands by our side; when immediate aid and constant co-operation are promised us, when we are certain not to be alone on the field of combat, when the same glory shall be harvested under different flags, when all the free peoples shall stand upon a land that trembles, while their own hearts tremble not; when before the world we shall have made an example of an autocracy which, if not beaten down, has received fearful blows and deserves to fall; when it is certain that there can be no more peace in the world for the sons of our sons so long as this bleeding autocracy survives, I ask myself, truly, when duty is at once so tragic and so simple, how can it be difficult to follow whither it leads?

But you will follow it. At present your duty is simple: first to be men, to look our destiny in the face, whatever it be; to tell us that there is no historic fatality that cannot be redressed by courage and will; then to go on thus all the way to victory. After that, let others, more happy, who shall not have known our griefs, survive! But we shall have bequeathed to humanity the most magnificent heritage for which it has ever hoped.

[At the close the assembly leaped to its feet, acclaiming the orator, then turned its applause upon General Pershing, who, standing in the diplomatic tribune, was waving his military cap. The crowd in the galleries joined in the thrilling demonstration, and the public posting of the speech was ordered by a unanimous vote.]

Brazil's Revocation of Neutrality

THE friendly act of Brazil in revoking its earlier attitude of neutrality and definitely taking sides with the United States as against Germany was formally communicated to the Washington Government on June 4, 1917, by the Brazilian Ambassador, Dr. Domicio da Gama, in the following note:

Mr. Secretary of State: The President of the republic has just instructed me to inform your Excellency's Government that he has approved the law which revokes Brazil's neutrality in the war between the United States of America and the German Empire. The republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American Continent and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law.

Brazil ever was and is now free from warlike ambitions, and, while it always refrained from showing any partiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States, actuated by no interest whatever but solely for the sake of international judicial order, and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war.

While the comparative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics divested until now the Monroe Doctrine of its true character, by permitting of an interpretation based on the prerogatives of their sovereignty, the present events which brought Brazil even now to the side of the United States at a critical moment in the history of the world are still imparting to our foreign policy a practical shape of continental solidarity, a policy, however, that was also that of the former régime whenever any of the other sister friendly nations of the American Continent was concerned. The republic strictly observed our political and diplomatic traditions and remained true to the liberal principles in which the nation was nurtured.

Thus understanding our duty and Brazil taking the position to which its antecedents and the conscience of a free people pointed, whatever fate the morrow may have in store for us, we shall conserve the Constitution which governs us and which has not yet been surpassed in the guarantees due to the rights, lives, and property of foreigners.

In bringing the above-stated resolution to your Excellency's knowledge, I beg you to be pleased to convey to your Government the

sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I avail myself of the opportunity to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

DOMICIO DA GAMA.

The reply to Ambassador da Gama was sent by Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department, as Acting Secretary of State. The text is as follows:

Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 4 by which, in pursuance of instructions from the President of Brazil, you inform me of the enactment of a law revoking Brazil's declaration of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany and request me to convey to this Government the sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I have received with profound gratification this notification of the friendly co-operation of Brazil in the efforts of the United States to assist in the perpetuation of the principles of free government and the preservation of the agencies for the amelioration of the sufferings and losses of war so slowly and toilfully built up during the emergencies of mankind from barbarism.

Your Government's invaluable contribution to the cause of American solidarity, now rendered more important than ever as a protection to civilization and a means of enforcing the laws of humanity, is highly appreciated by the United States.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to convey to the President, the Government, and the people of Brazil the thanks of this Government and people for their course, so consistent with the antecedents of your great and free nation and so important in its bearing on issues which are vital to the welfare of all the American republics.

Requesting that you will also assure your Government and people of most cordial reciprocation by the Government and people of the United States of their assurances of friendship, always so greatly valued, and now happily rendered still warmer and closer by the action of Brazil, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

Brazil's seizure of the war-bound German ships added to her merchant marine more than 150,000 tons. On June 30 it was announced that Brazil's navy had begun co-operating with the American fleet in South American waters in hunting for German sea raiders and submarines.

Ruy Barbosa's Stirring Call to Brazil

When Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on April 11, 1917, Senhor Ruy Barbosa, the most popular statesman in that country, delivered a memorable speech at a meeting of 50,000 persons in Rio Janeiro, praising the United States for going to war, and urging Brazil to do likewise. These were his closing words:

> God did not kindle this conflagration to consume the human race, but to save it. From the great calamity will come a great renewal. On the curve of the blood-reddened horizon already glow the first dawnings of a better world. Down will go the arbitrary Governments, and up will rise the Governments of law. Yesterday, Russia; tomorrow, Germany—and then others!
>
> God grant that we, too, my fellow-citizens, may drink in this regenerating spirit, this spirit of genuine heroism, of human devoton, of liberal self-sacrifice, and that our nationality, our Constitution, our social life, revivified in these fountains, may mitigate the present and insure us better days in the future, so that our moral stature may grow, so that we may be worthy of our place upon the earth. Then I shall be able to see in my declining years the realization of the patriotic dream of my youth; a Brazil in whose every act our hearts shall be able to discern, as in Milton's vision, "a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks!"

Greece Joins the Allies

How Constantine Departed

SINCE the abdication of King Constantine in favor of his second son, Alexander, who is now King of the Hellenes, a complete change has come over the attitude of the Greek Government, and the division of the nation into two factions has been brought to an end. Further light has been thrown on the course of events (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, July, 1917, Pages 83-85) by documents which have now come to hand, as well as by later dispatches.

The full text of the ultimatum which High Commissioner Jonnart presented to Premier Zaimis in Athens on June 11 was made public by the Greek Legation at Washington. It read:

The protecting powers of Greece have decided to reconstitute the unity of the kingdom without impairing the monarchical constitutional institutions that they have guaranteed to Greece. His Majesty King Constantine, having manifestly on his own initiative violated the Constitution of which France, England, and Russia are the trustees, I have the honor to declare to your Excellency that his Majesty the King has lost the confidence of the protecting powers, and that the latter consider themselves free toward him from the obligations resulting from their right of protection.

I have in consequence the mission, with a view of re-establishing the real Constitution, to ask for the abdication of his Majesty King Constantine, who will himself designate, together with the protecting powers, a successor among his heirs. I am under the obligation to ask from you an answer within twenty-four hours.

Constantine, as already recorded, abdicated and left Athens for Switzerland, and with him were expelled several leading men among his supporters, including former Minister Gounaris, General Dousmanis, and Colonel Metaxas. The final scenes are described in dispatches from the Athens correspondent of The London Times.

On the morning of June 11, after Zaimis had seen Jonnart and learned that the Allies' decision that Constantine should abdicate was irrevocable, the Premier went straight back to the King's palace and told him of his fate. The narrative then proceeds:

The King listened with great calm, and said to M. Zaimis: "I desire the Crown Council to be summoned." M. Zaimis, much distressed, left the room, and the King retired to his study, where some minutes after one of his Aides de Camp found him deep in a chair, his head bent on his hand, and "very pensive."

At 11:30 o'clock the Crown Council began, there being present, besides M. Zaimis, M. Skouloudis, M. Lambros, M. Dimitrakopoulos, M. Gounaris, M. Stratos, M. Kalogheropoulos, M. Rallis, and M. Dragoumis—all ex-Prime Ministers.

When they were seated, the King read to them the demands of the Allies. It is difficult to be quite sure of what happened, but it seems certain that when the King pronounced the fateful words demanding his abdication he turned toward them as for their opinion, and M. Gounaris (the arch pro-German politician) half rose and said: "Impossible! It is impossible that—" when the King stopped him, raised his hand, and said: "I have decided to accept."

The Council lasted till 2:30 o'clock, the Ministers insisting on seeing if a way of satisfying the Allies' demands could not be found without the abdication of the King, but it all ended in their recognizing the hopelessness of the situation, and the Council was dismissed by the King.

The demeanor of the Ministers as they came out showed the throng of waiting journalists that they had heard grave news, but they would not speak. M. Gounaris seemed incapable of speaking. M. Skouloudis, under whose Premiership Fort Rupel was handed over to the Bulgarians and the disasters of today largely prepared, was pale and shaking, and had to be assisted into his motor car. When he reached home he remained prostrate for a considerable time.

The deposed monarch's departure from the shores of Greece is described by the Athens correspondent of The London Times, under date of June 14:

The departure of ex-King Constantine, with Queen Sophie, the Crown Prince, the Princesses, and Prince Paul, which I witnessed this morning at Oropos, a small port in the Gulf of Euboea, took place very quietly.

Oropos is a tiny fishing village with a small jetty. All the night and all the morning motor cars had been bringing the King's luggage. A number of the King's personal friends came to see him off. The late King

George's yacht Sphakteria was refitted rapidly to receive the royal family, and lay off Oropos this morning escorted by two French destroyers whose Tricolors flapped broadly against the Euboean hills.

The ex-King and Queen and the Crown Prince arrived in motor cars shortly after 11 o'clock. The King wore a General's uniform and got slowly out of the car, which drew up close to the jetty, where two French officers stood rigidly. A small group of country people and schoolgirls mingled with M. Zaimis, the Prime Minister, courtiers, and official personages.

The King was pale, but erect and composed. He took a bouquet of flowers which a small child on the top of a wall thrust out to him. People gave subdued cheers, and peasants on the jetty knelt as the King and Queen passed them. The King made way for the Queen, bidding the people let them pass. The royal family then quickly entered a waiting motor launch and were borne to their vessel.

The King was dignified and bowed and saluted, but he scarcely uttered a word from the moment of his arrival till the launch cast off. Several of his friends were weeping. One man threw himself in the water in an endeavor, apparently, to follow the royal boat, but he was rescued.

The new King, Alexander, on ascending the throne, issued a proclamation in the following terms:

At the moment when my venerated father, making to the Fatherland the supreme sacrifice, intrusts me with the heavy duties of the Hellenic throne, I pray that God, granting his wishes, may protect Greece and permit us to see it once more united and strong.

In the grief of being separated in such painful circumstances from my well-beloved father I have the single consolation of obeying his sacred command. With all my energy I shall try to carry it out by following along the lines which so magnificently marked his reign, with the help of the people on whose love the Greek dynasty rests.

I have the conviction that, in obeying the will of my father, the people by their submission will contribute to our being able together to draw our well-beloved country out of the situation in which it now is.

The publication of this proclamation came as a shock to Great Britain, France, and Italy. The question was raised whether the Allies had not been hoodwinked and if another German diplomatic trick had not succeeded in the Balkans. Everywhere the demand was made that the Allies take direct control of Greece, establish Venizelos in power, and keep him there by force if necessary.

Jonnart indirectly but very effectively replied to the young King's proclamation in the following manifesto addressed to the Greek people:

France, Great Britain, and Russia desire to see Greece independent, great, and prosperous, and they mean to defend the noble country, which they have liberated, against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians, and Germans. They (the Entente Allies) are here to circumvent the manoeuvres of the kingdom's hereditary enemies; they want to end the repeated violations of the Constitution and of the treaties and the deplorable intrigues which have resulted in the massacre of soldiers of the united countries.

Berlin until now has commanded Athens and has been gradually bringing the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans. We have resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The protecting powers have in consequence demanded the abdication of King Constantine. But they do not intend to touch the constitutional monarchy. They have no other ambitions than to assure the regular operation of the Constitution to which King George of glorious memory had always been scrupulously faithful and which King Constantine has ceased to respect.

Greeks! the hour of reconciliation has come. Your destinies are closely associated with those of the protecting powers. Your ideal is the same. Your hopes are the same. We appeal to your wisdom and patriotism. The blockade is now raised. Every reprisal against the Greeks, no matter by whom, will be pitilessly suppressed. No attempt against the public order will be tolerated. The property and liberty of all will be safeguarded. A new era of peace and work is opening before you.

Know that the protecting powers, respectful of the national sovereignty, have no intention of imposing upon the Greek people a general mobilization.

Long live Greece, united, great, and free!

On the invitation of M. Jonnart, Venizelos arrived at Piraeus on June 21. He received a great welcome from a crowd of several thousand persons and with Jonnart's approval entered into negotiations with Premier Zaimis for a fusion of the two parties. Meanwhile, King Alexander in a letter to Zaimis described himself as the faithful guardian of the Constitution, and thereby repaired the mistake he had made in his first proclamation. The new King made it clear that he was willing to comply with all the demands of the Entente Allies. But now it was Zaimis who refused to be their obedient servant. Jonnart demanded the convocation of the Parliament of

May 31, 1915, in which Venizelos had had a majority and which Constantine had dissolved. Zaimis, refusing to take responsibility for this step, resigned, and once more Venizelos returned to power. On June 27 the new Ministry, of which he became head, took the oath. Its personnel was as follows:

Premier and Minister of War—M. VENIZELOS.
Minister of the Interior—M. REPOULIES.
Minister of Justice—M. TSIRIMOKOS.
Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. POLITIS.
Minister of Marine—Admiral P. COUNDOURIOTIS.
Minister of Finance—M. MICHSALACOPOUDOS.
Minister of Agriculture—M. NEGROPONTES.
Minister of Communications—M. PAPANASTASION.
Minister of Education—M. DINGAS.
Minister of Food Supplies—M. EMBIRKOS.
Minister of Relief for Refugees—M. SIMOS.

Dispatches from Athens dated June 29 announced that the Greek Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany and her allies. The Greek Ministers at Berlin, Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople were instructed to leave their posts and place their archives with the Netherlands Legations. This did not mean that Greece was going to war at once. Venizelos, when taking the oath of office, made the following statement:

We realize that unless we drive the Bulgarians from Eastern Macedonia that part of Greek territory will be always exposed to great danger. Before, however, thinking of mobilizing that part of Greece which has not shared in our movement, we must vitalize its military organization, which has fallen into such decay, and bring about a fusion of the two armies in brotherly co-operation. Therefore, we shall now call out the untrained classes of 1916 and 1917.

With the abdication of Constantine and with Venizelos once more guiding the destinies of Greece, administrative control of various Governmental services by the Entente Allies was gradually withdrawn, but it was decided that the telegraphs and the censorship should still be supervised by representatives of the Allies, in co-operation with the Greek Government. The raising of the blockade had already been announced on June 19.

An important result of the political change in Greece was seen in the report of General Sarrail, whose French troops were in occupation of Thessaly, that the movements of troops were being carried out without difficulty. All the communes in the region of Larissa and Volo spontaneously transferred their allegiance to the Venizelos Government and installed new civil authorities.

Constantine and his family arrived at Lugano, Switzerland, on June 20. Officers and delegates of the Swiss Government met him at the frontier and welcomed him in the name of Switzerland. A large number of German personages waited for the ex-King at the station, including Prince and Princess von Bülow and Dr. von Mühlberg, German Minister to the Vatican. The Greek Minister to Berne was also present. A number of German diplomats arrived at Lugano for the coming of the former King, who was delayed by the illness of his wife. A long telegram from the German Emperor was handed to Constantine as soon as he left the train. He was very coolly received by the crowds. After dinner he attended an open-air concert, where he was recognized and hissed by a group of strangers who were leaving. On entering the concert the former King was jostled, and he left later by a rear door to avoid the curious crowds.

Georgios Streit, former Adviser of the Greek Foreign Office, who is one of Constantine's entourage, announced on June 22 that in consequence of his wound the ex-King needed careful nursing and complete rest, and his physicians had advised him to proceed immediately to a sanatorium in the mountains, where he was to live merely for his health and family. The Queen, too, was not in good health after troubles and tribulations of the last year. According to other reports he and the ex-Queen were greatly shocked at their reception in Switzerland.

The Greek War Record

The leading episodes in King Constantine's policy from the time the question of Greek intervention in the war was first raised by the proposal that Greek troops should be sent to Gallipoli are set out in the following chronological table by The London Times:

March, 1915.—King Constantine refuses M. Venizelos's proposal for intervention in Gal-

lipoli; M. Venizelos resigns the Premiership.

May, 1915.—M. Gounaris, (Pro-German,) Prime Minister.

June, 1915.—General election in Greece results in a Venizelist majority.

August, 1915.—M. Venizelos again becomes Prime Minister.

Sept. 18, 1915.—King Constantine and M. Venizelos "in complete agreement" about Balkan policy.

Sept. 21, 1915.—M. Venizelos invites France and Great Britain to send troops to Saloniki to aid Serbia.

Sept. 23, 1915.—King Constantine signs decree mobilizing Greek Army; to support, as is supposed, Serbia against Central Powers and Bulgaria.

Oct. 3, 1915.—First Anglo-French troops reach Saloniki.

Oct. 4, 1915.—M. Venizelos announces that the Greek Government "will not oppose the Anglo-French armies hastening to the aid of the Serbians, the allies of Greece."

Oct. 5, 1915.—King Constantine dismisses M. Venizelos from office. Serbia's appeal to Greece to fulfill her treaty obligations and come to her aid when attacked refused. King Constantine alleges that the treaty refers only to an attack on Serbia by a Balkan foe, not to a war against Germany and Austria. "If Greece intervenes she will share the fate of Belgium."

November, 1915.—Protest by Allies against interference by Greece with the movement of Franco-British troops; partial blockade of Greece.

March, 1916.—Greek officers in Macedonia instructed not to oppose the Bulgarian advance into Greece.

May, 1916.—Greek Government refuses facilities for Serbian Army to cross Greece by rail.

May 26, 1916.—On orders approved by King Constantine, Greek commander surrenders Fort Rupel to Bulgarians; Entente Powers thereupon blockade Greek ports.

August, 1916.—Greek division in Eastern Macedonia "surrenders" to Bulgarians and is conveyed to Germany.

Aug. 27, 1916.—M. Venizelos appeals to King Constantine to "put himself at the head of the nation and defend Greece's honor and territory." King Constantine declines.

Sept. 25, 1916.—M. Venizelos breaks with King Constantine and proclaims a Provisional Government. Most of the islands and part of mainland of Greece adhere to M. Venizelos.

Nov. 24, 1916.—In consequence of anti-ally acts of King Constantine's Government, Entente Powers present ultimatum to Greece; Greece refuses to surrender certain guns.

Dec. 1, 1916.—Allied troops landed at Athens fired on by King Constantine's troops; several killed. Reign of terror at Athens. Venizelists tortured.

Dec. 14, 1916.—Another ultimatum to Greece. M. Venizelos charged with treason by King Constantine.

Jan. 8, 1917.—New note to Greece; evasive reply.

February-May, 1917.—Continuance of King Constantine's intrigues with Germany; peril to the rear of the allied army in Macedonia. Blockade of Greece continues.

June 7, 1917.—M. Jonnart arrives in Greece as High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers.

June 12, 1917.—King Constantine abdicates, and is succeeded by his son Alexander.

Re-establishing Albania

Rival Plans of Autonomy, and How They Conflict with Albania's Desire for Independence

This article, written by a native Albanian now in the United States, summarizes the latest attempts to solve the knotty problem of what shall be done with Albania. It supplements the brief sketches of "Albanian Autonomy" and "The New Republic of Koritza" which appeared in the July issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WHILE the diplomatic pourparlers for the abdication of King Constantine and for the clearing up of the situation in Greece were going on, the Allies were taking the necessary steps toward the settlement of another important and vexatious question concerning the Balkans. On June 3, 1917, the Italian Government proclaimed the independence of Albania, in apparent accord with England and France, and placed the new State under Italian protection, marking a new turning point in the Balkan situation.

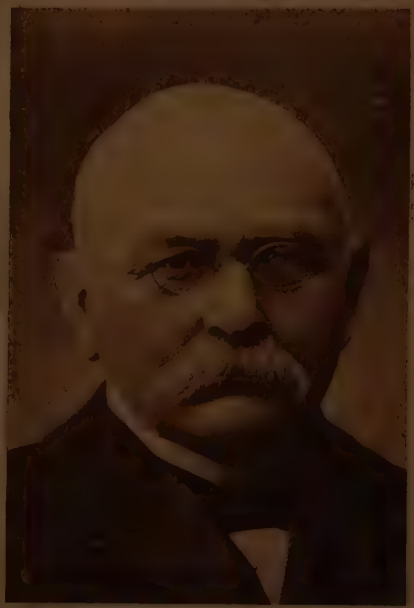
Albania had proclaimed her independence early in 1912, and the London conference of the same year recognized and guaranteed her autonomy by placing the new principality under the collective protection of the six great European powers who undertook to organize it. They placed on the throne of Albania Prince

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN

Leader of the Majority Socialist Group in the German Reichstag and a Prominent Figure in Recent Efforts to Bring About Peace.

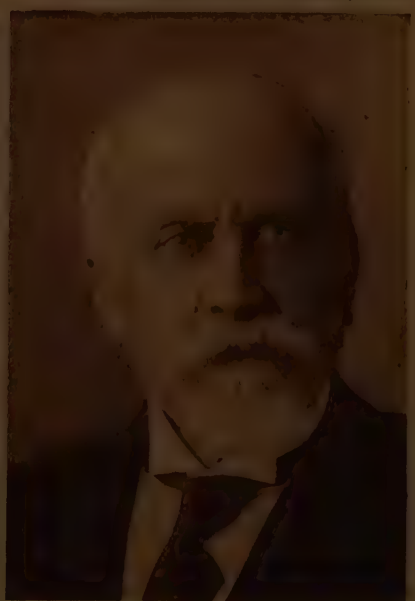
(Photo Paul Thompson)

STATESMEN OF NEUTRAL NATIONS



GUNNAR KNUDSEN,
Premier of Norway.
(Photo Bain News Service)

C. T. ZAHLE,
Premier of Denmark.
(Photo Bain News Service)



GUSTAVE ADOR
The New Foreign Minister of Switzerland.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

EDUARDO DATO
Premier of Spain.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

MAP SHOWING ALBANIA'S POSITION IN RELATION TO THE POWERS SEEKING TO CONTROL ITS DESTINY. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY HOLDS THE NORTHERN PORTION

William of Wied, a German Prince. With the outbreak of the European war, the Prince was forced to abandon his realm, after a troubled reign of about seven months, and Albania fell a prey of her neighbors, Serbians, Montenegrins, and Greeks. After several changes of occupants, her territory came into the possession of Austria and Italy, the former holding Northern and Central Albania, about two-thirds of the whole territory, and the latter the rest of it.

The Italian action in proclaiming the independence of Albania took place as a result of two tentative steps made separately by France and Austria.

In October, 1916, an Anglo-French detachment took possession of the City of Koritza and of the adjoining territory in Eastern Albania, by expelling therefrom the Greek royalist troops. On Dec. 10 the French commander, Colonel Descoins, proclaimed the autonomy of the region of Koritza, a district of about 100,000 inhabitants, under French protection. The French commander was forced by the Albanian militia of that region to issue a formal proclamation, and according to a duly signed protocol the tiny State was made a provisional republic.

Following the action of France, which had deeply impressed the Albanians living under Austrian occupation, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian troops in Albania issued on March 9, 1917, a ringing proclamation to the Albanians by which he guaranteed, in the name of his Government, the independence of the *whole* of Albania, under Austrian protection, and invited the Albanians to join the Austrian troops in the war against the allied forces in the Balkans.

Next it was Italy's turn. She had declared, on entering the war against the Central Powers, that one of her chief war aims was the re-establisment of the independence of Albania and the elimination of Austrian influence in that part of the Balkans. She had irritated Greece by wresting Southern Albania from her, and had crossed even the frontiers decided upon in the London Conference, by occupying a large part of what is called Albania Irredenta. On June 3 General Ferrero, commander of the Italian troops in Southern Albania, read a formal proclamation at Argyrocastro, before a crowded assembly of Albanian notables. The text is as follows:

To the whole people of Albania:

Today, June 3, 1917, the memorable anniversary of the establishment of Italian constitutional liberties, I, General Giacinto Ferrero, commander of the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania, do solemnly proclaim, in accordance with the orders of his Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel, *the unity and independence of the whole of Albania*, under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom.

By this proclamation you, Albanians, have a free Government, an army, tribunals, schools, all made up of Albanians, and are free to use as you wish your property and the fruits of your labor, for your own benefit and for the enrichment of your country.

Albanians!

Wherever you are, whether free in the land of your birth, an old and honorable race, or in exile in other countries and under foreign domination, we are bringing you back to the civilization of the Romans and of the Venetians.

You know the bonds that unite the Italian and Albanian interests. The sea divides them, and at the same time the sea binds them together. Let all good citizens, then, stand unitedly, having faith in the future of your beloved nation. Come, all of you, under the flags of Albania and Italy, and pledge yourselves to Albania, which is today proclaimed independent, in the name f the Italian Government and under its friendly protection.

This proclamation of the Italian Government was the subject of copious comments throughout the allied countries. For many days the Italian newspapers devoted columns and pages to the great importance of the proclamation, emphasizing the paramount necessity of such a measure to bar Austria from the Adriatic Sea. La Tribuna of Rome on June 5 stated that many misgivings in regard to the aims of Italy have been in the air, but that the proclamation of the independence of Albania was proof that Italy was acting in accordance with the principle of nationalities. Il Giornale d'Italia, the organ of Baron Sonnino, saluted the independence of Albania in these words:

"Italy, well aware that there is no sacrifice too great for the inestimable boon of liberty, salutes with joy and with confidence in the triumph of justice the ancient people of Albania."

The impression made in Petrograd, however, by the proclamation of the Italian protectorate on Albania was the reverse of what it was expected to be, and M. Terestchenko, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked for more ample explanations as to the meaning of the "protectorate." On the other hand, when questions were raised in the House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies on the same subject, Lord Cecil replied, on June 13, that the Italian protectorate over Albania did not convey any material privileges to Italy, and Jules Cambon declared that the Italian protection must be considered in the light of the exclusion of Austrian influence only.

The attitude of the Albanian press was anything but complaisant. Commenting editorially on the Italian action, the newspaper Dielli, (the Sun,) organ of the nationalist Albanians in America, wrote on June 8:

"The proclamations by Austria and Italy, which came one after the other, are neither welcome nor well sounding. These powers are disputing between them the right of protection over Albania. The way in which each desires to reorganize and dominate Albania cannot meet our approval. We acknowledge with boundless pleasure any friendly protection, but we cannot even for a moment agree that Albania be reduced to the state of a vassal country. The Albanians are fighting for the real independence of Albania, and for this we can rely on the assistance of her friends only. The Albanians desire that Albania should be for the Albanians. They do not wish her to be the tool of either Austria or Italy. Such a servile Albania would be the worst element in the Balkans, a fire-maker in the already troublesome peninsula. * * *"

Acrimonious criticisms in the press and in diplomatic circles of the allied powers, as to the Italian protection, led Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to make further official declarations. On June 22 he stated that the independence of Albania was a thing to be desired, being in accordance with the principles expounded by President Wilson and espoused by the Allies.

The situation in Albania is likely to be further complicated by the advent of M. Venizelos as Premier of Greece. The Greek statesman is understood to make the participation of Greece in the war by the side of the Allies conditional upon the elimination of Italy's ambitions in Albania.

Canada's Three Years of War

By Frank Yeigh

WHEN Father Time ticks off the 4th of August, 1917, Canada will have ended three years of experience as a war country. Looking back on this stirring period and on her record as a participating ally, the Dominion can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that her response to the call of the motherland and civilization was as prompt as it was definite. The story of the enlistment of the first troops, their initial training in a hastily improvised camp, and their passage overseas, guarded by a part of the British fleet, will long be a creditable chapter in the history of Canada. The first Canadian contingent, comprising nearly 33,000 men, 7,500 horses, and 70 pieces of artillery, was the largest military force that up to that time had ever crossed any ocean to go to any war.

When war was declared, and Canada without delay promised England her aid, the plan of voluntary enlistment was adopted as the one best suited to a country so democratic and in which strong emphasis is placed on individual liberty. The cry of the recruiter was at once heard throughout the land; appeals were made from platform and press, organizations of all kinds became recruiting agencies, and the Church added its voice in solicitation. This method resulted in the raising of the first 400,000, but it now seems unable to go further. The chief criticism of the plan is that it is unfair and unequal in its operation. This is illustrated by the fact that only one man out of fifty joined the forces from Quebec, as against one out of sixteen in Ontario and one out of twelve in the Canadian West. It also left many a slacker untouched, while married men with home ties and responsibilities, or valuable toilers, felt the call and enlisted.

Total Enlistment Figures

Canada's total enlisted force, up to June 15, 1917, was 421,767. According to a recent statement made in the House of Commons by the Minister of Militia, there were, of the above total, in May last 136,400 troops of all ranks in France, with 747 in the Near East and 120 at St. Lucia. There were at the same time 180,326 in England, not counting those in hospitals and convalescent homes. On June 1, 1917, there were 17,353 troops of the Canadian expeditionary forces of all ranks in Canada, gathered in a series of military training camps.

Of the men sent overseas 14,100 were French Canadians. The number of native-born Canadians speaking the English language who have gone overseas is given as 125,245, and the number of British subjects born outside of Canada who have gone overseas, 155,095. The British-born members of the Canadian Army outnumbered the Canadian-born by about 15,000.

It is estimated that Canada has 1,583,549 men of military age, (based on the census of 1911,) of whom 760,453 are single and therefore the first subject to any conscription call, and 680,307 married, between the ages of 20 and 45, or nearly a half-and-half proportion.

A system of national service registration was next adopted. This was obligatory on men beyond the military age, and called upon them to describe their present occupations and responsibilities and to place themselves at the disposal of the Government for whatever service it might determine. A million and a quarter responded, but it is asserted that few practical results have ensued, and that as a source of military strength it has proved ineffectual. The same might be said of the putting into force of a long-standing Militia act, under which men of military age are liable to be called out for home defense. Enlistments were asked under this act, but with few results. Volunteers said in effect that they were willing to be stay-at-home

fighters, but drew the line at overseas service.

The increasingly imperative need for further reinforcements, not only to bring up the Canadian Army to the standard of half a million promised early in the war by the Premier, but to replace the wastage in the ranks, led the Government in June, 1917, to bring in the Military Service bill, which is, in essence, like that of the United States, a selective conscription plan. At the present writing this bill is under discussion in Parliament and throughout the country.

More Than 100,000 Casualties

The casualties in the Canadian ranks have passed the 100,000 mark. On June 22, 1917, there were nearly 30,000 hospital cases; of this number 22,067 were in the United Kingdom and 7,271 in Canada. There were 2,295 Canadian prisoners of war in Germany. Canadians had won, up to the first of January, 1917, 2,715 decorations, including six Victoria Crosses, 329 Military Crosses, and 1,138 military medals.

It is estimated that the war thus far has cost Canada $600,000,000, and that it is now costing over a million a day. The estimate for the year 1917 alone is $433,274,000. To meet this expenditure and establish a line of credit with Great Britain, three Government bond issues have been floated, totaling $350,000,000 Each was largely and quickly oversubscribed, and a fourth is foreshadowed for the Fall. They bear 5 per cent. interest.

As financial aid to England the Dominion Government has contributed $200,000,000 as a loan to the Imperial Treasury, in connection with the financing of munition orders; it also has arranged with the Canadian banks for advances aggregating another $100,000,000. England, on the other hand, advanced to Canada, up to March 30, 1917, $692,000,000. The imperial and international financing is one of the most remarkable features of the war.

The war expenditure is responsible for a steady increase in the public debt of the Dominion. Whereas the debt stood at $327,000,000 before the war, it had risen to $722,111,000 by Dec. 31, 1916, and it is estimated that it will reach a total of $1,200,000,000 by the end of 1918 if the struggle continues until then.

Canada's special war taxes are yielding approximately $65,000,000 a year, made up, for the last fiscal year, as follows: Excess profits tax, $15,600,000; war tariff, $37,000,000; bank tax, $1,000,000; loan companies, $400,000; spirits and tobacco, $7,000,000; extra postage, $6,000,000. The excess profits tax, which raised $12,500,000 the first year, is expected to produce $20,000,000 during the current year under an increased schedule. An income tax is also foreshadowed.

Millions for Relief Work

Canada's war gifts, Governmental and private, have been on a most generous scale. Private benefactions, through such agencies as the Red Cross, the Patriotic Fund and other relief funds, total $60,000,000, and the ratio of giving is continually rising. Every province gave, during the first year of the war, large stores of flour, grain, and other food products, coal and horses. These included a million bags of flour from the Dominion, 250,000 bags from Ontario, and 50,000 from Manitoba; 4,000,000 pounds of cheese from Quebec; 500,000 tons of coal from Nova Scotia; oats, cheese, and hay from Prince Edward Island; 100,000 bushels of potatoes from New Brunswick; 1,200,000 cans of salmon from British Columbia, and 1,500 horses from Saskatchewan. The Patriotic Acre in Saskatchewan has produced tangible results. The school children, too, have raised large sums in the aggregate, through food production and otherwise, and have presented some ambulances to the Red Cross. In a word, every section of the Dominion and almost every class of the population have contributed and are still doing so on a substantial scale.

Some of the most generous gifts of men and means have been made in connection with the hospital service at home and overseas. Several of the larger Canadian universities have equipped war hospitals and manned them with doctors and nurses, and supplies therefor are provided as a gift from those at home. The universities have sent thousands of under-

graduates to the front, so that their halls are practically empty and educational work is almost at a standstill. Officers' training corps of students have been popular from the outset, and these are also being maintained as a source for supplying officers.

Provincial Governments are aiding in providing practical work for the returned soldiers. Ontario has made a start in this direction by training a number of men on the Monteith Government Farm in Northern Ontario. Following the training the men will be given homesteads free of cost, after proving their fitness for the work. They receive soldiers' pay while in training. Alberta also is active in the care and re-employment of those who need help of this kind. A Soldiers' Aid Committee is operating in 500 different places, seeking not only to act as the friend of the soldier in a variety of ways, but to assist some in settling on Government lands. No less than 3,693 returned soldiers have been given positions in the Government service, and vocational training is being conducted in a number of centres. The great war veterans' association, with a membership of over 10,000, is also looking after the interests of the homecoming men.

Caring for the Wounded

The care of the returned soldier who is invalided is under a Military Hospitals Commission appointed by the Government. On the arrival of the men at a Canadian port, such as Halifax, St. John, or Quebec, distribution is made according to their condition and ultimate destination. At Quebec the commodious immigration buildings of the Government are being utilized for this work. For transportation of the more serious cases, sleeping cars, specially fitted up as hospital cars, are used. A large number of military hospitals have been provided in different sections of the country, many Government institutions being used to house hundreds of men.

The Canadian Patriotic Fund, a remarkable voluntary achievement, has raised over $30,000,000. A million a month is being paid out through this channel as an auxiliary help to the soldier and his dependents, in addition to the Government pay of $1.10 a day to the private and a separation allowance for his family. This fund has done much to stimulate recruiting by assuring the soldier of a degree of support for those dependent upon him. The Red Cross has been no less generously supported; in fact, almost every city exceeds the sum asked from it.

In addition to the Government pay and the patriotic funds, several municipalities, like Toronto, have insured their enlisted men, mostly for $1,000 each. Many corporations and large employers of labor are performing a similar service for their employes.

W. J. Hanna, a Cabinet member, was appointed National Food Controller in June, 1917, and is working in harmony with Mr. Hoover, who occupies a similar position for the United States. The Canadian Food Controller, like the American, has been given wide powers and has already issued a manifesto to the people urging maximum production, prevention of waste, and the largest possible consumption of perishable foodstuffs in order to liberate the storable foods for transportation. A National Fuel Controller has also been appointed, to whom has been given wide powers, especially in reference to the coal situation both for manufacturing and domestic use.

Munitions and Aviation

Canada has become an important munition supplying country, operating under the Imperial Munitions Board. The board had placed, up to April last, $850,000,000 worth of orders in the Dominion, employing over 250,000 persons in 630 factories.

Britain is now spending $80,000,000 in aviation training in Canada. Formerly these aviation camps were left partly to private enterprise, but the Government has now installed large ones in several of the provinces. Several aero squadrons are in process of enlistment, and large numbers of machines are to be made in Canada.

The effects of the war on Canada, commercially and industrially, have been most marked. The circulation of extra millions of dollars is felt in a new buoyancy of trade, though the trade channels

are necessarily changed from their pre-war directions. The 22,000 industrial plants of the Dominion are working for the most part to their capacity, often on day and night shifts. The flour and saw mills tell the same story, while the 500 branch United States industries established in Canada find themselves fully occupied.

Exceptionally high wages prevail, though the cost of living shows a steady increase that offsets the wage scale and creates an alarming condition for those on small fixed salaries. Some of the railways are suffering from a lack of adequate rolling stock to meet the exceptional demands. Gauged by the bank figures, both as to deposited savings and loans made, the country is enjoying a degree of economic prosperity that is enabling it to handle the war cost. The Dominion, for example, had a surplus of $60,000,000 during its last fiscal year as between the current revenue and expenditure.

The Governments, both Federal and Provincial, have appointed commissions to deal with resources and to conduct thrift and food production campaigns. A scientific research council is at work. The Governments are using their legislative powers to the utmost, especially in the Federal realm, through the appointment of food, fuel, and other controllers. The mobilization of the resources of the country, both in men and resources, is being carried on to an ever-increasing extent. Along with the movement for conscription of men there is a strong demand for the conscription of wealth and of profits to an extent not yet reached.

Such, in brief, is the three-year story of Canada at war. The period presents an interesting study of development under absolutely new conditions. Errors naturally crept in at first, but the machinery of war is working more smoothly now, and the national will is becoming more and more fixed on seeing the struggle through to a satisfactory end.

Canadian Indians at the Front

By Verne De Witt Rowell

IN striking contrast to the bitter racial discussions provoked in Canada by the charges of the Toronto journalistic school that French Canada has not done her duty in the matter of recruiting men for overseas service is the fervent patriotism of the old-time Indian allies of the French and English in America. In all, approximately 5,000 Canadian Indians have been trained in Indian companies of overseas units and been sent to France to fight for the allied cause. The only tribe that has not sent its full quota of recruits to the firing line in Europe is that of the Eskimo Indians; and while they might prove excellent warriors during the Winter months, they obviously would not survive a Summer campaign.

The once ferocious and formidable Blackfeet Indians, who lived on buffalo meat and were the terror of explorers and outlying settlements, have sent several companies. The Crees of the Slave Lake and Hudson Bay regions have sent their representatives in khaki, and the Indians of Eastern Canada have in many instances sent practically the full number of eligible males in their tribes.

In the early days of American colonization, when the French and English contended in warfare, each was aided by an Indian nation, the French by the Algonquin federation, and the English by the Iroquois, or Six Nation Indians. The Algonquins, largely domesticated, tilled the soil and lived in more or less permanent settlements in the territory now forming the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Time and again did the French establish colonies along the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of the Great Lakes to engage in the fur trade with their Algonquin friends, but nearly always did these colonies disappear before the fierce raids of the Iroquois warriors,

who made their home in Western New York, and, as the unfailing allies of the New England British colonists, swooped over the Niagara and St. Lawrence frontiers, burning and ravaging the French settlements and scalping all the French palefaces they could lay their hands on. Today, under the Canadian flag, Iroquois and Algonquins are fighting side by side in the same Indian companies for the new, united cause of the French, the English, and the great nation that has sprung from the little New England and Pennsylvania settlements of those early days.

Since New Year's, 1917, companies of American Indians have been holding front-line trenches on the western front, and they would have been there nearly three years ago had not an order of the Canadian Militia Department, for some reason never quite explained, forbidden recruiting among the Indians when the war first commenced. But no sooner had the war clouds broken in Europe, in August, 1914, than the Indian tribes one and all met in their tribal councils, pledged firm allegiance, and offered their service to the British Crown, subscribed from their tribal funds money to the Red Cross and to buy machine guns, and petitioned to be allowed to go overseas as fighting men.

The Canadian Indian, not being a citizen, knows no politics as yet. He knows nothing of nationalism, neither that of the French-Canadian variety, which has something of a racial basis, nor the now unheard-of nationalism of the English-speaking Canadian, which was just budding before the war, and which, as one of its manifestations, opposed strenuously any contribution by Canada to an imperial navy. The Indian is loyal to the Crown; he is a monarchist. Whether his views will change when he becomes a citizen, as it is expected he will as a reward for his services in the war, remains to be seen. The agitation for citizenship is now led by the better educated of the old chiefs of the tribes, too old to go on the war trail themselves, but who have given their sons freely, and when these young warriors return, their education broadened by contact with the death grapple between European civilization and barbarism, it goes without saying that they, too, will expect some voice in the direction of their country's affairs.

Chief Scobie Logan of the "Munseys of the Thames," one of the smallest but most progressive and highly educated Indian tribes in America, is an ardent advocate of his people in their claim to citizenship. His only son was the first Indian killed in the war, having enlisted in a Western Ontario unit and gone overseas before any Indian companies were authorized. In several other instances recruiting officers winked at the regulations and enlisted individual Indians in white units. Tales of wonderful Indian snipers who were a law unto themselves and amply earned their exemption from disciplinary rule prescribed for their paleskin comrades by bringing scores of Germans to the earth found their way into print early in the war. But at the most there were only two or three full-blooded Indians in the first contingent.

The first Indian company to arrive in France was the 135th Middlesex, which crossed the English Channel in December, 1916, after training several months in England. Other Indian units from Western Ontario which soon followed the Middlesex Indians to the trenches were the 149th Lambton Battalion Indians, Chippewas of Walpole Island and Sarnia Reserve; the 160th Bruce Battalion, Saugeen Indians from the remote Georgian Bay district, near the former scene of a bloody massacre of early Christianized Hurons by the Iroquois; the 114th Haldimand County Battalion Indians, and the Mohawks of the Brant County battalions.

The Mohawks have the distinction of giving to Canada one of her finest woman writers, E. Pauline Johnson, or "Tekahionwake," who died several years ago at Vancouver. United Empire Loyalists, the Mohawks came to Canada after the American Revolution and settled near where the City of Brantford is, known widely as the "Telephone City," where Alexander Graham Bell first perfected his epoch-making invention.

The Middlesex County Indians included representatives of three tribes, the Algonquin Chippewas, the Iroquois Oneidas,

and the Munseys, who a century ago came from the Susquehanna River district in the southland, and, welcomed in their homeless wanderings by the Chippewa chief, were allotted one square mile of territory on the Chippewa Reserve, near the picturesque little paleface village of Middlemiss, Ont. Throwing his blanket on the ground and drawing with chalk a map of his territory, the Chippewa chief marked off the little corner which henceforth should be the home of the Munseys. Before the war many of the Oneidas clung to their pagan faith, and in so doing were the last of their race to resist Christianity. Letters from the trenches, however, tell of many of them accepting the Christian faith at Gospel meetings held in Y. M. C. A. huts on the firing line.

Still one of the most interesting religious temples in North America is the "Long House," near Southwold, Ont., a short distance from the Michigan Central Railway connecting Buffalo and Detroit, where annually the sacrifice and feast of the "White Dog," a ceremony of purification for the sins of the year past, is held by the Oneida pagans. The plain-looking wooden building is also the Mecca and temple of the pagan Oneidas of Western New York State, but the only other remnant of the Oneida race, found at Green Bay, Wis., does not count among its members any braves who still adhere to the faith of their fathers. After all, this pagan faith is largely colored by Christian influences very similar to the Judaism of the Old Testament, and, incorporating the story of the Christ among its legends, might be aptly styled an American Islam.

Among the Chippewas of the Middlesex Indian unit are Moraviantown Indians, whose reserve on the River Thames near Chatham is believed to contain the burial place of Tecumseh, whose name is a romantic and bright one in Canadian history, on account of his brilliant assistance given to the Canadians in repelling the American invasion of 1812.

The loyalty of the Indian race in Canada may be illustrated by reference to an Indian mother now living in London, Ont. She has four sons in the war, and her baby son of 14 years also attempted to enlist. His brother, one year older, was held in England on account of his age, when it was discovered, and is now an instructor at Wittley Camp. This Indian mother, whose husband is a descendant of Moses Schuyler, who led the Oneidas from New York to Ontario and founded the settlement on the Thames nearly a century ago, said recently: "Yes, I have given four of my boys, and I am sorry that my other children died when they were babies, for I would gladly have given them, too, to fight for England."

In every way the Canadian Indians have proved themselves the equals of their white comrades on the battle line.

Canada to Have Conscription

A BILL for compulsory military service by Canadians between the ages of 20 and 45 years was presented in the House of Commons on June 11, 1917, by Sir Robert Borden. The measure at once precipitated a bitter controversy. Emboldened by the apparent inactivity of the authorities against the campaign of sedition which was fostered throughout the Province of Quebec, and in which the clergy took an unostentatious but influential part in the country districts, La Croix, a Roman Catholic Church organ published in Montreal, on June 10 frankly and pointedly advocated a policy of "down with conscription."

This was followed up immediately by an editorial in L'Ideal Catholique, generally considered to be the semi-official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Montreal, in which the writer, Joseph Bégin, also an assistant editor of La Croix, urged Quebec to secede from the Confederation, form a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and impose taxes on all exports from Ontario passing down the St. Lawrence.

As both these organs are considered to be semi-official organs of the Archdiocese of Montreal, and as Archbishop Bruchesi did not remonstrate with their editors, Catholics and Protestants at Montreal assert that the Archbishop, if he had not approved of the sentiments expressed, would assuredly have taken some action. The Government took no public action.

In Parliament on July 6 the controversy eventuated in a victory for the Government, when Premier Borden's bill passed the House on second reading by a majority of sixty-three. Twenty-six Liberals voted with the Government and against their leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and only twelve English-speaking Liberals voted against the idea of conscription of the manhood of Canada. West of Montreal there were only four Liberals who voted against the bill. At 3:30 A. M. a fresh amendment was sprung upon the House regarding better treatment for wives and children of soldiers, which was also voted down.

One of the immediate results of the split in the Liberal Party over the conscription bill, which is likely to have very far-reaching effects on the political future of Canada, is the formation of a new Liberal Party, composed of the Liberals of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The party as at present led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it is said, is to disappear and the new party will elect its own leader.

The parliamentary contingent of western Liberals held a meeting and decided to call a convention of the Liberals of Western Canada, to be held in Winnipeg on Aug. 7 and 8. The object of the convention will be to consider the whole political situation, particularly as it affects Western Canada. The membership will include all Dominion members and Senators, Dominion Liberal candidates, and all Liberal candidates in the last provincial elections in the western provinces.

There will be a number of women, it is expected, among the delegates, each constituency in the western provinces being empowered to send four representatives.

Up to July 1 the aggregate of volunteer enlistments in Canada was 423,858. In the last two weeks of June the total enrolled was 2,358, as against 3,392 in the preceding fortnight.

The Mothers

Maurice Maeterlinck's Beautiful Tribute to Women Who Mourn Soldier Sons

IT is they who bear the main burden of suffering in this war. In our streets and open spaces and all along the roads, in our churches, in our towns and villages, in every house we come into contact with mothers who have lost their sons or are living in an anguish more cruel than the certainty of death.

Let us try to understand their loss. They know what it means, but they do not tell the men.

Their sons are taken from them at the fairest moment of life, when their own is in its decline. When a child dies in infancy it is as though his soul had hardly gone, as though it were lingering near the mother who brought it into the world awaiting the time when it may return in a new form. The death which visits the cradle is not the same as that which now spreads terror over the earth, but a son who dies at the age of 20 does not come back again and leaves not a gleam of hope behind him.

He carries away with him all the future that his mother had remaining to her, all that she gave to him and all his promise; the pangs, anguish, and smiles of birth and childhood, the joys of youth, the reward and the harvest of maturity, the comfort and the peace of her old age. He carries away with him something much more than himself; it is not his life only that comes to an end; it is numberless days that finish suddenly,

a whole generation that becomes extinct, a long series of faces, of little fondling hands, of play and laughter, all of which fall at one blow on the battlefield, bidding farewell to the sunshine and reentering the earth which they have never known.

All this the eyes of our mothers perceive without understanding; and this is why, at times, the weight and sadness of their glance are more than any of us can bear.

And yet they do not weep as mothers wept in former wars. All their sons disappear one by one, and we do not hear them complain or moan as in days gone by, when great sufferings, great massacres, and great catastrophes were enwrapped by the clamors and lamentations of the mothers. They do not assemble in the public places, they do not utter recriminations, they rail at no one, they do not rebel. They swallow their sobs and stifle their tears as though obeying a command which they have passed from one to the other, unknown to the men.

We do not know what it is that sustains them and gives them the strength to bear the remnant of their lives. Some of them have other children, and we can understand that they transfer to them the love and the future which death has shattered.

Many of them have never lost or are striving to recover their faith in the eternal promises; and here, again, we can understand that they do not despair, for the mothers of the martyrs did not despair either. But thousands of others, whose home is forever deserted and whose sky is peopled by none but pale phantoms, retain the same hope as those who keep on hoping.

What gives them this courage which astonishes our eyes? When the best, the most compassionate, the wisest among us meet one of these mothers who has just stealthily wiped her eyes, so that the sight of her unhappiness may not offend others who are happier, when they seek for words which, uttered amid the glaring directness of the most awful sorrow that can strike a human heart, shall not sound like odious or ridiculous lies, they can find hardly anything to say to her.

They speak to her of the justice and beauty of the cause for which her hero fell, of the immense and necessary sacrifice, of the remembrance and gratitude of mankind, of the irreality of life, which is measured not by the length of days but by the lofty height of duty and glory. They add that the dead do not die, that there are no dead, that those who are no more live nearer to our souls than when they were in the flesh, and that all that we loved in them lingers on in our hearts so long as it is visited by our memory and revived by our love.

But even while they speak they feel the emptiness of their speech. They are conscious that all this is true only for those whom death has not hurled into the abyss where words are nothing more than childish babble; that the most ardent memory cannot take the place of a dear reality which we touch with our hands or lips; and that the most exalted thought is as nothing compared with the daily going out and coming in, the familiar presence at meals, the morning and evening kiss, the fond embrace at the departure, and the intoxicating delight at the return.

The mothers know and feel this better than we do; and that is why they do not answer our attempts at consolation and why they listen to them in silence, finding within themselves other reasons for living and hoping than those which we, vainly searching the whole horizon of human certainty and thought, try to bring them from the outside. They resume the burden of their days without telling us whence they derive their strength or teaching us the secret of their self-sacrifice, their resignation, and their heroism.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. The article here presented is the sixth in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great conflict.

VI.—Italy in the War

IN the Spring of 1915 public opinion in Italy finally swept aside the influence of a large conservative element in high places, and on May 19 the Chamber by a vote of 407 to 74 put the full responsibility of the decision for or against war into the hands of the Salandra Cabinet. This action was equivalent to a decision for war, because no Cabinet could have continued to hold office after denying the popular clamor. Italy declared war against Austria on May 23, 1915, and General Cadorna, Chief of the Italian General Staff, took command of the Italian armies. On Aug. 21, 1915, Italy also declared war on Turkey.

No other country entered the conflict with so much popular enthusiasm as did Italy, which had been until recently an active ally of Germany and Austria. Much that modern Italy had gained was due to Germany, for that northern master had compelled Austria to make large concessions to Italy following the crushing defeat suffered by the Italian armies at Custozza in 1866. Austria won that war with Italy on the field, but lost it at the council table, when Prussia compelled the victor to hand over the frontier provinces to the defeated.

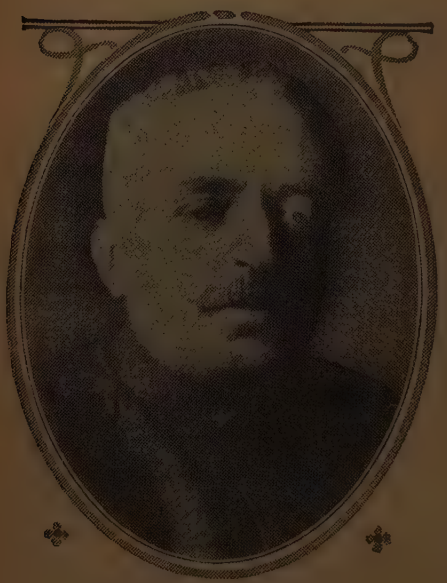
Italy, receiving these territories as a gift, had for two generations longed to extend the conquest on the north through the Trentino to Trent and on the east side of the Adriatic to Trieste. In both regions many Italians unquestionably live on the Austrian side of the frontier, but, while it is a fact that, so far as the coast regions are concerned, Italian influence has long been felt close to the shores, a journey of a very few miles inland would carry the traveler into Slav neighborhoods, where the Italian was heartily hated. As in the case of most politically arranged frontiers, national ambitions and complications surged back and forth in the Alps and along the Isonzo in a way that frequently fanned historic rivalries close to the flaming point. In 1881, at a critical time, Italy joined Germany and Austria in forming the Triple Alliance, but Austrian aggressions in the Balkans were viewed by Italy with strong disapproval. In 1896 Italian ambition to expand suffered a severe check in the disaster at Adowa, but in 1911 the successful war with Turkey won Tripoli and reawakened the national aptitude for real politik.

The year 1915 seemed to Italy the proper juncture to gratify the nation's aspirations. In last efforts to keep Italy from bringing war on her western frontier, Austria offered a number of concessions — territorial, commercial, and political. Italy, however, believed that, when the map of Europe should be remade after the war, the great spoils would go only to those who had fought, and so the die was cast for war.

Cadorna's Plan of Campaign

In the Winter of 1914-15 Italy had been busily preparing for war, so that Cadorna was ready to strike promptly. Two aggressive campaigns were immediately developed. One, aimed straight to the north, toward the City of Trent, sought to gain control of the many mountain passes, while the real attacks followed the line of natural approach along Lake Garda, whose northern end lay across the frontier. The most direct mili-

tary road toward Trent lies through the Valle Lagarina, which is drained by the Adige. Having passed the frontier town of Borghetto, the City of Rovereto becomes the main strategic objective, guarding, as it does, the wider valley between the mountain fastnesses to Trent, which lies only fifteen miles north of Rovereto. There is another approach to Trent from the east by way of the Val Sugana, but the approaches to that valley were



GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

guarded by the almost impregnable fortified passes of the higher mountain region.

In the first months of the war the news dispatches from Italy were so deceptive that unprofessional readers all over the world were led to believe that the conquest of the Trentino was to be an operation of a few triumphant weeks only. Two years and more have passed, and the Austrians are still secure in Trent. Unless Italy had been strong enough to engage in two great offensives and Austria too much occupied elsewhere to threaten any counterattack, it is evident that General Cadorna would never have seriously contemplated a great invasion of the Trentino while Austria continued to hold the dangerous fortified base at Gorizia on the Isonzo. As a matter of fact, the Italian commander wisely concentrated his strength on his northeastern front after making secure the approaches toward the plains of Lombardy from the north. For the sake of brevity and clearness I shall here discuss the Trentino operations before passing to the much more important campaigns on the Isonzo.

Operations in the Trentino

Italy remembered the ugly lesson at Custozza in the old war of 1866 and determined to block Austria's road into Italy past the southern end of Lake Garda by immediately shifting operations beyond the northern end of that long, narrow lake. Early in June Italian detachments had won their way well into the crests of the Dolomites, the mountain group northeast of Trent, and similar successes were readily won among the Carnic Alps, still further to the east, where it appeared as though Cadorna's men might succeed in reaching the Pusterthal railway between Lienz and Innichen.

While these thrusts were prospering to the east of Trent, several small, aggressive columns appeared among the mountains to the west, between Lake Garda and the Swiss frontier. The Val Camonica was the highway for these forces, one of which struck east through the Tonale Pass, while at least three other columns took the same general direction via passes further south. A strong force marched east through the Val de Ledro and menaced Riva, the important Austrian town at the north end of Lake Garda.

Austria remained strictly on the defensive, and for the first few weeks at least seems to have had only Landwehr and Landsturm troops with which to check the invasion. The veteran regular troops were kept in Galicia until the defeat of Ivanoff's armies was certain and Russia's attack upon the Carpathians definitely turned back. The Allies were greatly disappointed when it was seen that Italy's entrance into the war had no effect in relieving the pressure upon the Russians, for it had been confidently expected that the fresh enemy in the

rear would compel Austria to shift large armies to the new theatre of conflict. When Ivanoff had been defeated and driven back, some of the first-line troops were transferred to the Italian front, but Cadorna's time to have taken Trent was in the early Summer, when the Austrian Generals had little but second and third line troops with which to oppose Italy's best.

About midsummer in 1915 strong efforts were made to capture Rovereto, but without success, although the fall of the mountain town was frequently announced. In the Autumn strong columns began to make some progress north of the frontier on the west side of Lake Garda; while another force took Brentonico on the opposite side of the lake. In the Carnic Alps the Austrians repulsed frequent attacks upon their fortified lines on the Col di Lana, but could not prevent the gradual development of an Italian offensive along the upper Cordevole. With the coming of snow among the high mountains both sides began to provide white coats for the soldiers, whose ordinary uniforms would have stood out in bold relief against snowy backgrounds. In November an Italian column fought hard in an effort to advance toward Rovereto through the Adige Valley.

In December bayonet attacks, following heavy bombardments, won a number of fortified positions in the Giudicaria Valley west of Lake Garda, and in the early weeks of 1916 the Italian campaign in this region continued to make better progress. In February and March there were a series of minor battles in the direction of the Val Sugana, with the Italians almost invariably making the attacks. At the end of March the Austrians made several unsuccessful efforts to drive back from their advanced positions the columns converging toward Rovereto, and by the middle of April there were battles in the Ledro Valley only three miles west of Riva, and further to the east Italian batteries of the heaviest calibres were hurling shells toward Innchen and the Pusterthal railway.

Italy had been a year at war, and it seemed as though at last her soldiers might be about ready to debouch from the mountain passes and begin a real invasion of the Trentino. In April, however, it began to be rumored that large Austrian reinforcements had been assembled about Trent, and on May 15 the Austrians, for the first time, assumed the offensive. With the aid of an overwhelming artillery fire they launched powerful and successful attacks on a wide front. On Armentara Ridge in the southern Sugana Valley and on Folgaria Plateau south of Rovereto 3,000 Italian prisoners were taken with a number of cannon. On the following day the attack progressed especially in the sector east of Rovereto, where the Austrian infantry stormed Zugna Gorta, and at various points over 6,000 more prisoners were taken. In counterattacks several hundred Austrians were captured in Val Sugana, but by May 24 the Italians had been driven back across the frontier with a loss of over 27,000 prisoners, 300 cannon, and many machine guns.

By the end of May the Austrian invasion of Northern Italy had established an attack which threatened the Italian fortified line of interior defense based on Arsiero and Asiago. They were ten to eleven miles into the mountains on the Italian side of the frontier and approaching the easier slopes toward the Venetian plains. Similar progress for another fortnight would have seriously threatened the communications of the main Italian armies engaged on the Isonzo.

As May ended, the Austrians were winning battles close to Arsiero and were vigorously attacking Italian fortifications on the Asiago Plateau. Early in June, after long and bitter fighting, the Italians were compelled to yield some ground on the plateau di Sette Communi, and within less than four miles of Asiago some thousands of Italian prisoners were taken. The result of the failure to stop the Austrian invasion at the frontier threatened serious political results in emotional Italy. The Cabinet fell, several Generals were recalled, and the prestige of even General Cadorna was threatened.

Just then Russia did for Italy what

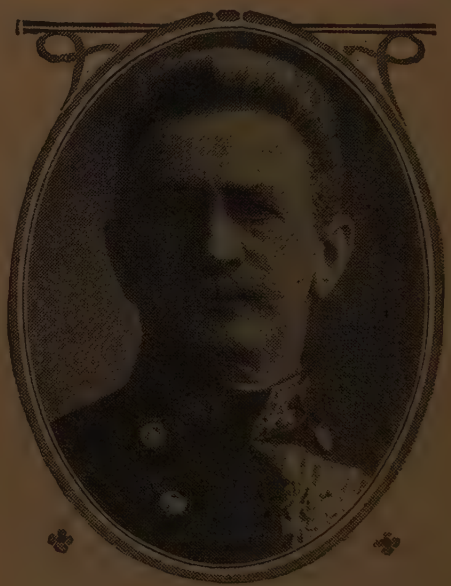
Italy had failed to do for Russia in the previous year. In April General Ivanoff had been replaced in command of the Southern Russian Armies by General A. A. Brusiloff, the brilliant cavalry leader. The new commander hurled an attack upon the Austrian lines in Volhynia and Galicia which compelled the immediate transfer of every available soldier and gun from the west to the east. That ended the Austrian threat against the Province of Venice, but the Austrians nevertheless have continued to hold approximately the same positions up to the present time, (July, 1917,) although they have been driven back somewhat from Arsiero and Asiago and have lost some ground in the Val Sugana.

Campaign on the Isonzo

While Italian popular ambition longed for the Trentino, General Cadorna, the trained soldier, knew that the necessity for the real attack lay further to the east. While very considerable forces were detached to fight the campaigns described above, the bulk of Italy's military strength was concentrated in the attack upon Gorizia and the Carso. The actual frontier was not defended by the Austrians, so that the Italians advanced practically unopposed until they approached the line of the Isonzo River and the heights covering the approaches along the western side of the stream. While the higher mountain ridges lie on the east, there are numerous rugged hills on the near (west) side admirably adapted to defense. The communications between Gorizia and Trieste were covered by the extraordinarily difficult region called the Carso Plateau, where a seamed and broken plain is thickly strewn with huge masses of limestone boulders.

By the early part of June, 1915, General Cadorna's men were deployed on a front of about fifty miles from Caporetto to the sea. Monfalcone, just east of the river mouth, was easily taken, (June 9,) and Gradisca, too, was won, but the next three principal objectives were hard to get. At the north a large force, principally of Alpine troops, attacked Tolmino and Monte Nero. Their mission was to cut the railway between Gorizia and Villach. The centre had the hardest task and attacked Gorizia with its fortified bridgehead west of the Isonzo and the strong covering positions on Podgora Heights. The right attacked Monfalcone, Gradisca, and the Carso.

The Italians found the Austrian defenses far stronger than had been believed, although the forces employed to hold them were quite inadequate and might have been overwhelmed by a quick, hard attack in the first days of the campaign. The Austrian artillery positions had been well chosen, the intrenched positions were skillfully constructed and the approaches heavily wired. The Italians, by means of pontoons, crossed the swift running river at dawn on June 17, and in a brilliant bayonet attack carried Plava, where the defending artillery included 12-inch guns. On June 28 General Cadorna's men won another bridgehead at Castelnuovo on the east side of the Isonzo, and a footing was gained on the edge of the Carso Plateau between Monfalcone and Sagrado.



GENERAL VON HOETZENDORF

First Battle of Gorizia

In the first week of July the first battle of Gorizia opened, and this costly effort on the part of the Italians to storm

the Austrian stronghold persisted through the next six weeks. Some ground was gained on the Carso—including Sei Busi, San Martino, and San Michele—and on Podgora, while under the eye of King Victor Emmanuel several divisions had finally won a very costly victory at Plava.

The Austrian second line proved even stronger than the first, and no great progress had been made in the direction of Trieste as the result of six weeks of terrific fighting.

The fall of Warsaw had by now enabled the Austrians to bring over to this front reinforcements, which included some of their best units. The difficult terrain was thoroughly understood by the Austrian first-line troops, whose manoeuvres had been held there. The Austrian commander, Field Marshal Baron von Hoetzendorf, had made a special study of the region and wrote a book on its military features. He knew the Isonzo almost as von Hindenburg knew the Masurian Lakes.

After the first great attack on Gorizia ended in the middle of August there was a period of some weeks when the exhausted and much-depleted units were rested and replenished. By early October the Italians were renewing the attacks against the bridgehead at Tolmino and on the Carso. While these efforts made little progress, the Italians seemed always able to repulse such counterattacks as were attempted by the enemy. On Oct. 21 the Italians attacked along the whole Isonzo front and made substantial gains below the summit of Mrzli, a peak dominating Tolmino from the northwest. Other gains were won on the slopes of Monte Sabotino near Gorizia and toward San Martino on the Carso. More than 5,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, and General Cadorna at this time estimated that the Austrians had not less than 800,000 men defending the Isonzo front. The actual figures were probably less than this estimate, but there is reason to believe that General Cadorna had close to a million fighting men trying to break through the almost impregnable Austrian positions, which were unquestionably defended at this time by very large numbers of excellent troops.

In November the Italians made new progress at Oslavia on the west face of the Gorizia position, and in spite of terrific losses wave after wave of fresh infantry continued for weeks the successive assaults upon the fortifications on Podgora and Oslavia covering Gorizia. As the year closed the assaults once more subsided into the normal daily artillery bombardments, but it was evident that the Italians were firmly committed to the task of taking Gorizia and continuing the attacks toward Trieste across the Carso.

Fighting on the Carso

On this plateau the fighting somewhat resembled that in France about the famous Labyrinth, for the intricate and difficult terrain had made it possible for the Austrians to create on the surface a system of defenses almost as intricate as those which the German engineers burrowed under the soil of Artois. Progress was won only by desperate hand-to-hand battles, in which comparatively small detachments fought to the death for every foot of vantage. Occasionally the Austrians launched powerful counterattacks, and in the middle of January, 1916, they took nearly two thousand prisoners at Oslavia in trenches which they stormed but had to yield again a few days later. About this time heavy Italian batteries resumed the long-distance shelling of Malborghetto, on the road toward Garves, but these activities were part of the effort to cripple Austrian lines of communication rather than the prelude to any northern extension of the actual attacks.

Late in 1915 Italy began to move large forces across the Adriatic into Albania, and by February, 1916, an announcement from Rome credited General Giovanni Ameglio with a command numbering 170,000 troops. General Ameglio was the conqueror of Libya and had with him in Albania a division of 22,000 veterans from North Africa. This powerful army eventually checked the southern march of the Austrians and Bulgarians, who hreatened to overrun all of Albania after

their successes in the north against the Montenegrins, Serbs, and Albanians at Mount Lovcen, Alessio, San Giovanni di Medua, and Elbassan.

In the early Spring of 1916 there was much hard fighting in front of Gorizia, which subsided during the great Austrian invasion from the Trentino. After Brusiloff's splendid victories in the east had put a stop to that Austrian campaign, the Italians resumed their assaults along the Isonzo.

The Capture of Gorizia

Early in August, after a series of terrific battles, General Cadorna scored the first great Italian victory of the war. Tunnels had been driven close up to the Austrian fortifications, which enabled several columns of infantry to rush positions that had resisted all other assaults for a year. On Aug. 9, after storming the bridgehead, the Italian troops entered the City of Gorizia on the east side of the Isonzo. Between 15,000 and 20,000 Austrian prisoners were taken in the final fighting at Gorizia. The Italian casualties must have been very heavy, but no statement indicating the extent of the losses was issued.

In the year that has elapsed since Gorizia was taken General Cadorna has made only a little progress among the high and difficult mountain positions still stubbornly defended by the Austrians east and southeast of the city. Further south on the Carso the Italians have gradually won more ground, and their lines are now nearly midway of that most forbidding plateau. The road to Trieste is still blocked by a competent and stubborn foe, who knows how to take every advantage of a region singularly adapted to a defensive campaign. Had the Russians been able to maintain a serious compaign on the other side of Austria in the Spring of 1917 it is possible that General Cadorna might have been enabled to push his striking force further toward Trieste, while his detaining forces could be trusted to prevent any resumption of the previous year's Austrian attack aimed at the Venetian plains and the rear of the armies on the Isonzo.

In the Balkans General Ameglio's army has firmly established Italian control of Southern Albania, with a naval and military base at Avlona. This force links up with General Sarrail's international group of armies near Monastir, and the Italians have undoubtedly made great improvements in the old roadway across Albania from Avlona via Elbassan, which is Ameglio's line of communications.

The British in Mesopotamia

It will be recalled that in the latter part of 1914 a British expedition from India landed at the north end of the Persian Gulf and occupied Basra, the important city close to the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Perhaps the purpose of this force was to block any possible effort which the Germans might have launched via the Tigris Valley against India. Possibly it was a campaign of conquest designed to wrest from German influence the partly completed railway route to Bagdad. If it were only a defensive measure, as it was announced to be in India, every purpose would have been served by maintaining a strong force at Basra, backed up by British naval power.

A fortnight after the fall of Basra the British took Kurna, where an intrenched position was established astride the Tigris. In April the Turks made several abortive efforts against British outposts, and gradually the British forces became involved in operations which extended considerably to the north. Following a routed force of Turks, Esra's tomb was passed, and on June 3, 1915, the British captured Amara, seventy-five miles above Kurna. What was left of the Turkish force under Nur-ed-Din Pasha retreated 150 miles up the Tigris to Kut-el-Amara.

From Kut-el-Amara a river channel cuts away to the south and joins the Euphrates at Nasiriyeh, and as river routes are the only ones practicable for troops in this sunbaked region, the British determined to gain control of this waterway, which links the two great rivers in the interior. Major Gen. G. F. Gorringe led the expedition from Kurna against Nasiriyeh, which, with the help

of a flotilla of gunboats, was captured after a stiff fight on July 25; 2,500 Turks were killed and 700 captured, while the British loss was only 600.

Following this success on the Euphrates, Sir John Nixon dispatched General Townshend's division up the Tigris, and this column found 10,000 Turkish regulars intrenched a few miles below Kut-el-Amara, where, on Sept. 28, in a brilliantly planned action a large part of the Turkish position was captured. By the next day the Turks were in full retreat toward Bagdad, and the British were in Kut-el-Amara. General Townshend embarked a brigade of infantry on river steamers and pushed on up toward Bagdad.

Townshend's Bagdad Expedition

Every mile of this progress toward the north lengthened the line of communications with Basra, but the British Staff doubtless had excellent confidential advices as to the attitude of the Arabs who were passed en route. When the Caliph proclaimed from Constantinople the holy war against the Allies he called upon no other community so solidly Mohammedan as the Arabian Peninsula, yet the event proved that the Arabs of those far regions felt little or no political obligation to the ruler on the Golden Horn.

Below Basra, on the west side of the Persian Gulf, were three vilayets which had either resisted Turkish control or, as in the case of Oman, had always remained independent. West of Basra lies the extensive interior Arab Kingdom of Nejd, which, like far-off Oman, had never been conquered. Between Nejd and the Red Sea lies Hejaz, with both Mecca and Medina within its borders, and consequently the very centre of ultra Mohammedan influence. While in the event of a great disaster to the British expedition most of these tribesmen might be counted upon to attack and plunder broken and retreating columns, it was evident that no strong bonds of sympathy for the far-off Turk moved them to take any very active part in harassing the British advance.

Bagdad, the great city of the Tigris, was the ancient metropolis of the Eastern world, and still harbored a certain provincial independence of thought, which treasured the history of a past, when the fair city of the Tigris was easily the peer of that later capital which settled on the distant edge of Europe, whence little new glory had come to Islam. Whatever difficulties developed further up the country the British control of the bases at Kurna, Basra, and Nasiriyeh proved amply sufficient to prevent the development of any very serious attacks on the flanks.

From Kut-el-Amara General Townshend pushed on up the Tigris to attack Bagdad, 573 miles from the waters of the Persian Gulf. The British force numbered 15,000, of whom about one-third were white soldiers and the other two-thirds Indian troops. The army was accompanied by a large flotilla of river boats of various types, and the advancing troops went forward both by road and by river.

This campaign beyond Kut-el-Amara was a colossal blunder, and it is idle now to speculate on the reasons for the undertaking. To General Townshend's professional credit it is related that he protested against so large an undertaking with so small a force. The British Indian military administration overruled him, and apparently held the Turkish soldier far too lightly. British political and diplomatic interests in the Autumn of 1915 were certainly in a bad way in Gallipoli, in France, in the Balkans, and in Russia. Undoubtedly there was a disposition to take a gambler's chance and hope by capturing Bagdad to offset the imminent failure at Constantinople.

Reverse at Ctesiphon

There was only light skirmishing most of the way, as the troops, heartened by the change from the murderous heat of the Summer campaign to the clear days and cool nights of October, pushed bravely on up the river. In the last week of October a flank attack dislodged the Turkish rear guard from a prepared position at Azizie, and by Nov. 12 General Townshend's force camped at Lajj, seven miles below Ctesiphon, and on the evening of the 21st he marched three columns

out to attack the elaborately prepared Turkish positions below and above the ruins of Ctesiphon.

The plan was practically a duplicate of that which had succeeded so brilliantly at Kut-el-Amara. While one column made a direct frontal attack, another was to strike the Turkish left flank and hold it fully occupied; meanwhile, the third column, by a wide turning movement, was to gain the rear of the Turkish position and join in rolling the whole Turk force up against the river. After a seven-mile march by bright moonlight, the British arrived opposite the Turkish positions before dawn and began the grand attack before 9 o'clock. By the early afternoon the British had the first-line position won and the Turks fell back to their second and much stronger prepared position. In the afternoon a fresh division joined Nur-ed-Din's forces, and the fortunes of the fight strongly favored the Turks. On the 23d there was an exchange of shellfire until the middle of the afternoon, when the Turks made a number of counterattacks upon the well-intrenched British lines.

By the 24th the British casualties amounted to 4,500, with especially severe losses among the officers. The Turks were receiving further reinforcements, and at midnight on the 25th General Townshend retreated to Lajj, and on Dec. 30 was back in Kut-el-Amara, after a heartbreaking retreat in which rear-guard actions were frequent, and the wearied troops sometimes marched as much as twenty-seven miles in a day. The beaten army barely managed to stagger into Kut, and the Turks instantly closed the approaches and settled down to a long siege.

The Russians in Persia

In November and December, 1915, a Russian force pushed down from the Caucasus and defeated several forces of Persian rebels fighting on behalf of German influence. Teheran was occupied by the Russians and most of the Persian forces were driven back on Kermanshah. This prompt action on the part of Russia defeated an elaborate German plan to commit Persia to the Teuton cause.

In the following year military operations in Persia assumed for a time a realy threatening appearance, and a somewhat important campaign was required to drive well-organized forces from several of the larger mountain towns in Western Persia. Wide interest

GENERAL TOWNSHEND

was at one time aroused by an announcement that a small force of Russian cavalry had unexpectedly joined the British on the Tigris, and there was a possibility that this might have been the independent cavalry of an army advancing from Persia to join the British campaign for the relief of Kut-el-Amara. In the end no such army appeared, and the real story of that strange adventure of the Russian horsemen has never yet been told.

Townshend's Force Besieged

The remnant of General Townshend's army just managed by almost superhuman efforts to struggle through the last terrible days of the retreat into Kut. That they were able still to preserve a morale that enabled them to hold that place against a victorious enemy greatly

superior in numbers reflected the greatest glory on the British service. The failure of the campaign had resulted in a damaging blow to British prestige, but the heroic qualities of the troops engaged proved that there was nothing the matter with the courage of the British soldier. Muddled plans might waste British blood and treasure on the Tigris as well as on the Dardanelles, but nothing could break down the indomitable fighting quality of the army. Thoroughly censored press dispatches covered up for many weeks the extent of the disaster at Ctesiphon by assertions that after a great victory General Townshend's force had been compelled temporarily to fall back for lack of water. It was December before England realized that there was a besieged remnant of a heroic army at Kut-el-Amara which would need prompt succor.

On Christmas Day, 1915, after a heavy bombardment for many hours, the Turks fought their way into one of the forts on the right flank. They were expelled, but returned and again occupied the position, from which they were finally driven back to their own trenches after a severe battle.

By the middle of January, 1916, a strong relief force was advancing well up the Tigris under the command of General Aylmer, but this expedition found a detached Turkish army on its front blocking the road toward Kut. From Sheik Saad onward General Aylmer's army was engaged in a number of severe actions, and these prevented the prompt relief which it was expected to afford to the besieged force up the river. The British lost heavily in battles at Sheik Saad and at Essin, and were compelled to intrench at a point twenty-three miles below Kut against a foe too strong to be brushed aside or pierced. At Menlarie the Turks had the advantage in another hot fight, and at Felahie a British reconnoitring party were all killed; 150 miles down stream, at Kurna, irregular Turkish forces defeated a British transport column, and in February there was another severe defeat near Batilia, with many casualties and the loss of a great number of transport animals.

At this time Turkish airmen were frequently bombing the British batteries at Kut. Large reinforcements of British and Indian regiments began to reach General Aylmer's army in February and March, and along the Euphrates the British were strong enough to take the offensive against the Turks above Nasiriyeh. In a fight on the upper Tigris, near Felahie, General Aylmer's men entered the Turkish trenches, but were driven out in a counterattack with a loss of 2,000 dead. The British retreated, and in a rear guard action at Zenzir Heights had 5 officers and 175 men captured.

In April General Lake scored the first British victory in a long time by winning a battle at Umm-el-Henna, about twenty miles below Kut. At Bestissa and Felahie the Turks defeated desperate British efforts to cut a way through with the bayonet, and news from General Townshend's besieged force in Kut told of a serious shortage of food.

On April 29, 1916, General Townshend's troops could hold out no longer, and, although the army advancing to their relief was less than twenty-five miles away, it was apparent that the Turks would be able to delay any further advance for a long time. The entire force surrendered unconditionally after a brave defense of 143 days. The Turks claimed to have captured 13,000 men, while the British figures named 2,970 British and 6,000 Indian troops. General Townshend surrendered to Halil Pasha and the loot was said to include £1,000,000 in cash.

The planning of the successful Turkish campaign in Mesopotamia was credited to the great German Field Marshal von der Goltz, who died April 19, 1916, at Turkish Headquarters. Rumor at the time said he was assassinated by a Turkish Anatolian officer.

How the War Came to America

Official Survey of the Causes That Led the United States to Enter the Great Conflict

The Committee on Public Information, composed of the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, with George Creel as civilian Chairman, issued on June 24, 1917, a pamphlet entitled "How the War Came to America," setting forth at length the events that had forced the United States to enter the war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine, freedom of the seas, and arbitration. Following is the full text of that important and interesting document:

IN the years when this Republic was still struggling for existence, in the face of threatened encroachments by hostile monarchies over the sea, in order to make the New World safe for democracy our forefathers established here the policy that soon came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Warning the Old World not to interfere in the political life of the New, our Government pledged itself in return to abstain from interference in the political conflicts of Europe; and history has vindicated the wisdom of this course. We were then too weak to influence the destinies of Europe, and it was vital to mankind that this first great experiment in government of and by the people should not be disturbed by foreign attack.

Reinforced by the experience of our expanding national life, this doctrine has been ever since the dominating element in the growth of our foreign policy. Whether or not we could have maintained it in case of concerted attack from abroad, it has seemed of such importance to us that we were at all times ready to go to war in its defense. And though since it was first enunciated our strength has grown by leaps and bounds, although in that time the vast increase in our foreign trade and of travel abroad, modern transport, modern mails; the cables, and the wireless have brought us close to Europe and have made our isolation more and more imaginary, there has been until the outbreak of the present conflict small desire on our part to abrogate, or even amend, the old familiar tradition which has for so long given us peace.

Policy at The Hague

In both conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, we reaffirmed this policy. As our delegates signed the First Convention in regard to arbitration, they read into the minutes this statement:

> Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

At The Hague we pledged ourselves, in case we ever went to war, to observe certain broad general rules of decency and fair fighting. But at the same time we cleared ourselves from any responsibility for forcing other nations to observe similar pledges. And in 1906, when our delegates took part in the Algeciras Conference, which was to regulate the affairs of the distracted Kingdom of Morocco, they followed the same formula there. While acquiescing in the new régime which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Morocco, we explicitly announced that we assumed no police responsibility for the enforcement of the treaty. And if any honest doubt was left as to our attitude in regard to the enforcement of Old World agreements, it was dispelled five years later, when our Government refused to protest against the overthrow of the Acte d'Algeciras.

We declined to be drawn into quarrels abroad which might endanger in any way our traditional policy.

For Freedom of the Seas

Our second great tradition in international relations has been our persistent effort to secure a stable and equitable agreement of the nations upon such a maritime code as would assure to all the world a just freedom of the seas.

This effort was born of our vital need. For although it was possible for the Republic to keep aloof from the nineteenth century disputes that rent the Continent of Europe, we could not be indifferent to the way in which war was conducted at sea. In those early years of our national life, when we were still but a few communities ranged along the Atlantic coast, we were a seafaring people. At a time when our frontiersmen had not yet reached the Mississippi, the fame of our daring clipper ships had spread to all the Seven Seas. So while we could watch the triumphant march and the tragic countermarch of Napoleon's grand army with detached indifference, his Continental blockade and the British Orders in Council at once affected the lives of our citizens intimately and disastrously.

So it was in the case of the Barbary pirates. We had no interest in the land quarrels and civil wars of the Barbary States, but we fought them for obstructing the freedom of the seas.

And in the decades ever since, although the imagination of our people has been engrossed in the immense labor of winning the West, our Department of State has never lost sight of the compelling interest that we have upon the seas, and has constantly striven to gain the assent of all nations to a maritime code which should be framed and enforced by a joint responsibility. Various watchwords have arisen in this long controversy. We have urged the inviolability of private property at sea, we have asked for a liberal free list and a narrow definition of contraband; but our main insistence has not been on any such details. One salient idea has guided our diplomacy. The law of the sea must be founded not on might, but on right and a common accord—upon a code binding all alike, which cannot be changed or set aside by the will of any one nation. Our ideal has been not a weakening but a strengthening of legal restraint by the free will and agreement of all. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for the whole world. The seas will never be free, in our American meaning, until all who sail thereon have had a voice in framing sea laws. The just governance of the seas must rest on the consent of the governed.

The Declaration of London

No other question of international polity has found the great powers more divided. But in our insistence on this fundamental principle, we have been strengthened by the support of many other countries. At times we have had the support of Great Britain. No one of our Secretaries of State has more clearly defined our ideal than has Viscount Grey, recently British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. None of our statesmen has ever gone so far as he in advocating limitation of the rights of belligerents on the sea. It was on his initiative that the international naval conference was summoned to London in 1909, and it was under his guidance that the eminent international lawyers and diplomats and Admirals who gathered there drew up the Declaration of London.

While there were in that declaration sections that did not quite meet our approval and that we should have liked to amend, the document was from our point of view a tremendous step in advance. For although, like any effort to concisely formulate the broad principles of equity, it did not wholly succeed in its purpose, it was at least an honest attempt to arrive at an agreement on a complete international code of sea law, based upon mutual consent and not to be altered by any belligerent in the heat of the conflict.

But the Declaration of London was not ratified by the British Parliament, for the point of view prevailing then in England was that a power dependent almost wholly upon its navy for protection could not safely accept further limitations upon action at sea unless there were compensating limitations on land powers. And this latter concession Ger-

many consistently refused to make. This conference therefore came to nought; and, the London Declaration having been rejected by the strongest maritime power, its indorsement was postponed by all the other countries involved. Our motives, however, remained unchanged, and our Government persisted in its purpose to secure a general ratification either of this Declaration or of some similar maritime code.

Principle of Arbitration

There has been in our diplomacy one more outstanding aspiration. We have constantly sought to substitute judicial for military settlement of disputes between nations.

The genesis of this idea dates from the discussions over the Federal organizations of our thirteen original States, which were almost as jealous of their sovereignties as are the nations of Europe today. The first great step toward the League of Honor, which we hope will at last bring peace to the world, was taken when our thirteen States agreed to disarm and submit all their disputes to the high tribunal of the new federation.

And this idea of an interstate court, which except at the time of our civil war has given this nation internal peace, has profoundly influenced our foreign policy. Of our efforts to bring others to our way of thinking, a historical résumé was presented by our delegates at the First Hague Conference. A project was submitted there for the formation of a world court. And a few years later Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Second Conference at The Hague, laid especial emphasis on this same international ideal.

We have taken a particular pride in being in the vanguard of this movement for the peaceable settlement by process of law of all disputes between nations. And these efforts have not been without success. For, although the last few decades have seen this principle time and again put under a terrific strain, no nation has dared to go to war against the award of a court of arbitration. The stupendous possibilities that lie in arbitration for solving international problems, promoting liberal principles, and safeguarding human life had been amply demonstrated before the present war began.

But in the discussions at The Hague, largely through the resistance of the German Empire and its satellites, the efforts of our delegates and those of other Governments to bring about a general treaty of compulsory arbitration had failed; and therefore this nation, having been thwarted in its attempts to secure a general agreement, began negotiations with all those nations which, like our own, preferred the methods of law and peace, with the purpose of effecting dual arbitration treaties. And before the end of 1914 we had signed far-reaching treaties with thirty nations, twenty of which had been duly ratified and proclaimed. But in this work, too, we were made to feel the same opposition as at The Hague; for, while Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy cordially welcomed our overtures, the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were noticeably absent from the list of those nations who desired, by specific agreements in advance, to minimize the danger of war.

Three Cardinal Doctrines

On the eve of the present conflict our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

I. The Monroe Doctrine.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we had by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

II. The Freedom of the Seas.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law to be just and worthy of general respect must be based on the consent of the governed.

III. Arbitration.—As we had secured peace at home by referring interstate disputes to a Federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed ar-

bitration treaties not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us, but even more freely with weaker neighbors in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

The outbreak of war in 1914 caught this nation by surprise. The peoples of Europe had had at least some warnings of the coming storm, but to us such a blind, savage onslaught on the ideals of civilization had appeared impossible.

The war was incomprehensible. Either side was championed here by millions living among us who were of European birth. Their contradictory accusations threw our thought into disarray, and in the first chaotic days we could see no clear issue that affected our national policy. There was no direct assault on our rights. It seemed at first to most of us a purely European dispute, and our minds were not prepared to take sides in such a conflict. The President's proclamation of neutrality was received by us as natural and inevitable. It was quickly followed by his appeal to "the citizens of the Republic."

"Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality," he said, "which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. * * * It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it." He expressed the fear that our nation might become divided in camps of hostile opinion. "Such divisions among us * * * might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

This purpose—the preservation of a strict neutrality in order that later we might be of use in the great task of mediation—dominated all the President's early speeches.

"We are the mediating nation of the world," he declared in an address on April 20, 1915. "We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand them in the compound, not separately as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating nation."

American neutrality, in those first months of the great war, was beyond any question real.

Stirred by Events in Belgium

But the spirit of neutrality was not easy to maintain. Public opinion was deeply stirred by the German invasion of Belgium and by reports of atrocities there. The Royal Belgian Commission, which came in September, 1914, to lay their country's cause for complaint before our National Government, was received with sympathy and respect. The President in his reply reserved our decision in the affair. It was the only course he could take without an abrupt departure from our most treasured traditions of non-interference in Old World disputes. But the sympathy of America went out to the Belgians in the heroic tragedy, and from every section of our land money contributions and supplies of food and clothing poured over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was under the able management of our fellow-countrymen abroad.

Still, the thought of taking an active part in this European war was very far from most of our minds. The nation shared with the President the belief that by maintaining a strict neutrality we could best serve Europe at the end as impartial mediators.

But in the very first days of the war our Government foresaw that complications on the seas might put us in grave risk of being drawn into the conflict. No neutral nation could foretell what violations of its vital interests at sea might be attempted by the belligerents. And so, on Aug. 6, 1914, our Secretary of State dispatched an iden-

tical note to all the powers then at war, calling attention to the risk of serious trouble arising out of this uncertainty of neutrals as to their maritime rights, and proposing that the Declaration of London be accepted by all nations for the duration of the war.

Controversies With Great Britain

But the British Government's response, while expressing sympathy with the purpose of our suggestion and declaring their "keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries," announced their decision "to adopt generally the rules of the Declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations." The Declaration had not been indorsed by any power in time of peace, and there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to accept it. Her reply, however, was disappointing, for it did nothing to clarify the situation. Great Britain recognized as binding certain long-accepted principles of international law and sought now to apply them to the peculiar and unforeseen conditions of this war. But these principles were often vague and therefore full of dangerous possibilities of friction.

Controversies soon arose between Great Britain and this nation. In practice their ruling sometimes seemed to our Government inconsistent with the spirit of international law, and especially with the established precedents which they invoked. But, painful as this divergency of opinion sometimes was, it did not seriously threaten our position of neutrality, for the issues that arose involved only rights of property and were amply covered by the arbitration treaty signed only a short time before by Great Britain and the United States.

And this controversy led to a clearer understanding on our part of the British attitude toward our ideal of the freedom of the seas. They were not willing to accept our classification of the seas as being distinct from the Old World. We had confined our interest to matters affecting rights at sea and had kept carefully aloof from issues affecting the interests of European nations on land. The British were interested in both. They explained that they had participated in the London naval conference in the hope that it would lead to a sound and liberal entente in the interest of the rights of all nations on the sea and on the land as well, and that they had refused to ratify the London Declaration because no compensating accord on the Continent had resulted. They could not afford to decrease the striking power of their navy unless their powerful neighbors on land agreed to decrease their armies.

America's Changed Attitude

That this attitude of England deeply impressed our Government is shown by the increasing attention given by the United States to the search for ways and means of insuring at the end of the war a lasting peace for all the world. The address of our President, on May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was a milestone in our history.

He outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles plainly indicating that this nation would have to give up its position of isolation and assume the responsibilities of a world power. The President said:

> So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy. But the mind of America had learned much in the long, bitter months of war. Future historians will make charts of this remarkable evolution in our public opinion: the gradual abandonment of the illusion of isolation; the slow growth of a realization that we could not win freedom on sea—for us a vital interest—unless we consented to do our share in maintaining freedom on land as well, and that we could not have peace in the world—the peace we loved and needed for the perfection of our democracy—unless we were willing and prepared to help to restrain any nation that willfully endangered the peace of the whole world family.

Had this address of the President come before the war there would have arisen a storm of protest from all sections of the land. But in May, 1916, the nation's response was emphatic approval.

No Treaty with Germany

In the meantime, although our neutral rights were not brought into question by Germany as early as by England, the German controversy was infinitely more serious.

For any dissension that might arise no arbitration treaty existed between the United States and the German Government. This was from no fault of ours. We had tried to establish with Germany the same treaty relations we had with Great Britain and nineteen other nations. But these overtures had been rejected. And this action on the part of the Imperial German Government was only one example of its whole system of diplomacy. In both conferences at The Hague it had been the German delegates who were the most active in blocking all projects for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations.

They had preferred to limit international relations to the old modes of diplomacy and war. It was therefore obvious from the first that any controversy with the German Government would be exceedingly serious; for if it could not be solved by direct diplomatic conversations, there was no recourse except to war.

From such conversations there is small hope of satisfactory results unless the good faith of both sides is profound. If either side lacks good faith, or reveals in all its actions an insidious hostility, diplomacy is of no avail. And so it has proved in the present case.

In the first year of the war the Government of Germany stirred up among its people a feeling of resentment against the United States on account of our insistence upon our right as a neutral nation to trade in munitions with the belligerent powers. Our legal right in the matter was not seriously questioned by Germany. She could not have done so consistently, for as recently as the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 both Germany and Austria sold munitions to the belligerents. Their appeals to us in the present war were not to observe international law, but to revise it in their interest. And these appeals they tried to make on moral and humanitarian grounds. But upon "the moral issue" involved, the stand taken by the United States was consistent with its traditional policy and with obvious common sense.

Our Defense at Stake

For, if, with all other neutrals, we refused to sell munitions to belligerents, we could never in time of a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals, and the nation which had accumulated the largest reserves of war supplies in time of peace would be assured of victory.

The militarist State that invested its money in arsenals would be at a fatal advantage over the free people who invested their wealth in schools. To write into international law that neutrals should not trade in munitions would be to hand over the world to the rule of the nation with the largest armament factories. Such a policy the United States of America could not accept.

But our principal controversy with the German Government, and the one which rendered the situation at once acute, rose out of their announcement of a sea zone where their submarines would operate in violation of all accepted principles of international law. Our indignation at such a threat was soon rendered passionate by the sinking of the Lusitania. This attack upon our rights was not only grossly illegal; it defied the fundamental concepts of humanity.

Aggravating restraints on our trade were grievances which could be settled by litigation after the war, but the wanton murder of peaceable men and of innocent women and children, citizens of a nation with which Germany was at peace, was a crime against the civilized world which could never be settled in any court.

Our Government, however, inspired still by a desire to preserve peace if possible, used every resource of diplomacy to force the German Government to abandon such attacks. This diplo-

matic correspondence, which has already been published, proves beyond doubt that our Government sought by every honorable means to preserve faith in that mutual sincerity between nations which is the only basis of sound diplomatic interchange.

But evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German Government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborliness with the German people were met by their Government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counteraccusations against their enemies abroad.

Work of Hostile Spies

And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace and placed spies and agents provocateurs throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our Government.

While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the Government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States.

In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the Government of the United States tried to believe that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and of the German Military and Naval Attachés was demanded.

Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their Governments. But these Governments in reply offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

In the meantime the attacks of the German submarines upon the lives and property of American citizens had gone on; the protests of our Government were now sharp and ominous, and this nation was rapidly being drawn into a state of war.

Warnings Given by President

As the President said in Topeka, on Feb. 2, 1916:

> We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellow-countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? * * * I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy * * * daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger; and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor, and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do.

The next day, at St. Louis, he repeated his warning:

> The danger is not from within, gentlemen, it is from without; and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate—not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events.

The break would have come sooner if our Government had not been restrained by the hope that saner counsels might still prevail in Germany. For it was well known to us that the German people had to a very large extent been kept in ignorance of many of the secret crimes of their Government against us.

And the presence of a faction of German public opinion less hostile to this

country was shown when their Government acquiesced to some degree in our demands at the time of the Sussex outrage, and for nearly a year maintained at least a pretense of observing the pledge they had made to us. The tension was abated.

While the war spirit was growing in some sections of our nation, there was still no widespread desire to take part in the conflict abroad; for the tradition of non-interference in Europe's political affairs was too deeply rooted in our national life to be easily overthrown.

Moreover, two other considerations strengthened our Government in its efforts to remain neutral in this war. The first was our traditional sense of responsibility toward all the republics of the New World. Throughout the crisis our Government was in constant communication with the countries of Central and South America.

They, too, preferred the ways of peace. And there was a very obvious obligation upon us to safeguard their interests with our own.

The second consideration, which had been so often developed in the President's speeches, was the hope that by keeping aloof from the bitter passions abroad, by preserving untroubled here the holy ideals of civilized intercourse between nations, we might be free at the end of this war to bind up the wounds of the conflict, to be the restorers and rebuilders of the wrecked structure of the world.

Neutrality Becomes Unsafe

All these motives held us back, but it was not long until we were beset by further complications. We soon had reason to believe that the recent compliance of the German Government had not been made to us in good faith, and was only temporary, and by the end of 1916 it was plain that our neutral status had again been made unsafe through the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the German autocracy. There was a general agreement here with the statement of our President on Oct. 26, 1916, that this conflict was the last great war involving the world in which we would remain neutral.

It was in this frame of mind, fearing we might be drawn into the war if it did not soon come to an end, that the President began the preparation of his note, asking the belligerent powers to define their war aims. But before he had completed it the world was surprised by the peace move of the German Government—an identical note on behalf of the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, sent through neutral powers on Dec. 12, 1916, to the Governments of the Allies, proposing negotiations for peace.

While expressing the wish to end this war—"a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity"—the greater portion of the note was couched in terms that gave small hope of a lasting peace.

Boasting of German conquests, "the glorious deeds of our armies," the note implanted in neutral minds the belief that it was the purpose of the Imperial German Government to insist upon such conditions as would leave all Central Europe under German dominance and so build up an empire which would menace the whole liberal world.

Moreover, the German proposal was accompanied by a thinly veiled threat to all neutral nations; and from a thousand sources, official and unofficial, the word came to Washington that unless the neutrals used their influence to bring the war to an end on terms dictated from Berlin, Germany and her allies would consider themselves henceforth free from any obligations to respect the rights of neutrals.

The Kaiser ordered the neutrals to exert pressure on the Entente to bring the war to an abrupt end, or to beware of the consequences. Clear warnings were brought to our Government that if the German peace move should not be successful, the submarines would be unleashed for a more intense and ruthless war upon all commerce.

On the 18th of December the President dispatched his note to all the belligerent powers, asking them to define their war aims. There was still hope in our minds that the mutual suspicions between the warring powers might be decreased, and

the menace of future German aggression and dominance be removed, by finding a guaranty of good faith in a league of nations.

There was a chance that by the creation of such a league as part of the peace negotiations the war could now be brought to an end before our nation was involved. Two statements issued to the press by our Secretary of State, upon the day the note was dispatched, threw a clear light on the seriousness with which our Government viewed the crisis.

German Reply Evasive

From this point, events moved rapidly. The powers of the Entente replied to the German peace note. Neutral nations took action on the note of the President, and from both belligerents replies to this note were soon in our hands.

The German reply was evasive—in accord with their traditional preference for diplomacy behind closed doors. Refusing to state to the world their terms, Germany and her allies merely proposed a conference. They adjourned all discussion of any plan for a league of peace until after hostilities should end.

The response of the Entente Powers was frank and in harmony with our principal purpose. Many questions raised in the statement of their aims were so purely European in character as to have small interest for us; but our great concern in Europe was the lasting restoration of peace, and it was clear that this was also the chief interest of the Entente nations.

As to the wisdom of some of the measures they proposed toward this end, we might differ in opinion, but the trend of their proposals was the establishment of just frontiers based on the rights of all nations, the small as well as the great, to decide their own destinies.

The aims of the belligerents were now becoming clear. From the outbreak of hostilities the German Government had claimed that it was fighting a war of defense. But the tone of its recent proposals had been that of a conqueror. It sought a peace based on victory.

The Central Empires aspired to extend their domination over other races. They were willing to make liberal terms to any one of their enemies, in a separate peace which would free their hands to crush other opponents. But they were not willing to accept any peace which did not, all fronts considered, leave them victors and the dominating imperial power of Europe.

The war aims of the Entente showed a determination to thwart this ambition of the Imperial German Government. Against the German peace to further German growth and aggression the Entente Powers offered a plan for a European peace that should make the whole Continent secure.

Blow at German Domination

At this juncture the President read his address to the Senate, on Jan. 22, 1917, in which he outlined the kind of peace the United States of America could join in guaranteeing. His words were addressed not only to the Senate and this nation, but to people of all countries:

> May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

The address was a rebuke to those who still cherished dreams of a world dominated by one nation. For the peace he outlined was not that of a victorious Emperor, it was not the peace of Caesar. It was in behalf of all the world, and it was a peace of the people:

> No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.
>
> I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.
>
> I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them

in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are convinced disciples of liberty, and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. * * * There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The Issue Becomes Clearer

If there were any doubt in our minds as to which of the great alliances was the more in sympathy with these ideals, it was removed by the popular response abroad to this address of the President. For, while exception was taken to some parts of it in Britain and France, it was plain that so far as the peoples of the Entente were concerned the President had been amply justified in stating that he spoke for all forward-looking, liberal-minded men and women. It was not so in Germany. The people there who could be reached, and whose hearts were stirred by this enunciation of the principles of a people's peace, were too few or too oppressed to make their voices heard in the councils of their nation. Already, on Jan. 16, 1917, unknown to the people of Germany, Herr Zimmermann, their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had secretly dispatched a note to their Minister in Mexico, informing him of the German intention to repudiate the Sussex pledge and instructing him to offer to the Mexican Government New Mexico and Arizona if Mexico would join with Japan in attacking the United States.

In the new year of 1917, as through our acceptance of world responsibilities so plainly indicated in the President's utterances in regard to a league of nations we felt ourselves now drawing nearer to a full accord with the Powers of the Entente; and, as on the other hand, we found ourselves more and more outraged at the German Government's methods of conducting warfare and their brutal treatment of people in their conquered lands; as we more and more uncovered their hostile intrigues against the peace of the New World; and, above all, as the sinister and anti-democratic ideals of their ruling class became manifest in their manoeuvres for a peace of conquest—the Imperial German Government abruptly threw aside the mask.

Unlimited Submarine Warfare

On the last day of January, 1917, Count Bernstorff handed to Mr. Lansing a note, in which his Government announced its purpose to intensify and render more ruthless the operations of their submarines at sea, in a manner against which our Government had protested from the beginning. The German Chancellor also stated before the Imperial Diet that the reason this ruthless policy had not been earlier employed was simply because the Imperial Government had not then been ready to act. In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it had been preparing this attack.

This was the direct challenge. There was no possible answer except to hand their Ambassador his passports and so have done with a diplomatic correspondence which had been vitiated from the start by the often proved bad faith of the Imperial Government.

On the same day, Feb. 3, 1917, the

President addressed both houses of our Congress and announced the complete severance of our relations with Germany. The reluctance with which he took this step was evident in every word. But diplomacy had failed, and it would have been the hollowest pretense to maintain relations. At the same time, however, he made it plain that he did not regard this act as tantamount to a declaration of war. Here for the first time the President made his sharp distinction between government and people in undemocratic lands:

"We are the sincere friends of the German people," he said, "and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. * * * God grant we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

In this address of the President, and in its indorsement by the Senate, there was a solemn warning; for we still had hope that the German Government might hesitate to drive us to war. But it was soon evident that our warning had fallen on deaf ears. The tortuous ways and means of German official diplomacy were clearly shown in the negotiations opened by them through the Swiss Legation on the 10th of February. In no word of their proposals did the German Government meet the real issue between us. And our State Department replied that no minor negotiations could be entertained until the main issue had been met by the withdrawal of the submarine order.

The Armed Neutrality Phase

By the 1st of March it had become plain that the Imperial Government, unrestrained by the warning in the President's address to Congress on Feb. 3, was determined to make good its threat. The President then again appeared before Congress to report the development of the crisis and to ask the approval of the representatives of the nation for the course of armed neutrality upon which, under his constitutional authority, he had now determined. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses of Congress showed themselves ready and anxious to act; and the armed neutrality declaration would have been accepted if it had not been for the legal death of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4.

No "overt" act, however, was ordered by our Government until Count Bernstorff had reached Berlin and Mr. Gerard was in Washington. For the German Ambassador on his departure had begged that no irrevocable decision should be taken until he had had the chance to make one final plea for peace to his sovereign. We do not know the nature of his report to the Kaiser; we know only that, even if he kept his pledge and urged an eleventh-hour revocation of the submarine order, he was unable to sway the policy of the Imperial Government.

And so, having exhausted every resource of patience, our Government on the 12th of March finally issued orders to place armed guards on our merchant ships.

American Aloofness Ended

With the definite break in diplomatic relations there vanished the last vestige of cordiality toward the Government of Germany. Our attitude was now to change. So long as we had maintained a strict neutrality in the war, for the reason that circumstances might arise in which Europe would have need of an impartial mediator, for us to have given official heed to the accusations of either party would have been to prejudge the case before all the evidence was in.

But now at last, with the breaking of friendly relations with the German Government, we were relieved of the oppressive duty of endeavoring to maintain a judicial detachment from the rights and wrongs involved in the war. We were no longer the outside observers striving to hold an even balance of judgment between disputants. One party by direct attack upon our rights and liberties was forcing us into the conflict. And, much as we had hoped to keep out of the fray, it was no little relief to be free at last from that reserve which is expected of a judge.

Much evidence had been presented to us of things so abhorrent to our ideas of

humanity that they had seemed incredible, things we had been loath to believe, and with heavy hearts we had sought to reserve our judgment. But with the breaking of relations with the Government of Germany that duty at last was ended. The perfidy of that Government in its dealings with this nation relieved us of the necessity of striving to give them the benefit of the doubt in regard to their crimes abroad. The Government which under cover of profuse professions of friendship had tried to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan could not expect us to believe in its good faith in other matters. The men whose paid agents dynamited our factories here were capable of the infamies reported against them over the sea. Their Government's protestations, that their purpose was self-defense and the freeing of small nations, fell like a house of cards before the revelation of their "peace terms."

And judging the German Government now in the light of our own experience through the long and patient years of our honest attempt to keep the peace, we could see the great autocracy and read her record through the war. And we found that record damnable. Beginning long before the war in Prussian opposition to every effort that was made by other nations and our own to do away with warfare, the story of the autocracy has been one of vast preparations for war combined with an attitude of arrogant intolerance toward all other points of view, all other systems of governments, all other hopes and dreams of men.

Germany's Criminal Record

With a fanatical faith in the destiny of German Kultur as the system that must rule the world, the Imperial Government's actions have through years of boasting, double dealing, and deceit tended toward aggression upon the rights of others. And, if there still be any doubt as to which nation began this war, there can be no uncertainty as to which one was most prepared, most exultant at the chance, and ready instantly to march upon other nations—even those who had given no offense.

The wholesale depredations and hideous atrocities in Belgium and in Serbia were doubtless part and parcel with the Imperial Government's purpose to terrorize small nations into abject submission for generations to come. But in this the autocracy has been blind. For its record in those countries, and in Poland and in Northern France, has given not only to the Allies but to liberal peoples throughout the world the conviction that this menace to human liberties everywhere must be utterly shorn of its power for harm.

For the evil it has effected has ranged far out of Europe—out upon the open seas, where its submarines in defiance of law and the concepts of humanity have blown up neutral vessels and covered the waves with the dead and the dying, men and women and children alike. Its agents have conspired against the peace of neutral nations everywhere, sowing the seeds of dissension, ceaselessly endeavoring by tortuous methods of deceit, of bribery, false promises, and intimidation to stir up brother nations one against the other, in order that the liberal world might not be able to unite, in order that the autocracy might emerge triumphant from the war.

All this we know from our own experience with the Imperial Government. As they have dealt with Europe, so they have dealt with us and with all mankind. And so out of these years the conviction has grown that until the German Nation is divested of such rulers democracy cannot be safe.

Russia Removes the Last Doubt

There remained but one element to confuse the issue. One other great autocracy, the Government of the Russian Czar, had long been hostile to free institutions; it had been a stronghold of tyrranies reaching far back into the past, and its presence among the Allies had seemed to be in disaccord with the great liberal principles they were upholding in this war. Russia had been a source of doubt. Repeatedly during the conflict liberal Europe had been startled by the news of secret accord between the Kaiser and the Czar.

But now at this crucial time for our

nation, on the eve of our entrance into the war, the free men of all the world were thrilled and heartened by the news that the people of Russia had risen to throw off their Government and found a new democracy; and the torch of freedom in Russia lit up the last dark phases of the situation abroad. Here, indeed, was a fit partner for the League of Honor. The conviction was finally crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war across the sea was no mere conflict between dynasties, but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is liberty. Here, at last, was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on our part would have been a crime against our ancestors, who had given their lives that we might be free.

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

State of War Declared

On the 2d of April, 1917, the President read to the new Congress his message, in which he asked the Representatives of the nation to declare the existence of a state of war, and in the early hours of the 6th of April the House by an overwhelming vote accepted the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate:

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on the war against the Imperial German Government, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's proud prophecy was fulfilled:

There will come that day when the world will say, "This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.

To the United States of America

By ROBERT BRIDGES

British Poet Laureate

Brothers in blood! They who this wrong began
To wreck our commonwealth, will rue the day
When first they challenged freemen to the fray,
And with the Briton dared the American.
Now are we pledged to win the Rights of man;
Labor and Justice now shall have their way,
And in a League of Peace—God grant we may—
Transform the earth, not patch up the old plan.

Sure is our hope since he who led your nation
Spoke for mankind, and ye arose in awe
Of that high call to work the world's salvation;
Clearing your minds of all estranging blindness
In the vision of Beauty and the Spirit's law,
Freedom and Honor and sweet Loving kindness.

April 30, 1917.

HENRY E. DUKE

Chief Secretary for Ireland, Who Has Been Recommended by the British Government as Chairman of the Convention Called to Settle the Question of Irish Home Rule.

(Photo American Press Association)

CANADIAN LEADERS IN THE WAR

SIR ROBERT BORDEN
Premier and Leader in the Fight for Conscription.
(Photo Campbell Studios.)

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Ex-Premier and Chief Opponent of Conscription.

W. J. HANNA
Recently Appointed Food Controller.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

SIR ARTHUR CURRIE
Commander in Chief of the Canadian Corps in France.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

Why We Entered the Great War

Address by William Howard Taft

Former President of the United States

[Delivered at the 121st Commencement Excercises of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., June 13, 1917]

Mr. Taft first summarized the attacks on our shipping and the plots that led up to our entry into the war, and then continued:

NOW, was there any other alternative for us than to declare war? I would like to begin with the fundamentals. That depends upon what in fact and in law the act of Germany was. What was the law? It is what is called international law; that is, a rule of conduct adopted by the acquiescence of all nations, of one nation toward another, both in peace and in war. The branch of international law in which we are concerned here is perhaps the most definitely fixed of any branch of that jurisprudence, which in some respects is indefinite. It is the branch that governs the capture of commercial vessels at sea. For a hundred years there has been very little doubt about the rules that control that field of jurisprudence. During the Napoleonic wars a great many commercial vessels were captured and in the procedure instituted they had to be brought into the domestic courts of prize where these rules were laid down. At the same time on our own side of the ocean our Supreme Court settled many of the cases. In our civil war, in the war between France and Germany, similar conditions were made. So that when we speak of that law we are speaking of a law that has some similitude to our domestic law.

In the first place, a belligerent—one of those engaged in war upon the high seas—may seize a commercial vessel of its enemy, may confiscate the vessel and its cargo, and, if necessity requires, may sink or burn it. The second is that a neutral vessel may be seized by a belligerent vessel upon the high seas and examined to see whether that neutral vessel is carrying contraband to the enemy of the captor, and if so, the contraband may be confiscated. Third, a belligerent vessel may blockade a port of its enemy. It must blockade it with visible vessels and a knowledge to the world that a blockade exists. Even if a neutral vessel enter this blockade it may be seized by the belligerent and the cargo confiscated.

These are the three rules that cover the whole field of capture of commercial vessels. But accompanying these rules is the limitation that in taking a commercial vessel which makes no response when hailed, which does not attempt to escape under the circumstances I have described, it is the bounden duty of the captor to see to it that the officers, the crew, and the passengers, all of the ship's company, shall be put in a safe place. The captor may, as I say, sink or burn the vessel at the time or it may take it into port and have it adjudged a prize, but in either case the captor is bound to secure the lives of those who are upon that commercial vessel.

Deliberate Violations

Germany has violated that rule. It has deliberately caused the death of men, women and children on the high seas, under the American flag, and where they had a right to be. Killing against the law with deliberation is murder, and Germany has been guilty of murder of 200 of our fellow-citizens, innocent of any offense, national or international.

Now, what is our duty under these circumstances? The Constitution of the United States is interpreted by the Supreme Court to say the duty of the citizens of the United States is to render allegiance, to do service, to pay taxes, and support the Government, and the corresponding duty of the United States

as a Government is to protect the rights of citizens of the United States at home and abroad. Because one citizen of the United States puts himself under the lawful jurisdiction of another country, the absolute right of protection is qualified by his voluntary submission to another jurisdiction. The necessity for protection is not entirely taken away, but it is qualified. When a man is on an American deck and under the American flag, a citizen of the United States, he is as much entitled to protection from the unlawful invasion of a foreign power as if he stood on the soil of the United States.

In view, therefore, of the murder of these 200 citizens and of the announcement of a policy to continue these murders, what alternative was there left open other than a declaration of war to the United States? Suppose this had been Guatemala which had sunk one of our vessels and had sent ten of our sailors to the bottom? How many hours do you think it would be before the President and the Secretary of the Navy would send a battleship down to Guatemala and be thundering at the ports of that republic and demanding restitution, demanding a promise of conduct hereafter, demanding damages for what had been done, and on failure to answer promptly, to begin a bombardment? Even pacifists would have justified that.

Difficult Situations

Now, what is the difference between that situation and this? None? Yes. A very great difference. The nation that has done this is the greatest military nation in the world. It is a nation with which, if we engage, we are likely to lose, it may be, a million men, and all that to resent the sacrifice of only 200 souls. That, it is said, is a trivial discrepancy. Is it? It is if you look at it from a grossly material and mathematical standpoint, but it is not if you understand what it means to consent to the murder of 200 of our citizens because there is a powerful nation you have to meet and overcome in order to vindicate the rights of our citizens. It means submission to the domination of another power; it means giving up the independence for which we fought in 1776 and which we made sacrifices to maintain in 1861.

There was great criticism of the Administration because we did not immediately act as we now have acted. I am not going into the pros and cons of that discussion. It suffices to say that the self-restraint, the deliberation, the tolerance, if you choose, which characterized that policy, has had this great and good effect. It has shown to the world, and it has shown to our people that in entering this war we have done it with the utmost reluctance, and in entering the war we are entirely void of offense. It has shown that we have been forced in and that the situation has been such that no self-respecting nation, no nation which appreciates what a government is formed for, could avoid doing what we are doing when the rights of our citizens, the preservation of which is the chief object of government, have been defiantly violated by a power that rests for its right upon might.

Why We Are in War

That is why we are in. There are many of us who think, "for my country, right or wrong; may she always be right, but always for my country." I do not care to discuss that philosophy, but I do think it important we should realize and take it home to our souls we do not need that kind of philosophy in fighting out the fight we are to fight now. In 1776 we were fighting for our own independence and the development of our future. In 1861 we tried to eliminate that living lie in the Declaration of Independence, which declared that "all men are born free and equal." It took us four years of a terrible struggle to demonstrate to the world what had been doubted. We demonstrated to the world that we could make sacrifices of lives and treasure for the maintenance of a moral principle and the integrity of the nation. We showed in the words of Lincoln, that "the rule of the people should not perish from the earth."

And then we went on and increased from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000 people, and we created a material expansion

which has given us greater wealth than any other country. We have had comfort and luxury. Now the question was when this issue came on whether in that change from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000, from comparative wealth to great wealth, we had lost the moral spirit we had before shown, we had become so enervated by our success that we felt it was not wise to risk the lives of those dear to us, to risk the destruction that war must bring in order to assert our rights. Now we have stepped to the forefront of nations, and they look to us.

Before we came into this fight Russia had become a democracy, and we find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with the democracies of the world. We find arrayed against us the military dynasties of the world, Germany, Austria, and Turkey. Of course, people say England has a King; so has Italy and other countries that are fighting on our side. A democracy is a country ruled by the people. The King of England and the King of Italy haven't any more influence over the policies of their country than an ex-President.

Form Not Our Business

The issue at present is drawn between the democracies of the world and the military dynasties, and people like to characterize that as the issue. It is and it isn't. What I mean by that is: The United States is not a knight-errant country going about to independent people and saying, "We do not like your form of government, we have tried our own popular government and we think it is better for you to take it, and you have got to take it." That is a very unreasonable position, in so far as that form of government deals with only their domestic pursuits and their domestic happiness. If they like to have a Czar, if they prefer it, why, it isn't for us to take away their freedom of will. Otherwise we shall go back to the logic of the Inquisition, when they burned people in this world so that they might not burn in the next.

But when their form of government involves a policy which does not confine its opinions to the people who make the government or support it, but becomes a visible policy against the welfare and happiness of the rest of the world family, we have a right and a duty, standing with other nations as we do, to see to it that such a foreign policy is stopped and stamped out forever.

I will not minimize or confuse. Germany is not exhausted. That machine which it has been creating for fifty years is a wonderful machine. * * * It did not interfere with Austria until Austria showed some signs of coming into a conference, and then it said to Austria, "This is the time to strike." It had been creating this force for fifty years, and now seemed the time to make it most effective. * * *

This militarism is a cancer which must be cut out by a surgical operation. It shows its malignant character in the utter disregard of the rules of war. It shows itself in the violation of Belgium, in the policy of frightfulness in order to subjugate Belgium; in the violation of The Hague treaties, which forbid the dropping of explosives out of aerial craft, the planting of mines, the use of asphyxiating gases and flames, all spread out in The Hague treaties, and all violated promptly by this German military machine.

It is therefore a cancer which would absorb the wholesome life of the world unless it is cut out, and necessitates suffering and pain in ridding the world of it. There are other evidences of divine plan. Think of the battle of the Marne, where this matchless machine began to find France and England unprepared, and they turned at the Marne when the German hosts with their guns were heard in Paris, and by mere moral force they turned these German legions back. Think of the blindness of this absorption of gross materialism as brought into the intellect of the Germans.

Don't Understand Others

They cannot understand other people. They cannot recognize a moral force that binds people together in a cause. They said England will not stand by Belgium; it has trouble with Ireland; they said France is torn with Socialism and it is a decadent nation. In both cases they made

blunders. They said as regards Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, England has no control over them by force; they are far removed from it and will follow the path of materialism and gain; they will follow where profit determines; they will not be held. And yet, nothing has been grander than this light bond which unites England with these independent dependencies, and they have rallied to the support of the mother country, responded out of gratitude for the liberty that it had conferred upon them, and they have made sacrifices which call for our profound admiration. Think of it. Canada has furnished upward of 400,000 men. Nearly every home in English Canada is mourning—their best and most beloved. If we furnish as many men as they have for this war our armies will reach 6,500,000 men.

If our contributions to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other voluntary individual contributions, in addition to taxes, reach the figures which they have in Canada, we shall contribute $14 to $15 per capita.

My friends, those are the mistakes or blunders that Germany has made, self-imposed or imposed by a definite rule that when you subject yourself to grossly material considerations you lose the higher mental and spiritual forces which enable you to conquer in the end.

Now, the last blunder of all. In its determination to depend upon the devilish ingenuity of science in the development of war, the Germans said: "We can starve England out with this submarine." When it saw us it said, "There is a tango-loving nation, too fat to fight, too lazy to go into the trenches," and they have deliberately forced us into the ranks of their enemies. Think of it. They have been fighting for nearly three years. The exhaustion that has come to them has had no comparison in history. The war must be determined by the weight of wealth and resources and the courageous men which can be gathered together to fight it out and be sure of a victorious battle in the end. And yet, in the face of that fact, we should impress on them that they deliberately forced into the ranks of their enemies the nation which can furnish more wealth, more resources, more equipment, and more men than any other nation in the world.

My friends, we are going to make these sacrifices. We do not know what they are yet, and we shall not know until we see the bulletins. The English people watched the bulletins for May and saw a loss of 114,000 in the British Army; 26,000 privates killed and 16,000 officers killed in action; 76,000 privates wounded, and 3,600 officers wounded and 7,000 missing. When we watch a report like this, then it will come home to us in our souls and we shall understand the sacrifice we have to make.

Wartime Life in European Capitals

Vienna—June, 1917

By a Viennese Sojourner at Berne

VIENNA hears little of the actual fighting. The city is full of people who seem bent on enjoyment, the cafés—where conversation about the war is taboo—are full of people from morning till night, the restaurants, where everything except bread and potatoes can be obtained, if one's purse is long enough, are crowded; the opera and the theatres have nearly every seat booked in advance and the cinemas are filled at every performance. In the fashionable streets of the city one cannot help remarking the extraordinary number of officers of all ranks and of both services, who appear to have no other duties than to make themselves agreeable to ladies. Both morning and afternoon the pavements are so crowded that progress is a matter of the utmost difficulty. On all sides are fine shops full of the latest fashions which find purchasers even at the prevailing exorbitant prices. Everything is up to date and of the best, but only within the reach of the rich.

If one makes inquiries below the surface, however, one finds that housekeeping, even on the most modest scale, is almost an impossibility, owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies. The rich solve this difficulty by giving up all idea of catering for themselves and going to a good restaurant for most of their meals, but to those of moderate or small income the food problem is an ever-increasing anxiety. The question is no longer "What shall I buy?" but "What can I buy?" for it is impossible to procure many articles which were formerly regarded as necessaries.

No longer can a customer, unless he can afford to pay a fancy price, choose a piece of meat; he must be thankful for anything he can get. Bread is not to be bought except with a bread card at a particular shop in the district in which the purchaser dwells, and very often he cannot get bread at all. The supply of potatoes is limited to one pound per person weekly, but for some weeks recently there were none on the market. Milk is so scarce that no person can have more than about one-fifth of a pint daily. Such things as coffee, butter, fat, macaroni, rice, petroleum, soap, and leather are not to be bought. Cards are the order of the day—bread cards, fat cards, sugar cards, coffee cards—indeed, meat is about the only article of food for which a card is not necessary. This is because it was found that the demand for meat was not increasing, presumably on account of its prohibitive price. But as one Viennese plaintively remarked to my informant: "What earthly use are the cards to me if I cannot procure the articles to which they are supposed to entitle me?"

The shops are full of substitutes and prices have gone up enormously—in many cases as much as 300 or 400 per cent. A pair of men's boots of medium quality costs 85 kroner, (at pre-war rates, $17.50,) a lounge suit 300 kroner ($62.50) and more; a small box of sardines 4.50 kroner, (90 cents.) Meat ranges from 6 kroner ($1.25) to 14 kroner ($2.75) per kilogram, (2.2 lbs.) Danish butter is 14 kroner per kilogram, and one candle (carriage size) costs 70 or 80 hellers, (16 cents.) Cheese costs 5 kroner ($1.04) to 7 kroner ($1.37) per kilogram, and everything else is in proportion.

The poor people are not noticeable in the streets. They are only heard of by chance, as it were, and their distress and privations during the last Winter, owing to the scarcity of coal and coke and the price of food, were the cause of numerous deaths from "hunger-typhus." Attempts are now being made to relieve their wants and cheap meat is being supplied to the really needy; but however cheap this meat may be, it is not of much use if the money is not forthcoming to pay for it.

In the country life is strenuous. The villages and small towns are peopled by

old men, women, and children, for every man and youth capable of holding a weapon has been drafted into the army. Day in and day out, from early dawn till late in the evening, the entire population of a village may be seen working on the land trying to raise a crop sufficient for their needs during the coming year, after a very large portion of the harvest has been commandeered by the Government to feed the army—and Vienna. Even in peace time the peasant lives frugally, but now he has to be content with his piece of black bread, which he soaks in his substitute for coffee, and his knödel, (a kind of dumpling,) and he may consider himself very fortunate if he can add eggs from his own fowls and potatoes from his own patch of ground. Meat he very seldom tastes, as he cannot afford to buy it, and he has also to do without many articles, as they are unobtainable in the shops.

Hopes for Peace

The attitude of the people toward the war may be described as one of total indifference—except in regard to its duration. The only desire of the people is for peace, "no matter who wins." For some little time there have been persistent rumors that Austria was about to make a separate peace. Indeed, the Burgomaster of Vienna has spoken very openly and freely about the desirability of peace. Letters received from Vienna have spoken of peace almost as a fait accompli. If Austria could shake off German influence and get good terms she would make peace tomorrow, but as she knows that she would be obliged to give up so much of her territory she is obliged to continue the fight, in the hope that something may turn up. As an Austrian soldier friend of my informant expressed it: "We are beginning to realize that all along we have been the tool of Germany, and whether we win or lose we shall have to pay, and pay dearly."

From the press it is most difficult to gather anything about the real state of affairs except as regards parliamentary reform, which is being kept in the foreground and dangled before the eyes of the people to prevent them from dwelling upon more important matters. Every paper is carefully censored and papers frequently appear with a column or more blank; it is not an unknown thing for a number not to appear at all.

Paris—July, 1917

[By a Correspondent of The New York World.]

The complete list of things regulated in Paris is as follows:

Bread—May be sold not less than twelve hours after it leaves the baker's oven; must be of uniform "standard loaf" shape, all kinds of rolls being forbidden; must contain not more than 85 per cent. of wheat flour.

Meat—May not be sold or consumed in restaurants on Mondays and Tuesdays, with the exception of horse, donkey, or mule meat, which, however, may be bought only in butcher shops and not in restaurants.

Sugar—May be sold only upon presentation of a card issued by the municipal authority, which permits the purchase of not more than 750 grams per person per month.

Pastry—May be made only of rice flour and may not be sold on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, on which days all pastry shops, tearooms, candy stores, &c., must be closed.

Coal, Gas, Transportation

Coal—Stocks in excess of one ton must be declared by all householders to the municipal authority; persons whose homes are not supplied with gas for heating and cooking are granted priority in the purchase of coal, to an extent, however, not exceeding eighty pounds per month. (Coal cards are soon to be introduced.)

Spirits—Alcohol, turpentine, gasoline, &c., may be purchased only by municipal card, to the extent of not more than two liters per month per household.

Gas and Electricity—Consumption in any household reduced by Government decree to about two-thirds of the amount consumed by the same household in November of 1913 or November of 1915.

Railroad Transportation—Trains greatly reduced in number, safe conducts for railroad travel issued only for journeys made necessary by business, health, or family reasons; each passenger limited to sixty pounds of personal baggage, except commercial travelers, who may carry up to 400 pounds by special license.

Paris Subway—Closed between 10 P. M. and 5:15 A. M., except on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, when trains run till 11:15 P. M.

Automobile Taxicabs—Reduced in number to a maximum of 5,974, of which, however, not more than 2,500 are in operation at any given hour. (There were 8,000 constantly in operation before the war.)

Automobiles in General—Are limited to a maximum consumption of forty liters of gasoline per vehicle per week.

Street Car and Bus Lines—Are in operation daily only from 6 A. M. to 10 P. M. (Only two bus lines are operating on the pre-war scale.)

Must Keep to Earth

Aviation and Ballooning—Are strictly forbidden to private individuals.

Telegrams and Cables—Are accepted for transmission only after the sender has verified his identity by passports, &c.; must not be in code; must be in French except as regards messages abroad, which may be couched in French, Italian, or English, and are subject to censorship.

Letters—Are subject to censorship, and may be received at the general delivery without verification of the recipient's identity by passports, &c. Price of postage in France has been increased to 3 cents.

Telephone Communication—Is restricted to local and a few suburban exchanges. Long-distance calls are prohibited throughout France.

Wireless Telegraphy—May be used only by the Government.

Stores—Must be closed at 7 P. M. daily, except grocery and provision establishments.

Importation and Exportation of Merchandise—Regulated by a series of restrictions decreed by the Government. In principle all imports are forbidden, but there are numerous exceptions to this law.

Firearms—May not be sold, and gunsmiths must keep a register to show to the police at monthly intervals.

Two Non-Bathing Days

Bathing Establishments — Are closed Mondays and Tuesdays.

Museums—Are closed with the exception of a few rooms in the Louvre and Luxembourg.

Theatrical, Musical, and Motion Picture Performances—Are subject to censorship by the Prefect of Police.

Advertising Matter—Must be submitted to the same authority.

Newspapers—Are subject to the military censorship; may not publish more than one edition daily or be cried by newsdealers; are restricted in size according to the form in which they appear. (Great newspapers like Le Matin and Le Temps print only one sheet four days a week.)

Photography—Is forbidden in the zone of the armies, and subject to local restrictions elsewhere.

Theatres and Concert Halls—Are permitted to give only seven evening and two matinée performances, or vice versa, and must close at 11 P. M.

No Evening Clothes

Evening Clothes and Decolleté Frocks —May not be worn at theatres or restaurants or in other public places.

Cafés and Restaurants—Must be closed at 9:30 P. M.; may not sell spirituous liquors to soldiers at any time, and to civilians before 11 A. M.; may not have orchestras.

Dancing—Is forbidden both in public places and in the home.

Games of Chance—Are not tolerated even in the fashionable clubs.

Hunting—Is forbidden except in regions where, on the responsibility of the local Government authority, a general authorization to destroy overabundant game during a specified period is issued.

Horse Racing—Is prohibited, with the exception of a few rarely authorized semi-public "trials" of thoroughbreds at which betting is not permitted.

Fairs—Save certain semi-public bazaars held for the benefit of war charities, are forbidden.

Stock Exchange Transactions in Futures—Are prohibited, except for the liquidation of contracts entered upon before the war.

Gold—May not be dealt in commercially and may not be taken out of France.

Personal liberty is restricted by numerous regulations. France is divided into three zones—of the army, of the interior, and of the frontiers. For all of them passports and municipal identification papers (permis de sejour) are required; for the zone of the armies one must also have a special safe conduct issued by the Great General Staff, and for the frontier zone a safe conduct issued by the Ministry of War. Motoring from one community to another is forbidden except in cases considered exceptional by the Government. To enter or leave France foreigners are obliged to carry passports countersigned by a French Consulate in the country from which they have come or by a Consulate in France of the country to which they are going, and in addition to all the papers mentioned above they are now required to obtain a special identity card, application for which must be made immediately.

Less than half these restrictive measures were put into effect at the time of mobilization, and all those controlling food consumption are less than six months old.

Berlin—June, 1917

[*By F. Sefton Delmer, an Australian, English Lecturer at Berlin University from* 1901 *to* 1914; *interned at Ruhleben from November,* 1914, *to March,* 1915; *resident at Berlin until May,* 1917.—*In The London Times.*]

The Germans were enthusiastic for the war only so long as they were convinced that it was going to pay a tangible, material dividend. As long as it promised to be a big scoop of other nations' wealth they were for it, heart and soul, peer and peasant, Socialist and Junker. Let this never be forgotten. Their enthusiasm waned as soon as success began to look doubtful. Their doubts will turn into execration from the moment they recognize that defeat is inevitable. The last of these three stages has not yet been reached, but they are well on in the second.

It was in the days immediately following Rumania's entrance into the war that their confidence reached its lowest ebb. It was about this time that the criticism of the Emperor and his family and his policy became positively bitter—so bitter as to alarm his Majesty not a little. The Rumanian débâcle saved the situation, and the offer of peace clinched it.

When the limelight-loving Kaiser stepped forward as the protagonist of peace it was a clever move with a double object. It aimed at throwing dust in the eyes of pacifists abroad in order to promote dissension in the ranks of the Allies, and at the same time it was meant to convince the malcontents at home that they were the victims not of the German Emperor's own criminal policy, but of "that wicked England and its accomplices."

Jeers at the Kaiser

When I remarked to the intelligent old Portierfrau of a house in the aristocratic Tiergarten quarter that I had seen the Kaiser a few days before and that he was looking very well, "Ach, der!" (Oh, he!) said the old lady. "I daresay he does, but he wouldn't look so well by a long chalk if he only knew what folk around here are thinking and saying about him. And he thought he was going to beat the English! He, indeed!"

Any one who knows German will no longer recognize the Germany in which the contemptuous demonstrative pronoun "der" can be used of his Imperial Majesty. That in itself is almost a revolution. No; the common people and, what is more, the common soldiers have not the faintest trace left of enthusiasm for the war. "Ach, Gott, wenn man nur das Ende absehen könnte," (If one only knew when and how it's all going to end,) they sigh. You hear the same song wherever you go: at the Boerse, in the banks, in the shops, and in the queues.

At the police station, where I had to report myself daily, I often exchanged a few words with the man whose duty it was to stamp my paper. He used to ask me about once a fortnight when I thought the war was coming to an end, and to give an oracular answer each time rather taxed my supply of commonplaces. With some people who asked this question I usually fell back on the reply of the Scotsman to his German prisoner: "I canna say positeevely; but I think the fur-st three year-rs'll see the wur-rst of it." On another occasion, when I modestly disclaimed all powers of second sight, the man, a furniture dealer, would not take "I haven't the fainest idea" for an answer. "Oh, you must know, all right," he said, "for you're an Englishman."

Just before I came away, however, the Möwe films were shown, and they were, from many points of view, well worth seeing. From a German standpoint they are undoubtedly a gross mistake, for, in their grim realism, they bring home to the beholder the wholesale and wanton destruction of peaceful merchantmen and lead the imagination to conceive the unspeakable horrors of the U-boat war, horrors which the Germans, as a whole, have not yet grasped. One sees on these films, which take exactly one hour to show, steamers and sailing ships brought up, one sees the torpedo strike the ship, and the noble vessel, as in agony, struggle, writhe, fill, and sink.

The effect on the spectators was the very reverse of what the military authorities wished to produce. Far from being exhilarated, the public seemed depressed by the sight of what they felt to be cold-blooded murder of unarmed ships. "Schrecklich! Schrecklich!" (Frightful!) they whisper, as if it is just beginning to dawn on them why that other more terrible and cowardly form of hostilities, the U-boat war, has made the German name so detested throughout the civilized world.

On one of the pictures one sees the Captain of the Brecknockshire after his ship has sunk, standing on the bridge of the Möwe beside Graf Dohna, the German commander. The latter had made some joke at which the British Captain, as was intended, had felt constrained to laugh, although he had just seen his ship sunk, but his heart was breaking. The chivalrous German newspapers sneer at his heartlessness. "This is an English dschentleman," they say, "laughing as he watches his ship go down!"

Hidden Casualties

In spite of all the Germans' twisting of facts, and all their skill in making the worse appear the better reason, they really do not believe they are winning. None of them has, it is true, any idea of their actual losses in the field. Vague estimates are current. I take the one that is going the rounds as being most symptomatic. Among the officials at the Deutsche Bank a report was recently in circulation estimating Germany's losses alone at 1,300,000 men killed up to the end of March, 1917. A civilian in a high official position, who was present at the discussion, contradicted this, saying that he believed this estimate to be too low by at least half a million.

But no official totals are published. The long sheets of casualties are still pasted up on the polished granite of the Kriegsakademie (Staff College) in Berlin, but one no longer sees the groups of weeping women and eager searchers that were constantly standing there in the early stages of the war. The authorities now have more expeditious private ways of informing the relatives.

In spite of their doubts about victory, and of their distrust of and resentment at the methods their own Government has adopted toward them, there is no sign that the Germans will yield till they are at their last gasp. I have, however, myself heard certain members of the Roman Catholic Centre Party in the Reichstag say that they did not see how either Germany or its enemies could possibly hold out till Christmas. Any such discouraging statements when made by less privileged individuals than members of Parliament are liable to be regarded as treasonable, and a reward of £150 is promised to any one who can bring any propagator of such rumors to book. Police proclamations to this effect adorn the advertisement pillars in the streets.

This public incitement to private denunciation has produced a reign of terror. "Nobody is safe in even the most confidential conversation," I heard a university student say. This new regulation has certainly had the effect of muzzling conversation between all but the closest of friends.

Even their idol Hindenburg now comes in for criticism. He has the reputation of being a man who boasts of never having read any books except those written on military subjects, nor have I ever seen or heard of a single statement of his that betrayed anything more than a mediocre mind. Nevertheless, among the Reventlow party Hindenburg is still a fetich.

Hindenburg or no Hindenburg, both soldiers and officers are heartily sick of the war in general and the western front in particular, from which officers are known regularly to head their letters home with the words, "Noch am Leben," (Still alive.)

And that, I think, expresses the state of Germany regarded as a whole. "In spite of everything, we're still alive!"

The well-paid munition workers excite the envy of the rest of the working classes. "These munition workers, who are getting handsome pay and all sorts of extra food, even sausage and fat, are the last who have reason to strike," says the ordinary workman.

The munition workers' strike in Berlin in the middle of April was brought about by the proclamation of a smaller bread ticket. The strike had practically no political inspiration, and was soon nipped in the bud. The authorities, fearing a new outbreak on May 1, liberally sprinkled policemen about on the bridges and at other strategic points of the town, much to their discomfort on that bleak east-wind day.

These strikes, as well as the riots at Magdeburg and Leipsic in March, seem to have been rather absurdly exaggerated in some English newspapers. As far as Berlin goes, not even a revolver shot was fired. All the talk about machine guns having been turned on the crowd is sheer moonshine.

The German Government put the people on bread rations at an early stage in the war. One after another, almost all other foodstuffs had to be brought under the card system. Only at a comparatively late date, however, was the intimate connection between the supply of food for human being and the supply of fodder for stock recognized. The tardy recognition of the economic connection between food and fodder very nearly led to disaster. The Reichsfuttermittelstelle (Imperial Fodder Commission) is now of almost greater importance than the Reichsgetreidestelle, (Imperial Breadstuffs Commission.)

These two organizations are at present working out a great scheme for the formation of a monopoly of the fodder and breadstuffs produced in the whole of Germany. Up to the middle of May Bavaria was still half unwilling to throw in its lot with Northern Germany by joining in the proposed monopoly, but was showing signs of yielding to Prussia's cajolery.

Great battles were taking place behind the scenes when I left, as I know from private sources, as to whether the new organization of the breadstuff and fodder supplies of the whole German Empire was to be run on the lines of a great private monopoly or on State socialistic lines. Some big financiers were anxious for the former, while their opponents, following Adam Smith, (Yes! Adam Smith was quoted in the commission,) maintained that such a plan would spell depredation and hasten revolution. As far as I could understand, Dr. Michaelis was likely to decide in favor of the State socialistic form.

Wood for Food

In Germany there is at present in use a method secretly but every extensively practiced of obtaining a kind of flour from wood. This "flour" goes by the name of Holzmehl. It is a modification of the discovery of a Swedish savant, whose name I have forgotten. I saw a German translation of his book on the subject in the hands of the Director of the Fodder Commission.

This new wood-fodder is a sort of forlorn hope which the landowners have eagerly clutched at. The Russian forests in the occupied districts, I have heard, are being ruthlessly cut down and turned

into wood-meal. This wood-meal is intended primarily to serve as a cattle food. Of its nutritive properties I know nothing. They are said to be low. Bread is also made from it, and I have been told that it is given to the soldiers. I am more inclined to think that it is reserved as a delicacy for the prisoners' camps. It will probably be an improvement on the war bread served out to us at Ruhleben in the Winter of 1914-15, which was made of all sorts of inferior ingredients and included flour made from straw. I remember yet the rasped, scratched feeling it produced in one's throat and digestive canal.

Constantinople—June, 1917

[*By a correspondent who obtained this expression of views from an official who investigated conditions in Turkey.*]

It is almost impossible to give a complete picture of present-day conditions in the Ottoman Empire, because even the most inquiring foreign resident in Turkey finds his efforts to obtain accurate information persistently balked. No diplomatist is allowed to leave Constantinople, except, of course, to return home; and commmunication between Ambassadors and Ministers there, and Consuls and Vice Consuls at Smyrna, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem, are limited and extremely irregular. Only one non-Turk has succeeded in getting through from Smyrna to Constantinople for nearly a year. He turned up toward the end of last month, and told us that, thanks to the good feeling of the Turkish Governor there, Europeans and Americans have a very comfortable time. The British colony numbers about forty, and its members are technically supposed to be "interned." As a matter of fact, however, they are allowed complete liberty during the daytime, the only restriction being that they must be indoors before 10 o'clock each evening. The Englishmen there are nearly all representatives of large Lancashire and Yorkshire textile firms. They are greatly respected by the Turks, and bear up very bravely.

British Prisoners

British officers and men whom I have met in Turkey generally told me that they were well treated; and my own experience is similar, so far as the civilians are concerned. The internment of civilians, I admit, is frequently attended by serious hardships, but these arise from the general conditions existing in Turkey, and are not to be ascribed to cruelty on the part of the Turks. I have known cases of poor Europeans who have had to walk with their jailers hundreds of miles across barren country to inland internment camps.

The peace sentiment is daily growing stronger throughout all classes, but it is folly to imagine that Turkey will ever take the initiative toward making a separate peace. I think, on the other hand, that sympathetic handling on the part of the allied powers might "detach" Turkey from her Teutonic masters.

Popular discontent in Constantinople is provoked by the food scarcity, and not by the loss of close on 500,000 square miles of Turkish territory and 5,000,000 Turkish subjects in Asia. I don't think the average poor Turk has any spirit left to grieve greatly over empire losses, but the authorities, who probably know their people better than I do, take no risks; and an organized attempt to conceal, or at least minimize, British success in Mesopotamia and Egypt is in operation. The fall of Bagdad has not yet been officially announced in Turkey, nor has any Turkish newspaper ever contained any reference to it.

The German Grip

The Germans are more unpopular than ever; but, curiously enough, their grip on the country is tighter than ever. The only tactful thing the Germans do is to conceal the outward manifestation of their authority. The story which constantly crops up about a German garrison of 60,000 men in Constantinople is false. At the most there are not 6,000; and these are kept discreetly concealed in a building outside the city. The crews of the Goeben and Breslau never come to Constantinople, and there are no German policemen in the city. Enver Pasha still

continues to be the dominant figure in Turkey.

This man is an enigma. He rules with a hand of iron; and those of his opponents who have escaped the summary process of hanging are so terrified and obsequious that the great man rules unperturbed. The misery and suffering of the masses of the people in Constantinople and the other large cities are very great; but I doubt whether, making allowance for the size of their respective populations, there is as much abject poverty as in London or New York. It must be admitted, however, that people do actually die of starvation in Constantinople. In spite of all German efforts to impose a "system" of food distribution upon Turkey, bread is the only article of food in which a partial Government monopoly has been established. Every Turk, rich or poor, is entitled to half a pound of bread daily for one penny. If his needs extend beyond this amount, he must buy "Trangola" bread, (a kind of luxury bread,) at 1s. 8d. per pound. The Europeans find the cost of living terribly high. Early this month, as I personally ascertained, tea cost £2, coffee 14s., and sugar 8s. per pound. The middle and upper classes, in spite of, or because of, the war, live a gay, feverish kind of life. The cafés, theatres, and cinema houses are crowded daily. Special cinema performances are given for the women.

New and Old Turkey

The Young Turk Government, it must be confessed, is doing its utmost to encourage the Turks to prepare themselves for the after-the-war economic struggle. Elementary school teachers are excused military service, and new schools are springing up like mushrooms throughout the empire. The "right-for-women" movement is making astonishing progress. Let me quote the following instance, (one among many:) A great charity concert took place early last month in Constintinople, and a group of aristocratic "new" women determined to exercise their rights. They went together to the concert hall, only to find their entrance to it barred by two policemen. "There are men in there; you cannot enter," said the head policeman, in horrified tones. "We are going to enter. We've bought our tickets," said the spokeswoman of the group. "Impossible," said the policeman. "Telephone the Ministry of the Interior and see what the Minister says," cried the women. The policeman rang up the Ministry and received the laconic reply: "Let the ladies in." The "new" woman in Turkey had won another victory.

Side by side with the new movement are the old ways. I went recently to call upon the Grand Vizier and his wife. The latter ordered coffee, but in spite of repeated protests to the servants it was not until one hour and a half later that the coffee arrived. The Grand Vizier's wife is not "modern." She claps her hands to summon the servants, and does not touch an electric bell. The long delay before the coffee was served did not displease her. "You see," she explained, "that we Turks are not really suited to the rapid, go-ahead methods of the West."

New Order of Knighthood for Women in Great Britain

IN recognition of services that have been rendered both by British subjects and their allies in connection with the war the King has instituted two orders.

The first is an Order of Knighthood, to be styled "The Order of the British Empire," and to be conferred for services rendered to the empire, whether at home or abroad. This order will follow, in most respects, the precedents of other orders of knighthood, but it will consist of five classes, and will be given to women as well as men. The first two

classes will, in the case of men, carry the honor of knighthood, and in the case of women the privilege of prefixing the title "Dame" to their names.

STAR WORN BY MEMBERS OF FIRST TWO CLASSES, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The second order will be entitled the "Order of the Companions of Honour," and will consist of one class only, to which women will be eligible equally with men. The order will carry with it no title or precedence, and will be conferred upon a limited number of persons, for whom this distinction seems to be the most appropriate form of recognition, constituting, as it will, an honor dissociated either from the acceptance of title or the classification of merit.

Both orders, though created in connection with the war, will doubtless survive it.

The King appointed the Prince of Wales to be Grand Master of the order.

The five classes of the order are as follows:

Men.—1. Knights Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Knights Commanders, (K. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

Women.—1. Dames Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Dames Commanders, (D. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

The badge of the order, worn by the members of the first, second, and third classes, is a silver gilt cross, enameled pearl gray, in the centre of which, in a

BADGE, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

circle enameled crimson, is a representation of Britannia seated. The circle contains the motto of the order, "For God and the Empire."

The star, worn by members of the first two classes, is an eight-pointed silver star, the centre of which bears the same device as the badge.

The treatment of the badge for the fourth class is similar to that for the first, second, and third classes, except that it is smaller and is not enameled. In the case of the fifth class the badge is of silver instead of silver gilt.

As in the case of other orders, the members will have the privilege of placing the initials (above indicated) after their names.

Assassination of Austrian Premier

The Apologia of Dr. Adler an Important Utterance

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER, who assassinated the Austrian Premier, Count Stürgkh, in October, 1916, was condemed to death for his act, but the Socialists of neutral countries and the radicals in Germany and Russia have petitioned that his life be spared. After the sentence was pronounced the condemned man turned to the spectators and shouted, "Long live international, revolutionary Social Democracy!" a cry that was loudly re-echoed from the crowded court and galleries, while women waved their handkerchiefs and the whole assembly, even including some individuals in the well of the court, enthusiastically applauded the prisoner. The President thereupon ordered the court to be cleared, and four people were arrested in the process, while other arrests were afterward made in the street.

Dr. Adler delivered an address after his trial which produced a profound impression. He protested emphatically against the attempt to represent him as not responsible for his actions. He had known beforehand, he said, that the "Government Socialists" of Austria and Germany would try to place that construction on his deed, and his counsel was naturally anxious to do the same, but the change that came over Austrian political life within only a few days of the assassination of Count Stürgkh was striking enough to compel some slight recognition even then that the deed was not that of a mere irresponsible.

He asserted that all constitutional rights had been suspended in Austria by the failure of the Premier to assemble the Reichsrat. He declared that the keynote to the situation in Austria and the explanation of his deed were that there was no authority left in Austria that could be considered constitutionally competent, and that Count Stürgkh had persistently suppressed the one institution which could have held him and his Cabinet to account, namely, the Reichsrat. What other way remained open then, he asked, of calling Ministers to account than the way they had themselves chosen, that of force? Years before, in November, 1898, Herr Hochenburger himself, (Count Stürgkh's Minister of Justice,) who was not in office then, declared in the Reichsrat on the subject of legislation by royal decree that any treading underfoot of justice in Austria would not go unpunished. "Herr Minister-President," he said at that time, "take care that you do not bring things to such a pass that you are made to learn that an aggravated people can create justice for itself, and that today still there is an emergency code of peoples." Yet it was this same Hochenburger, who, in conjunction with Count Stürgkh, promulgated on July 25, 1914, such a series of arbitrary decrees as proved that everything had been prepared long before the outbreak of war.

"Hochenburger and Stürgkh," said Dr. Adler, "deliberately planned this coup d'état, and for that reason the moral justification of my deed is complete for me as a citizen. The question at issue is not whether force is justifiable, but what is my individual position. In my opinion, every citizen is justified, if the law is trodden underfoot, in securing justice for himself. When a Government has placed itself outside the legal domain, every citizen is justified in holding it to account outside that domain also. Indeed, every citizen is not only justified in so doing, but is under an obligation so to do."

He objected to being classed as either a patriot or an anti-patriot. He had always held, he said, that the cause of socialism was a much greater thing than any temporary State organism, and that Socialists should not identify themselves too intimately with any one State, as certain of his former friends had now unfortunately done. Indeed, he declared,

it is only since the '70s that the ideal of the national State has taken root among even the bourgeoisie, which at the same time began to regard it, not as the nation, but as an economic unit. Everywhere before that date the intellectual bourgeoisie was not patriotic, but national, and the attitude of the German Austrians was then what that of the Czechs is today. Now, however, the bourgeoisie is interested in the maintenance as an economic unit not only of Austria, but of the whole Central European bloc—with the King of Prussia at its head, of course, and Austria subordinate to him. Its ideal, in fact, is no longer national independence, but national predominance and the foundation of an empire from Berlin to Bagdad. Many Social Democrats, Dr. Adler complained, had themselves been carried away by this development, but while, he observed, it was true in his own case that Austria played a part in his motives, it was not on account of her existence as a State, but as a moral unit. It was the Austrian character for which he was concerned.

"Already at school," he said, "it was clear to me that the greatest sin, the one which cannot be forgiven, is the sin against character; the sin that is customary in Austria. And if you wish to understand my deed and all that led to it, there must run like a red thread through all your considerations the recognition that it was a revolt, a protest against this sin against character which prevents any manly action in Austria. We are in a State which was once made (Roman) Catholic again by fire and sword at the time of the counter-reformation. We are in a State in which the convictions of men are despised, in which it is never recognized that the individual must act according to his convictions. It is the State of the Metternich doctrine which weighed down Austria before 1848, the State which has fettered free speech in order to create a slavish public opinion. * * * I have shown what Hochenburger said in 1898 and how he afterward acted as Minister. It is this abandonment of any loyalty to convictions, this complete lack of stability, which has always filled me with the deepest hatred of Austria, not as a political unit, but as a moral one; of the Austrian character for untrustworthiness."

These traits, Dr. Adler continued, were to be found among all the nationalities of the monarchy, and they had penetrated his own party, a penetration against which his deed was a protest. He was not a fanatical purist, he declared, but he did hold that a man should be clear with himself as to the ground on which he stood, and he despised a party that allowed Austrian Germans to masquerade as Socialists. He denied, however, that he was isolated from the majority of his party except as concerned his final act, and maintained, indeed, that in the seven months that had since elapsed the world had in many respects come around to his standpoint and that much that was characterized as absurd then was now considered quite natural.

Internationalism, for instance, had become the very hope of the Austrian Government, and none were today more sought after by Count Czernin than the "revolutionists," to whom the Public Prosecutor had referred as being the speaker's associates, and who, as having a certain amount of influence in Russia, were to travel to Stockholm with the Government Socialists of Germany as "the commercial travelers of the Foreign Office." Austria's real greeting to the Stockholm conference, however, Dr. Adler observed, would be the sentence passed upon himself.

Proceeding to trace in detail the developments which led him to regard his party as having altogether forsaken the Socialist ideal and his attempts to persuade it of its mistake, Dr. Adler stated that he finally came to the conclusion that only by acting in opposition to the party leaders would it be possible to effect a real revolution in Austria, and that he must do what he could to pave the way for that revolution. That, he said, did not mean that he became an anarchist, or that he imagined he alone could set afoot a revolution. On the contrary, he had always held that the battle must be fought, not by individuals, but by the masses, and he had never believed that

the people would rise in his support. All he wanted to do was to prove to the people and the Government alike that revolutionary action in Austria was not a matter of impossibility, and thus to set the ball a-rolling. It was not his intention to introduce a new Socialist method of warfare, and in general he would deprecate such isolated deeds; but his own was an exceptional one, provoked by exceptional circumstances.

Dr. Adler proceeded to recount the special considerations that had weighed with him, and dealt in detail with the abuse of the censorship, the scandal of the political trials held during the war, and Count Stürgkh's determined attempt to establish permanently an absolutist régime, which eventually became so apparent as to be beyond all doubt, and finally determined the speaker to take forcible action. And at this point the latter was careful to point out that it was not against Count Stürgkh himself but against his system that the deed was directed. He had, he said, a certain respect for the former Premier, who contrasted favorably in his manly straightforwardness with many of his associates. Having consciously taken his stand on force, he had to be removed by force, but the speaker reserved his contempt for those Austrians "who tolerated Stürgkh without attempting to defend themselves, and who by their behavior furnshed the proof that every land has the Stürgkh it deserves."

Above all, Dr. Adler concluded, he was moved to his final act by the political situation at the moment. The fact that there seemed not the slightest prospect of peace affected him profoundly, and he thought hopelessly of what would happen at the Austrian Labor Congress that was to meet on Nov. 5, and of how he would again bring forward his motion for peace without annexations, and of how he would perhaps be able to count an increase of two or three in his following. In that way, he felt, he would never reach the masses; hence his choice of another weapon, which had proved effective in this, as in other respects. The resolution that was adopted on Nov. 5, said the speaker, was almost identical with my own, with the one that had always been rejected previously. My deed, therefore, had the result I anticipated. I have never regretted it since, and am convinced that it was profitable—that I did what had to be done to rescue the situation from the stagnation into which it had fallen.

The Armenian Tragedy

By Edmund Candler

[WRITTEN AT BAGDAD IN APRIL, 1917]

ONE of the best things that are being done in Bagdad is the salvage of Armenian women and children who have survived the massacres and who are now living in Mussulman families. These are being gathered into homes financed by the British Government, and their own community is looking after them.

I visited one of these institutions yesterday. The inmates were all young, many of marriageable age, and there were a great number of children under 6 who have already forgotten their language and their faith.

The bald statement of what they have suffered and seen is a damning and unanswerable arraignment against the Turkish Government. The first girl I saw was a child of 10 from a village near Erzerum. She and her family had started on donkeys with a few of their belongings, but in three days the Kurds had left them nothing, and they had to walk. The Turks had issued a proclamation in all the villages that the Armenians were to be sent away to a colony that was being prepared for them, and that their property was to be kept under the care of the Government during the war and then restored. This was

WHERE THE FRENCH FRONT APPROACHES GERMAN TERRITORY

Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing the proximity of the French battle line to the lost Province of Lorraine.

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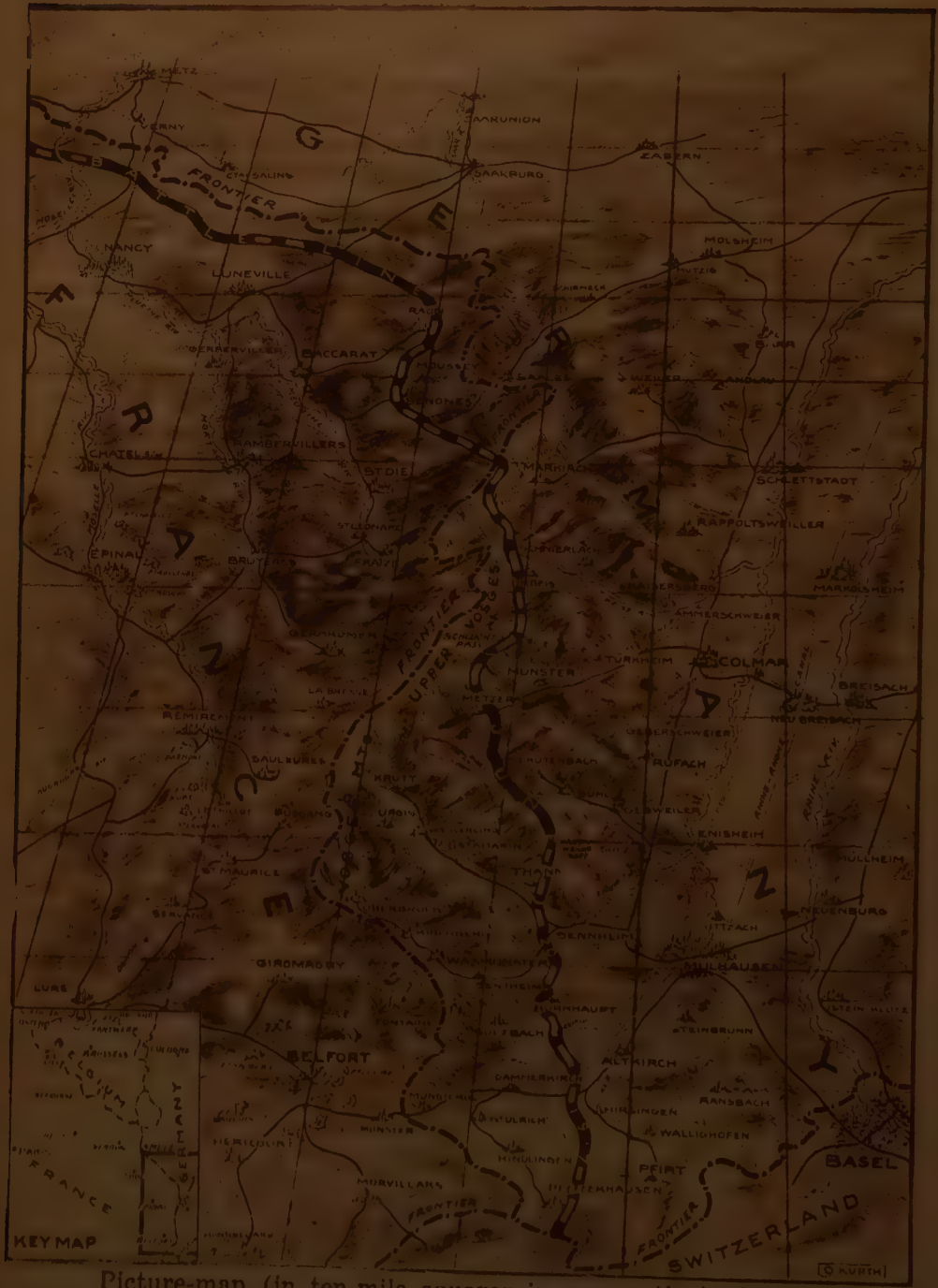
THE FRENCH BATTLE FRONT IN ALSACE



Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing where the battle line rests on the Swiss frontier and the section of Alsace so far regained by France.

(Copyright by The New York Times Current History Pictorial)

more than a year ago. The gendarmes were very pleasant to them in their homes, and told them that they were to be given new land to cultivate, and that their journey would not be long. The first assurance, as they guessed, was visionary. In the second the gendarmes did not lie.

For many of them it was all over on the third day. Two or three hundred of the men were separated from the women and killed at a distance, shot or cut down with the sword. After that the same thing happened nearly every day. The guards were very haphazard; there was no system. Some of the women were pushed into the river, others thrust over precipices. Twelve hundred left the two villages near Erzerum; 400 only reached Ras-el-Ain. The survivors were all women and children; there was not a man among them, or a child over the age of 9.

I met a refugee from the Kara-Hissar district who, with six companions, had been saved by some Armenian women he found established in a Bedouin camp. Eight hundred families in all had left Kara-Hissar. Half of these were capsized and drowned on Arab boats on the Euphrates. The survivors, when they reached Deir-ez-Zor, were placed in an internment camp. While here they approached the Mutesarrif, hoping to purchase their release. They offered him 3,000 liras. It was not enough. They made a second collection; every piastre they could raise was thrown into the pool. This time the sum was nearly 5,000 liras, and the Mutesarrif accepted the bribe on condition that they should sign a paper, "We, the Armenians of ——, give this sum willingly to the Turkish Army." But it did not save them. The hated gendarmes accompanied them on the march, and nine miles from the city the massacre began. Sticks and stones and knives and daggers were employed, and a few merciful bullets. But, as always happens, the assasins tired of their work; even the physical part of it was exhausting, and the last act was postponed from day to day. In the end a tired gendarme gave them the hint to go. The night was dark, and the guard more careless than usual, and the last remnants of the party, fifty-five in all, made their escape.

Another man I heard of was the sole survivor of a group of refugees who disappeared between Ras-el-Ain and Nisibin. They were taken into the desert and formed in line, as in a Chinese execution, to be dispatched with the sword. There was no shortage of ammunition, I was told, but the sword was employed for reasons of economy. While waiting for his turn, it occurred to the Armenian that a bullet would be an easier death. So he broke from the line. In the confusion the gendarmes missed him. It was almost dusk; he hid in the brushwood; by a miracle he escaped, and found his way to Bagdad.

The main features of the massacres are much the same. The emigrants, if they are not killed on the road, are taken to some depot, where they are kept a few days. Here they find a large camp of two or three thousand or more. Soon notice comes from Constantinople that the refugees of a certain district have been allotted land for cultivation, and they are told they must start on their journey again. This, they know, is probably the death sentence, but they nourish a thin hope. For the first half day they are generally safe, as murder on a large scale is deprecated near a town. Nobody, for instance, saw any one killed in Trebizond; but a few days after the Armenians had left the city their bodies came floating down the river. The desert is a non-conductor. What is done there leaves only vague rumor.

The refugees, though unarmed, sometimes turn on their guard. More than once the assassins have paid dearly. There is a woman in Bagdad who was one of a band of 200 or 300 Armenian women from the hills who held a pass near Urfa. Their men had been treacherously killed off earlier, and they knew that obedience to the proclamation of exile was as fatal as resistance. They held the pass with their rifles nearly a week, and the Turks had to bring up artillery. Some fifty of them escaped. The woman who is now in Bagdad was rescued

by a Turk of the better school, who respected her honor and on the journey treated her as his own daughter, though he failed to convert her to Islam.

Few Armenian women were so fortunate. Many were killed with as little scruple as the men. Plainness or good looks were fatal in different ways. The old and ugly died by violence or were starved; the young were taken into the families of the Turks. A traveler now in Bagdad was given a letter by an official at Ras-el-Ain to deliver to the gendarme in charge on the road. "Choose a pretty one for me," he wrote, "and leave her in the village outside the town."

At Aleppo and Ras-el-Ain German officers stalked side by side with these spectres of famine and murder and death, and not a finger was raised or a word said.

Enormous Weight of Metal Hurled by Artillery

THE weight of projectiles fired from the German 77-millimeter guns in the battle of the Somme in July, 1916, was more than 121,000 tons, or about equal to the combined weight of four superdreadnought battleships of the Pennsylvania type, the largest vessel of that class now in commission in the United States Navy. In an article dealing with the expenditure of ammunition in the Somme battles The Field Artillery Journal, published by the officers of the United States Army, says that in July there is reason to believe that the 77-millimeter guns in the German Army fired projectiles the total weight of which was 121,140.25 tons, or 242,280,500 pounds.

"That the expenditure of field artillery ammunition in the present war has been enormous and beyond any conception based upon previous experience is well known, but, like many other matters of importance," The Field Artillery Journal says, "exact data have not generally been available.

"The following data, taken from General Sixt von Arnim's report concerning the battle of the Somme, July, 1916, are extremely interesting in that they give the maximum expended in any one day of twenty-four hours and the average daily expenditure during the month of July, 1916.

"First—Maximum artillery ammunition expended in any one day of twenty-four hours:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun	322
105-mm. field howitzer	479
150-mm. howitzer	233
105-mm. gun	321
210-mm. mortar	116

"Second—Daily average during July, 1916:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun	145
105-mm. field howitzer	170
150-mm. howitzer	119
105-mm. gun	118
210-mm. mortar	51

"One field battery (howitzers) expended in one day 3,500 gas shells.

"The actual number of guns in action is not known. The best information gives a probable number of one field gun, exclusive of heavy types, for every twenty yards of front. The approximate frontage of the Somme battle was forty miles, so that the number of field guns engaged numbered in the vicinity of 3,500. Each gun fired 145 projectiles per day, or a total of 4,495 for the month, and the total fired becomes 15,732,500.

"The German 77-millimeter projectile weighs 7 kilograms, or 15.4 pounds, so that the total weight fired was 242,280,500 pounds, or 121,140.25 tons. The computed weight of the heavy artillery ammunition would probably more than double this amount."

It was announced by the British Ministry of Munitions that the British expenditure of shells of the calibre of six inches and upward during the first week of the offensive that opened near Arras on April 9, 1917, was nearly twice that of the first week of the Somme offensive, while the expenditure of such shells during the second week was six and one-half times that of the second week on the Somme.

General Haig's Official Report

Battles on the Ancre From Nov. 18, 1916, to March 13, 1917

[*Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, on May* 31 *submitted his official report to the Secretary of State for War of the operations of the armies under his command during the period following Nov.* 18, 1916, *which is the end of the preceding report covering the period from May* 19, 1916, *to Nov.* 15, 1916, *as printed in* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *March,* 1917, *Pages* 1114-1132.]

I.

General Headquarters,
British Armies in France,
May 31, 1917.

My Lord:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the British armies in France from the 18th of November, 1916, to the commencement of our present offensive.

Nature of Operations

(1) My plans for the Winter, already decided on at the opening of the period under review, were based on several considerations:

The enemy's strength had been considerably reduced by the severe and protracted struggle on the Somme battlefields, and so far as circumstances and the weather would permit it was most desirable to allow him no respite during the Winter.

With this object, although possibilities were limited by the state of the ground under Winter conditions, I considered it feasible to turn to good account the very favorable situation then existing in the region of the River Ancre as a result of the Somme battle.

Our operations prior to the 18th of November, 1916, had forced the enemy into a very pronounced salient in the area between the Ancre and the Scarpe Valleys, and had obtained for us greatly improved opportunities for observation over this salient. A comparatively short further advance would give us complete possession of the few points south of the Ancre to which the enemy still clung, and would enable us to gain entire command of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Thereafter the configuration of the ground in the neighborhood of the Ancre Valley was such that every fresh advance would enfilade the enemy's positions and automatically open up to the observation of our troops some new part of his defense. Arrangements could, therefore, be made for systematic and deliberate attacks to be delivered on selected positions, to gain further observation for ourselves and deprive the enemy of that advantage. By these means the enemy's defenses would be continually outflanked, and we should be enabled to direct our massed artillery fire with such accuracy against his trenches and communications as to make his positions in the Ancre Valley exceedingly costly to maintain.

With the same object in view a number of minor enterprises and raids were planned to be carried out along the whole front of the British armies.

In addition to the operations outlined above, preparations for the resumption of a general offensive in the Spring had to be proceeded with in due course. In this connection, steps had to be taken to overcome the difficulties which a temporary lack of railway facilities would place in the way of completing our task within the allotted time. Provision had also to be made to cope with the effect of Winter conditions upon work and roads, a factor to which the prolonged frost at the commencement of the present year subsequently gave special prominence.

Another very important consideration was the training of the forces under my command. It was highly desirable that during the Winter the troops engaged in the recent prolonged fighting should be given an adequate period out of the line for training, rest, and refitting.

Certain modifications of my program in this respect eventually became necessary. To meet the wishes of our allies in connection with the plan of operations for the Spring of 1917, a gradual extension of the British front southward as far as a point opposite the town of Roye was decided on in January, and was completed without incident of importance by Feb. 26, 1917. This alteration entailed the maintenance by the British forces of an exceptionally active front of 110 miles, including the whole of the Somme battle front, and, combined with the continued activity maintained throughout the Winter, interfered to no small extent with my arrangements for reliefs. The training of the troops had, consequently, to be restricted to such limited opportunities as circumstances from time to time permitted.

The operations on the Ancre, however, as well as the minor enterprises and raids to which reference has been made, were carried out as intended. Besides gaining valuable position and observation by local attacks in the neighborhood of Bouchavesnes, Sailly-Saillisel, and Grandcourt, these raids and

minor enterprises were the means of inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, and contributed very appreciably to the total of 5,284 prisoners taken from him in the period under review.

The Enemy's Position

(2) At the conclusion of the operations of the 13th of November and following days the enemy still held the whole of the Ancre Valley from Le Transloy to Grandcourt, and his first line of defense lay along the lower northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge.

North of the Ancre he still held the greater part of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Beyond that point the original German front line, in which the enemy had established himself two years previously, ran past Serre, Gommecourt, and Monchy-au-Bois to the northern slopes of the main watershed, and then northeast down to the valley of the River Scarpe east of Arras.

Besides the positions held by him on our immediate front, and in addition to the fortified villages of the Ancre Valley with their connecting trenches, the enemy had prepared along the forward crest of the ridge north of the Ancre Valley a strong second system of defense. This consisted of a double line of trenches, heavily wired, and ran northwest from Saillisel past Le Transloy to the Albert-Bapaume road, where it turned west past Grévillers and Loupart Wood and then northwest again past Achiet-le-Petit to Bucquoy. This system, which was known as the Le Transloy-Loupart line, both by reason of its situation and as a result of the skill and industry expended in its preparation, constituted an exceedingly strong natural defensive position, second only to that from which the enemy had recently been driven on the Morval-Thiepval Ridge. Parallel to this line, but on the far side of the crest, he had constructed toward the close of the past year a third defensive system on the line Rocquigny, Bapaume, Ablainzeville.

Operations Commenced

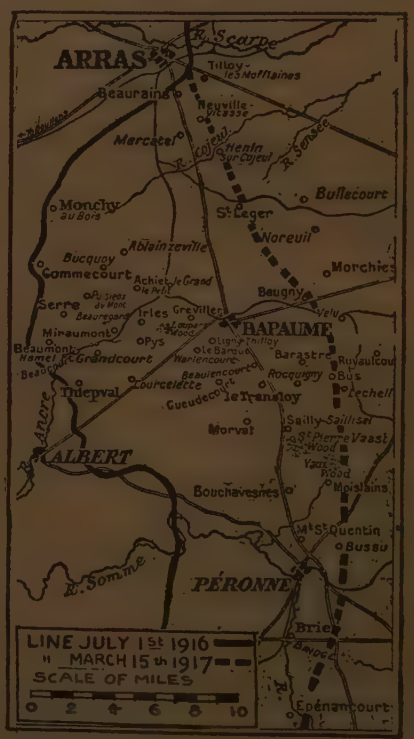
(3.) The first object of our operations in the Ancre Valley was to advance our trenches to within assaulting distance of the Le Transloy-Loupart line.

Accordingly, on Nov. 18, 1916, before the rapidly deteriorating condition of the ground had yet made an undertaking on so considerable a scale impossible, an attack was delivered against the next German line of defense, overlooking the villages of Pys and Grandcourt. Valuable positions were gained on a front of about 5,000 yards, while a simultaneous attack north of the Ancre considerably improved the situation of our troops in the Beaucourt Valley.

By this time Winter conditions had set in, and along a great part of our new front movement across the open had become practically impossible. During the remainder of the month, therefore, and throughout December, our energies were principally directed to the improvement of our own trenches and of roads and communications behind them. At the same time the necessary rearrangement of our artillery was completed, so as to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by our new positions for concentration of fire.

The Beaumont Hamel Spur

(4.) As soon as active operations again became possible, proceedings were commenced to drive the enemy from the remainder of the



BRITISH ADVANCE DURING THE ANCRE OFFENSIVE

Beaumont Hamel Spur. In January a number of small operations were carried out with this object, resulting in a progressive improvement of our position. Before the end of the month the whole of the high ground north and east of Beaumont Hamel was in our possession, we had pushed across the Beaucourt Valley 1,000 yards north of Beaucourt Village, and had gained a footing on the southern slopes of the spur to the east.

The most important of these attacks was undertaken at dawn on the morning of the 11th of January against a system of hostile trenches extending for some 1,500 yards along the crest of the spur east and northeast of Beaumont Hamel. By 8:30 A. M. all our objectives had been captured, together with over 200 prisoners. That afternoon an enemy counterattack was broken up by our artillery.

Throughout the whole of the month's fighting in this area, in which over 500 German prisoners were taken by us, our casualties were exceedingly light. This satisfactory circumstance can be attributed mainly to the close and skillful co-operation between our infantry and artillery, and to the excellence of our artillery preparation and barrages. These in turn were made possible by the opportunities for accurate observation afforded by the high ground north of Thiepval and by the fine work done by our aircraft.

Grandcourt

(5) Possession of the Beaumont Hamel Spur opened up a new and extensive field of action for our artillery. The whole of the Beaucourt Valley and the western slopes of the spur beyond from opposite Grandcourt to Serre now lay exposed to our fire. Operations were, therefore, at once commenced under the cover of our guns to clear the remainder of the valley south of the Serre Hill, and to push our line forward to the crest of the spur.

On the night of the 3d-4th of February an important German line of defense on the southern slopes of this spur, forming part of the enemy's original second-line system north of the Ancre, was captured by our troops on a front of about three-quarters of a mile. The enemy's resistance was stubborn and hard fighting took place, which lasted throughout the whole of the following day and night. During this period a number of determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry or dispersed by our artillery, and by the 5th of February we had gained the whole of our objectives. In this operation, in which the excellence of our artillery cooperation was very marked, we took 176 prisoners and four machine guns.

This success brought our front forward north of the Ancre to a point level with the centre of Grandcourt, and made the enemy's hold on his position in that village and in his more western defenses south of the river very precarious. It was not unexpected, therefore, when on the morning of the 6th of February our patrols reported that the last remaining portion of the old German second-line system south of the river, lying between Grandcourt and Stuff Redoubt, had been evacuated. The abandoned trenches were occupied by our troops the same morning.

Constant reconnoissances were sent out by us to keep touch with the enemy and to ascertain his movements and intentions. Grandcourt itself was next found to be clear of the enemy, and by 10 o'clock on the morning of the 7th of February was also in our possession. That night we carried Baillescourt Farm, about half way between Beaumont and Miraumont, capturing eighty-seven prisoners.

(6) The task of driving the enemy from his position in the Beaucourt Valley was resumed on the night of Feb. 10-11. Our principal attack was directed against some 1,500 yards of a strong line of trenches, the western end of which was already in our possession, lying at the southern foot of the Serre Hill. Our infantry were formed up after dark, and at 8:30 P. M. advanced under our covering artillery barrage. After considerable fighting in the centre and toward the left of our attack, the whole of the trench line which formed our objective was gained, with the exception of two strong points which held out for a few days longer. At 5 A. M. a determined counterattack from the direction of Puisieux-au-Mont was beaten off by our artillery and machine-gun fire. Two other counterattacks on Feb. 11 and a third on Feb. 12 were equally unsuccessful.

The Advance Toward Miraumont

(7) The village of Serre now formed the point of a very pronounced salient, which our further progress along the Ancre Valley would render increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the enemy to hold. Accordingly, an operation on a somewhat larger scale than anything hitherto attempted since the new year was now undertaken. Its object was to carry our line forward along the spur which runs northward from the main Morval-Thiepval Ridge about Courcelette, and so gain possession of the high ground at its northern extremity. The possession of this high ground, besides commanding the approaches to Pys and Miraumont from the south, would give observation over the upper valley of the Ancre, in which many hostile batteries were situated in positions enabling their fire to be directed for the defense of the Serre sector. At the same time arrangements were made for a smaller attack on the opposite bank of the river, designed to seize a portion of the Sunken Road lying along the eastern crest of the second spur north of the Ancre and so obtain control of the approaches to Miraumont from the west.

Our assault was delivered simultaneously on both banks of the Ancre at 5:45 A. M. on the 17th of February. The night was particularly dark, and thick mist and heavy conditions of the ground produced by the thaw that had just set in added to the difficulties with which our troops had to contend. The enemy was, moreover, on the alert, and commenced a heavy barrage some time before the hour of our assault, while our attacking battalions were still forming up. None the less, our troops advanced to the assault with great gallantry. On the left of our attack our artillery preparation had been assisted by observation from the positions already won on the right back of the Ancre. In consequence, our infantry were able to make a very considerable advance, and established themselves within a few hundred yards of Petit Miraumont. The right of our attack encountered more serious resistance, but here also valuable progress was made.

North of the Ancre our troops met with complete success. The whole of the position attacked, on a front of about half a mile, was secured without great difficulty, and an enemy counterattack during the morning was easily driven off.

Next day, at 11:30 A. M., the enemy delivered a second counterattack from the north with considerable forces, estimated at two battalions, upon our new positions north of the river. His advancing waves came under the concentrated fire of our artillery and machine guns while still some distance in front of our lines, and were driven back in disorder with exceedingly heavy losses.

Eleven officers and 588 other ranks were taken prisoners by us in these operations.

Miraumont and Serre Evacuated

(8) The ground gained by these two attacks and by minor operations carried out during the succeeding days gave us the observation we desired, as well as complete command over the German artillery positions in the upper Ancre Valley and over his defenses in and around Pys and Miraumont. The constant bombardment by our artillery, combined with the threat of an attack in which his troops would have been at great disadvantage, accordingly decided the enemy to abandon both villages. Our possession of Miraumont, however, gravely endangered the enemy's positions at Serre by opening up for us possibilities of a further advance northward, while the loss of Serre would speedily render Puisieux-au-Mont and Gommecourt equally difficult of defense. There was, therefore, good ground to expect that the evacuation of Pys and Miraumont would shortly be followed by a withdrawal on a more considerable scale. This, in fact, occurred.

On the 24th of February the enemy's positions before Pys, Miraumont, and Serre were found by our patrols to have been evacuated, and were occupied by our troops. Our patrols were then at once pushed forward, supported by strong infantry detachments, and by the evening of the 25th of February the enemy's first system of defense from north of Gueudecourt to west of Serre, and including Luisenhof Farm, Warlencourt-Eaucourt, Pys, Miraumont, Beauregard Dovecot, and Serre, had fallen into our hands. The enemy offered some opposition with machine guns at selected strong points in his line, and his artillery actively shelled the areas from which he had withdrawn; but the measures taken to deal with such tactics proved adequate, and the casualties inflicted on our troops were light.

The enemy's retirement at this juncture was greatly favored by the weather. The prolonged period of exceptional frost, following a wet Autumn, had frozen the ground to a great depth. When the thaw commenced in the third week of February the roads disintegrated by the frost broke up, the sides of trenches fell in, and the area across which our troops had fought their way forward returned to a condition of slough and quagmire even worse than that of the previous Autumn. On the other hand, the condition of the roads and the surface of the ground behind the enemy steadily improved the further he withdrew from the scene of the fighting. He was also materially assisted by a succession of misty days, which greatly interfered with the work of our airplanes. Over such ground and in such conditions rapid pursuit was impossible. It is greatly to the credit of all ranks concerned that, in spite of all difficulties, constant touch was maintained with the enemy and that timely information was obtained of his movements.

Le Barque and Gommecourt

(9) Resistance of a more serious character was encountered in a strong secondary line of defense which, from a point in the Le Transloy-Loupart line due west of the village of Beaulencourt, crossed in front of Ligny-Thilloy and Le Barque to the southern defenses of Loupart Wood. Between Feb. 25 and March 2 a series of attacks were carried out against this line, and the enemy was gradually driven out of his positions. By the evening of the latter day the whole line of trenches and the villages of Le Barque, Ligny-Thilloy and Thilloy had in turn been captured. One hundred and twenty-eight prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns were taken in this fighting, in the course of which the enemy made several vigorous but unsuccessful counterattacks.

Meanwhile, rapid progress had been made on the remainder of the front of our advance. On Feb. 27 the enemy's rearguards in Puisieux-au-Mont were driven to their last positions of defense in the neighborhood of the church, and to the northwest of the village our front was extended to within a few hundred yards of Gommecourt. That evening our patrols entered Gommecourt Village and Park, following closely upon the retreating enemy, and by 10 P. M. Gommecourt and its defenses had been occupied. Next morning the capture of Puisieux-au-Mont was completed.

Irles

(10) The enemy had, therefore, been driven back to the Le Transloy-Loupart line, except that he still held the village of Irles, which formed a salient to his position and was linked up to it at Loupart Wood and Achiet-le-Petit by well constructed and well-wired trenches.

Accordingly, our next step was to take Irles, as a preliminary to a larger undertaking against the Le Transloy-Loupart line itself; but before either operation could be attempted exceedingly heavy work had to be done in the improvement of roads and communications, and in bringing forward guns and ammunition. The following week was devoted to these very necessary tasks.

Meanwhile, operations were limited to small enterprises designed to keep in touch with the enemy and to establish forward posts which might assist in the forthcoming attack.

The assault on Irles and its defenses was delivered at 5:25 on the morning of March 10, and was completely successful. The whole of our objectives were captured, and in the village and the surrounding works 289 prisoners were taken, together with sixteen machine guns and four trench mortars. Our casualties were very light, being considerably less than the number of our prisoners.

The Loupart Line

(11) The way was now open for the main operation against the centre of the Le Transloy-Loupart line, which throughout March 11 was heavily shelled by all kinds of our artillery. So effective was this bombardment that during the night of March 12-13 the enemy once more abandoned his positions, and fell back on the parallel system of defenses already referred to on the reverse side of the ridge. Grévillers and Loupart Wood were thereupon occupied by our troops, and methodical preparations were at once begun for an attack on the enemy's next line of defense.

[THE SECOND SECTION OF THE REPORT COVERING THE GENERAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE GERMANS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE APRIL 9, 1917, WILL APPEAR IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Burial of German Prisoners

THE Swiss Minister in London, M. Carlin, transmitted to the Foreign Office under date of May 22 the following copy of a Note Verbale of the German Foreign Office, dated May 9:

The Daily Mirror, in their issue of Jan. 8 last, published under the heading "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class" a picture showing blind English soldiers receiving instructions in skeleton anatomy.

Beneath the picture was written, "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German."

The Foreign Office would be glad if the Swiss Legation would protest strongly to the British Government, pointing out at the same time that in Germany only the skeletons of convicts are made use of for such purposes. The German Government have a right to expect that German prisoners in England should be buried in a manner in accordance with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead. This is still more so in the case of soldiers who, after bravely defending the land of their birth, have died in a foreign country; for the earthly remains of such men even their opponents ought to entertain feelings of sympathy and respect.

The reply of the Foreign Minister, dated June 6, is as follows:

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Swiss Minister, and with reference to Monsieur Carlin's note No. 486 S.G. of May 22, transmitting a Note Verbale from the German Government relative to a photograph published with the description "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class," in The Daily Mirror of Jan. 8, 1917, together with the statement "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German," has the honor to request that the German Government may be informed as follows:

The German Government's protest is based on an inaccurate statement, as the photograph in question did not, as stated by The Daily Mirror, represent the skeleton of a German soldier, and a contradiction of the statement was published in the edition of the newspaper in question of Jan. 10, 1917, under the heading "Training Blind Soldiers."

The skeleton depicted in the photograph was purchased by the National Institute for the Blind before August, 1914.

The bodies of German prisoners who die when in British hands are invariably buried in a manner which is in full accord with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead.

German Barbarities in France

Official Report of Illegal Treatment Inflicted Upon Inhabitants in Occupied Territory

The appended report, handed to Premier Ribot by a commission appointed to investigate acts of the enemy in violation of the law of nations, was published by the French Government in the Journal Officiel on June 1, 1917. The commission consisted of Georges Payelle, First President of the Court of Accounts; Armand Mollard, Minister Plenipotentiary; Georges Maringer, Counselor of State, and Edmond Paillot, Judge in the Court of Cassation. The complete text of the report has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

SINCE April 12, [1917,] the date of our previous report, we have pursued our investigations in the portions of France recently freed from enemy occupation, and this further inquiry has only confirmed our conviction that all the violations of international law of which the Germans were guilty at the time of their departure were committed under general orders issued by the Supreme Command. In all the towns the same measures of unjust severity and cruelty toward individuals, the same methods of devastation and brigandage were employed simultaneously and in identical conditions. Everywhere the people were exploited and deported, the factories destroyed, houses demolished or burned, furniture stolen or smashed, trees cut down, wells contaminated, farm implements broken or carried away.

There is not a single locality where inhabitants of both sexes, from sixteen to sixty years of age, were not torn from their homes and sent into Germany or Northern France; sent with no more regard for the grief of their families than for the morality of the young girls thus subjected to the most disquieting dangers. The scenes caused by these deportations were so heartrending that the Germans themselves at times were moved by them. Thus at Nesle, whence 180 women or girls and 164 men were taken away on Feb. 17, 1917, an officer said that he "could not bear to watch their departure, because it was too sad a sight." It is true that all were not so sensitive, as the two following episodes prove:

At Douilly a young woman, who had given birth to a dead infant two days before, was forced to rise from her bed and depart. As she passed, weeping, before the door of Mme. Wager, the latter, seeing that she was scarcely clothed, threw a shawl over her shoulders to protect her from the cold, and watched her depart with the certainty that the poor unfortunate would never come back.

One day in November, 1915, after the evacuation of a part of the population, a distracted woman came to the Town Hall of Chauny; she was uttering cries of despair and tearing her hair, demanding the return of her daughter, a child of 15 years, who had been sent away she knew not where. The Mayor took her to Reserve Officer Bergschmidt, a Berlin lawyer, the local representative of the Kommandantur; but he drove her away, saying that she annoyed him and was disturbing everybody. Then, turning to the Municipal Magistrate, who was trying to move him, he cried: "Mr. Mayor, you know very well, as I have told you repeatedly, that the words 'pity' and 'humanity' are erased from the dictionary. I want it to be understood that you are not to annoy me further in these matters. That is clear, is it not?"

Slavery of Deported Victims

It would be impossible to overemphasize the profoundly outrageous character of these abominable practices, which are nothing else than the re-establishment, for Germany's profit, of the hardest and most revolting form of slavery. The "Notice Concerning the Columns of Civilian Workers," which was prepared by Column Commander Kugemann, (Form. 5 v. 28. 4. 16. ZAK,) and of which we possess a copy, surpasses anything imaginable in this regard. It contains long instructions, the principal ones being these:

General Considerations

The persons belonging to the column of civilian workers are employed in the construction of roads, in farm labor, and in tasks of other kinds. It is forbidden to make them work in the zone of operations, properly so called.

All workers of said column wear on the part of the left arm (sic) a red armlet firmly sewed on; the armlet contains on the outside a black A, which should be easily visible. Workers whose conduct is bad, or who have been punished for attempts to escape, wear the badge on both arms.

Duties of the Workers

The workers live together in places under guard. In exceptional cases permission to live outside the camp may be granted to aged workers whose conduct is particularly good, or who have voluntarily sought admission into the column of workers.

During their labors, and on the way to and from work, the men are guarded by soldiers. At the command of "Achtung!" ("Attention") given by the soldier in charge, the working gangs must, in passing before the officers, as a mark of respect take off their caps. The work that is ordered must be done with speed and good-will.

In case of insubordination or attempt to escape, the soldiers will, if occasion requires, use their weapons unsparingly.

Payment, Food, and Housing

Every workman receives a daily wage of 2.25 francs, (45 cents,) from which are deducted 1.50 francs for board and 25 centimes for clothes, or a total of 1.75 francs, (35 cents.) Of the remaining 50 centimes, 25 are paid on account, 25 go into the reserve fund. Every ten days each serious workman receives 2.50 francs, (50 cents.)

Those who are placed under arrest receive only bread and water; however, in case of moderate offenses, the complete rations are given every second day, and every third day in case of serious offenses. Workmen must furnish their own clothes, linen, and shoes. The administration undertakes only the mending and renewal of footwear and clothing worn out by work.

Punishments

The civilian workers are warned that in case of infraction of any nature whatever, and particularly when it is a matter of attempted escape, of disobedience, of insubordination, of theft, or deception, they can be punished by the ordinary police—if the German law does not provide heavier penalties—with imprisonment not exceeding three months, or with a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, ($250.) In case of an offense against a member of the German Army the delinquent will be tried before the War Council and may be sentenced to death.

Jail sentences, punishments for minor offenses, for serious offenses, prison to the extent of three months, and fines to a maximum amount of 1,000 marks may be inflicted by the local commandant of the place where the workers are housed. The imprisonment must be imposed in such manner that the man shall not be absent from his work, but shall be confined during other than his working hours. Besides, he shall not receive his pay for that period.

Workers whose attitude gives rise to continual complaints may be thrown into a separate section for discipline.

System of Draconian Laws

Thus all these free men, women, and girls, accustomed to family life, whom the Germans have carried away in crowds from the invaded regions in defiance of the most formal rules of international law, are compelled, under a system of pitiless servitude, to perform the hardest kinds of work for the enemy. At the mere will of a commandant the slightest infractions of the Draconian rules are punished with imprisonment that may run to three months, during which the victims, forced to work hard from morning to night, receive, two days out of every three, only a little bread and water as their sole nourishment.

If this is the treatment of the deported, that imposed upon the inhabitants who are not evacuated is scarcely more tolerable. A notable illustration of the fact is found in the following proclamation, which was posted up at Holnon (Aisne) on July 20, 1915:

All workingmen and women and children of 15 years are required to labor in the fields every day, including Sunday, from 4 o'clock in the morning until 8 in the evening, (French time.) Recreation, half an hour in the morning, an hour at noon, and half an hour in the afternoon. Disobedience will be punished in the following manner:

1. Lazy workmen will be brought together during the harvest, along with the workmen in barracks, under the inspection of German Corporals. After the harvest the idlers will be imprisoned six months; on every third day the rations shall be only bread and water.

2. Lazy women will be exiled to Holnon to work. After the harvest the women will be imprisoned six months.

3. Idle children will be punished with blows of a stick.

Furthermore, the commandant reserves the right to punish lazy workmen with twenty blows of a stick every day.

The workmen of Vandelles Commune are punished severely.

[Signed] GLOSS,
Colonel and Commandant.

Other Tyrannous Edicts

Innumerable notices posted up by the enemy upon the walls of the invaded communities bear irrefutable witness to the harshness of the yoke that weighed upon our unfortunate fellow-countrymen and to the rigor and continuity of the requisitions levied upon them. In these posters will be found, formulated in the most imperative terms and with threats of punishment, the obligation to salute officers, to go without lights, and to keep all doors open during the night; also edicts forbidding the people to leave their homes at certain hours and orders compelling them to place everything, even to their garden products, at the disposal of the military authorities. One ordinance from General Commandant in Chief von Below, dated Oct. 1, 1915, appears to have been promulgated solely to give a semblance of legality to the most arbitrary executions. It will suffice here to reproduce the measure with which it ends:

In every commune a certain number of notables, whose names will be published, will answer *with their lives* for the safety of the railways in the territory tributary to the commune. Besides, every community in the territory belonging to a railway line that has been damaged or destroyed shall pay a contribution or suffer other punishment. In certain circumstances the whole town can be evacuated, the men taken to the prison camp and the rest of the population scattered to other localities.

These were not vain threats. On the remnant of a placard, the upper part of which has not been found—the whole was posted up at Amigny-Rouy (Aisne)—appears this notice:

5. Leon Oudard, farmer and Mayor of Floignes, because he did not immediately notify the nearest German authorities of the known presence of enemy soldiers.

In accordance with the sentence, the condemned were shot on the 3d of August, [or April,] 1916, at 5:45 o'clock in the morning.

[Here follows the mention of seven persons condemned to terms of imprisonment or reclusion.]

Because in the communes of La Vallée and Floignes a large proportion of the inhabitants doubtless had knowledge of the criminal conduct of the persons above named, one-half of all the men of the communes of La Vallée and of Floignes are, besides, incorporated for the duration of the war in a section of workers.

[Signed] V. BOCKELBERG.

Wringing Money From Cities

Officer Bergschmidt told the Mayor of Chauny that the words pity and humanity were to be expunged from the dictionary. These, alas! are not the only expressions that have been eliminated from the German vocabulary. It is the same with all those which represent any idea of generosity or simple honesty, and the mind would refuse to admit, if not compelled by the evidence, that the army of a civilized nation could be guilty of such a frenzy of theft and fury of destruction. In all the invaded regions and during the whole period of occupation the municipalities have been scandalously exploited and the goods of private individuals continually pillaged.

In the beginning Nesle was struck with a forced contribution of 13,000 francs, and in the interval, before the sum could be produced, M. Obry, the assistant who was fulfilling the functions of Mayor, with two members of the Council and an owner of property, were imprisoned in a cellar for six hours. Later the city had to pay 3,000 francs because a few old suits of armor were found in an abandoned house, and 30,000 as the penalty for the discovery of three shotguns—for game—in the home of one of the residents.

In March, 1915, the authorities seized a great quantity of wheat at Nesle, which had been stored up in reserve for the needs of the population, and then compelled the Mayor to buy flour from them for cash. In the same year, after having exacted the expenditure of 6,896 francs for tilling and seeding, they seized the whole crop, and it was necessary to buy back a part of it to feed the horses. The municipality was compelled, besides, to enter into a consortium for the issuance of regional bonds. This measure was quite general, as we indicated in our previous report, and at Réthonvillers, where it was not put into effect rapidly enough to suit the German authorities, an officer announced that if within an

hour the City Council did not meet and submit to the bond issue, the Mayor, the notables of the town, and their families would be arrested immediately and deported to Germany.

Looting and Destroying

At the end of their stay in Nesle the Germans, who had already indulged in many acts of pillage, finished the dismantling of the houses and carried on particularly fruitful operations in those occupied by the superior and general officers. In the church they carried away the pipes of the great organs, and after having broken the bells by throwing them out of the belfry they carried away the pieces. Dr. Braillon, 60 years old, who for four months had spent himself in caring for the enemy wounded, was arrested and transferred to Germany under a gross pretext. His wife had to give lodgings to the General Staff and the secretaries of the central telephone service. Before their departure her guests sacked the house, breaking the marbles and furniture, the windows and mirrors, ripping up the upholstered seats with a knife, cutting down ninety pear trees and as many feet of vines in the garden, and contaminating the well with manure. This task was attended to by the cook, the chauffeur, and the orderlies of the officers, with the aid of the secretaries. When Mme. Braillon protested against the destruction of the roofs of small buildings belonging to her home, a Lieutenant contented himself with replying: "It is the order!"

Everywhere, as we have many times repeated, incessant depredations were committed cynically. The number of broken safes that we have seen in the course of our investigations is unprecedented, and we have also found proof that the enemy had no scruples against theft, even from individuals. Many persons, in fact, were robbed of objects of value and of securities and cash which they carried on their persons. At Vraignes, notably, the Germans on the eve of departure searched many inhabitants of the neighboring villages after they had been herded into farmhouses and stables. They did the same at Tincourt, where Mme. Vancopenolle, after having been ordered to undress, saw them carry away a rente bond representing 1,500 francs.

A Characteristic Theft

An old man at Roisel, M. Villain, was ruined by an important theft committed in characteristic circumstances. On March 4, at the time of the final evacuation of the inhabitants, he had been compelled to remain with the baker who furnished bread for the soldiers. At that time he owned 150,000 francs [$30,000] in securities, and the enemy authorities knew it. On March 15 M. Villain was informed that he was wanted at the kommandantur. He went there and had to wait a long time; finally he was told that the chief could not receive him. When he got back to the bakery he found that the valise which contained his fortune, and which he had hidden under the covers of his bed, had disappeared.

He had noticed for several days that the Germans, as he said, had been hovering around his securities. Several times the secretaries of the kommandantur had come under thin pretexts to his quarters, and on the evening before the theft, after the departure of one who had stopped a considerable time near the door of the house, it was seen that the key of that door had been carried away. As early as the end of February an officer of the pioneers, calling at M. Villain's house, had laid hands upon the linen, the plate, and various other objects, and had sent them all, carefully wrapped, to the railway station. The owner was well aware that the most timid protest would have been not only useless but dangerous. A workman in Roisel, who had broken one of his own chairs in order not to see it carried away, had been imprisoned, and Mme. Boinet, for having expressed herself in a rather lively manner at the moment when they were taking away her piano, had been condemned to prison and to pay a fine of 200 marks.

In many places the commandants used still more summary methods to mulct the inhabitants and those driven from their homes. They simply ordered them to come and deposit their valuables. They

used this method notably at Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise and at Voyennes, where there were many victims; at Rouy-le-Petit, where the enemy gathered in 330,000 francs in securities; at Offoy, where the people had the prudence not to deliver any but insignificant papers, and at Nesle, where the Mayor flatly refused to transmit the order.

It is not without interest to add that at Vraignes and Nesle the Germans appropriated a part of the provisions furnished by the Spanish-American Food Commission.

Vast Destruction of Houses

In our report of April 12 we mentioned the total destruction of cities and villages by means of fire and explosives. We have found an appalling number of further cases of this sort. The method was applied in a systematic and general manner, and scarcely any place was spared except certain towns to which the enemy sent the populations from other localities; even there, sometimes, the Germans, on retiring, took pleasure in cannonading the unfortunates whom they had themselves assigned to those places. We have already told of the bombardment of Brouage, a suburb of Chauny; Rouy-le-Petit, where people from Douchy, Omissy, Matigny, Morcourt, Sancourt, and Viller-Saint-Christophe were herded together, suffered the same fate. On March 18, when the last unit had departed, the German artillery fired on the village before any allied soldier could reach there. Three persons were wounded; a little girl, a woman, and a man were killed.

Out of thirty-seven towns and villages in the Canton of Roye only three remain —Roye, Erchue, and Moyencourt; all the others were burned. In the Canton of Nesle sixteen communes were burned; Nesle, Languevoisin, Rouy-le-Grand, Rouy-le-Petit, and Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise alone escaped the devastation. Finally, in the Canton of Ham, out of twenty-one towns there remain only Ham, Estouilly, Saint-Sulpice, and Eppeville. As we indicated above, the localities spared were places of asylum for the last inhabitants of the villages condemned to the flames.

As for the remnants of the population in the Arrondissement of Péronne, the Germans gathered a part of them at Tincourt, at Vraignes, and at Bouvincourt, in a pitiable state of misery. Of the other inhabitants not a trace remains, but it seems already to be certain, from investigations which we are making, that as long ago as 1914 these people were the victims of frightful atrocities. At Vraignes two sections were burned, despite the presence of a great number of persons evacuated from the surrounding region. Many of these unfortunates, while houses were blazing around them, saw the illumination made by the flames of their own villages in the distance. The Germans had said, on the eve of their departure, to residents of Monchy-Lagache: "Look in the direction of Monchy tomorrow!" And the next day, indeed, Monchy was in flames.

Trying to Ruin the Region

Even in the places where the residences were not all annihilated, the enemy tried, with all the means in his power, to ruin the country; and everywhere he ravaged the factories. At Bernes and Hervilly, adjoining towns, there were two important sugar factories, one belonging to M. Busignies, the other to M. Carpeza. The soldiers blew up the buildings of both, having first pillaged them. All the destruction of property, moreover, was executed with implacable minuteness. In order to demolish houses the Germans first made excavations or cut long, narrow channels into the walls, intended to promote the crumbling of the building when the mine exploded. They did this at Roisel and Péronne.

This latter city was left in a lamentable condition. After the furniture had been carried away or broken, a great number of houses were blown up. Among the ruins we found slashed mattresses, bolsters that had been slit from end to end, baby carriages and sewing machines that had been deliberately smashed, cupboards that had been broken in, and safes, notably those of the Bank of France, which were shattered and empty. On one of the walls of the City Hall, which is almost entirely destroyed, was displayed a large wooden panel on which

was painted in large letters the inscription, "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern!" (Don't be annoyed, only astonished!) and we have seen and photographed an unexploded bomb fixed to a beam in the fallen roof of the monument; to the bomb were still attached the strings intended to set it off.

At Nesle, after compelling the residents of the suburbs to go into the middle of the town, the troops demolished the empty houses with axes. They also destroyed the gas factory, the Lesaffre distillery, the Evence Coppé factory for chemical products, and the Tabary malthouse.

At Offoy, two days before the retreat, they consigned all that remained of the popuation to one part of the village, with orders not to stir outside until after forty-eight hours. Then they blew up and set fire to the vacated quarter.

Belated Explosions

Bapaume has been completely devastated, and on March 25, at 11:30 in the evening, an explosion, certainly produced by a bomb with retarded action, blew the City Hall to pieces and caused the death of two members of Parliament, Messrs. Briquet and Tailliandier, Deputies from the Pas-de-Calais, who had installed themselves in that edifice for the night. This catastrophe at Bapaume is not the only one that has taken place since the departure of the enemy, for the latter, before turning back, sowed in the country which he was compelled to surrender a number of deadly snares set as well for the civilian population as for the allied soldiers. It was thus that the churches in Sapignies and Béthancourt were blown up, the first on the 18th, the second on the 22d of April, that is to say, more than a month after the German retreat.

The measures intended to destroy the fruit trees and render useless the wells have been generalized in all the regions we have visited. At Rouy-le-Petit the Germans, after trying to make the inhabitants themselves contaminate their wells with manure, compelled the children to do it. At Berne some time in February two soldiers, accompanied by a petty officer, who called himself an architect, came to Mrs. Payen and asked whether she had provided herself with water, warning her that they were going to stop up the cistern with manure. One of the men added: "It is unfortunate to be obliged to do this." At Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise a German said to Mme. Wager, pointing to the well on the farm where she was interned after leaving Douilly: "Nicht drink! Colics!"

Text of Official Orders

The General Staff of the British Fifth Army has come into possession of an order given by the German commandant of outposts on March 14, 1917, in which this sentence occurs: "The detachment of the Sixth Cuirassiers will see to it that manure in sufficient quantities is placed in the wells." Another document entitled "Order Relating to Destruction," and bearing at the top the words "Streng geheim" (strictly secret) has also been communicated to us. We quote from Chapter III.:

> The commandant of outposts will direct the destruction of the various localities. The final and complete destruction of Grévillers, Biefvillers, Aubin, and Avesnes will begin at the hour of X+2. To provide the detachments for setting fire to houses each commandant in the sector will furnish two sub-officers and twenty men from the B battalions, and two stretcher bearers with litters. The destruction of Favreuil, Beugnatre, and Frémicourt will begin on the second day of the retirement at the hour of X+3. The destruction of Morchies will be executed in the morning of the third day of the retirement, at about 5 o'clock. * * * The destruction of Louverval, Boursies, Demicourt will begin on the third day of the retirement. For these operations the commandant of pioneers will arrange with the commandant of outposts of Division S, Sector III., Major von Uechtritz, at Doignies, in such manner that all the details of destruction not carried out under orders of the commandant of outposts shall be executed later by Division S.
>
> The lighting of the incendiary fires shall be executed under command of the officers by the different detachments. The destruction of all wells is important.
>
> TIEDE (F. d. R.)
> BAESSLER, Oberleutnant.

Through a dispatch emanating from the German Legation at Berne, Germany attempted, in view of the indignation aroused throughout the world by these latest crimes of her armies, to promul-

gate the idea that "the measures regretfully adopted by the commanders were limited to strict military necessities and had no other object than the defense and safety of their troops." In support of this statement Germany cited an Order of the Day, said to have been issued in the following terms on March 11, 1917, by a division General "operating in the region of Bapaume," and bearing no other signature than the initials V. O.:

> The acts of destruction now in progress in the abandoned territory are intended to wipe out all war materials that would be useful to the enemy, the trees, and all structures in so far as they might serve the enemy artillery for a covering. Everything over and above this military aim should be avoided. I request all persons intrusted with this work to keep close watch and see that nothing is destroyed except what enters into this program, and to spare particularly the trees and plants around cemeteries and in gardens of little elevation, also all crosses.

If this Order of the Day is not apocryphal, it simply proves that among the enemy Generals there was one less brutal and inhuman than the others. In any case, it must be admitted that his orders were very poorly carried out.

At the Bar of Nations

The German Government appears to regard military interest as an excuse for everything; but is it not precisely to prevent those abuses for which this interest would be the pretext that there exists a public international law, and that conventions, which Germany herself has formally indorsed, have been enacted by the civilized nations? Was it, furthermore, in behalf of military interest that the enemy burned villages situated far from the highways, where their destruction could not retard the march of a pursuing force; that citizens and their wives and children were reduced to servitude; that their goods were stolen, their furniture destroyed, their wells poisoned, their farming implements broken, and fruit trees cut down or girdled by thousands so as to kill them slowly where they stand?

The truth is that the German High Command intended, in a mood of anger and hatred, to terrorize a defenseless population. Such was the mentality of the chief officers from the beginning, and such it has remained. The deposition made before us by M. Fabre, President of the Chamber in the Paris Court of Appeals, gave us a striking proof of this. That Magistrate found himself with his family at Lassigny, county seat of the canton which he represents in the General Council of the Oise, when the first troops of General von Kluck arrived there. From Aug. 31, 1914, his property was occupied by officers of the General Staff. A superior officer, who spoke French well, at that time summoned him, as well as Mme. Fabre and the rest of the household, and said:

"You do not know the news, but I am going to tell it to you. You are beaten everywhere—in Alsace, in the east, in the north, at St. Quentin; your friends the Russians are annihilated; the British fleet no longer exists, the English troops are scattered. We are the masters. We mean to wipe France off the map. It must disappear. In three days we shall be at Paris; we shall take it; we shall carry away all its wealth, artistic and commercial; we shall pillage and devastate it; nothing but ashes and ruins will remain. Paris must no longer exist."

This harangue, which was to be repeated a few hours later, certainly reflected the thought of the great chief. When General von Kluck arrived, a little later, he was furious at finding the town almost deserted. In the presence of M. and Mme. Fabre he uttered terrible imprecations. "Curses upon the inhabitants who have left their homes!" he cried. "This village shall be punished; everything shall be pillaged, destroyed; nothing shall remain. We will it. Woe, woe to this wretched population!"

The Looting of Lassigny

These threats were soon to be put into effect. The next day, Sept. 1, 144 motor trucks arrived; the men in them scattered themselves through the town and gave it over to pillage; they carried off everything of any value, packed and crated the objects, placed them in the trucks, and ranged the vehicles in a row after having tilted them. All afternoon

there was an orgy of confusion; the horde killed the animals in the farm yards, shook the fruits from the trees, and carried into the public square great heaps of provisions. To cook their food and entertain themselves with bonfires they burned all the furniture that they disdained to carry away. Soldiers dressed out in old French uniforms or women's clothes paraded the streets, shouting, under the complacent eyes of officers.

After such scenes, how can one believe in the so-called humanitarian intentions of the enemy command, or in the scruples trumped up by the news dispatch from the Berne Legation? According to the text already cited, this Order of the Day pretended especially to direct the sparing of trees and plants around cemeteries; but it failed to order the soldiers to respect the graves themselves, for the sacred dwelling places of the dead have been many times violated. To the horrors of this nature related in our previous report, unhappily, many others must be added. The cemetery at Péronne was shamefully ravaged, and many tombs were profaned. At Hervilly five vaults were ransacked, and the altar in the funereal monument of the Paux family was broken. At Cartigny the Germans opened five vaults, each with a chapel above it, by tearing apart the stones. They did the same thing at Ronsoy, at Becquincourt, at Dompierre, at Bouvincourt, and at Herbécourt. At Nurly, Roisel, Bernes, they even broke into coffins. In the inclosed ground serving as a private cemetery for the Rohan family at Manancourt they buried a great number of their soldiers, and, an inconceivable thing, established a kitchen in the interior of the Rohan mausoleum and latrines among their family tombs. In the crypt, where indescribable disorder reigns, almost all the compartments are empty. A child's coffin, taken from one of them, was stripped of its lead. A heavy leaden casket, half drawn from another compartment, bears on its lid marks of a chisel. A block of marble, in which is seen a small excavation, has been thrown among the débris; it bears the inscription: "Here rests the heart of Mme. Amélie de Musnier de Folleville, Countess of Boissy, who died at Paris, July 16, 1830, at the age of 32 years and 10 months."

To what motive should these monstrous profanations be attributed? Did the enemy hope to find valuables or gold placed by the families under the protection of the dead, or jewels in the coffins? It is noteworthy that the sepulchres of the rich suffered especially. Whatever the reason, the repetition of the same acts in so many cemeteries gives ground for affirming that the German chiefs at least tolerated these crimes, if they did not order them.

G. PAYELLE, President.
ARMAND MOLLARD.
G. MARINGER.
PAILLOT, Secretary.

The Resurrection of Devastated France

Fruit Trees Saved by Surgery

THREE months after the French armies had taken back from the Germans 1,000 square kilometers of French soil, blasted and devastated, they had worked such marvels in restoring the fields and orchards that press correspondents devoted enthusiastic articles to the transformation. One of these, an American, looking on the brighter side of the picture, wrote in the last week of May, 1917:

"To a person who passed through this district the day after the German hordes had departed, and who passes there today, the change almost exceeds human belief. It presents a miracle that only the genius of the French race and its painstaking industry could have performed. Nothing has been done to restore the ruined towns, villages, and farmhouses, but these now stand in the midst of fields of waving grain and blossoming

orchards. * * * One has the startling impression that those thousands of hewn-down trees have all grown up again. A close examination, however, shows what has really happened. The French soldiers, working under direction of the French Generals, who know other things than mere military operations, have found the means of saving a large proportion of the trees."

This miracle was worked especially upon those trees which the Germans had intended to destroy by cutting off a circle of bark around the trunk. With a few days' exposure to the sun, that treatment was sufficient to kill thousands of peach, plum, apple, apricot, and cherry trees that had been half a century attaining their full productiveness. These were saved by prompt "first aid." The wounds were merely bound up like the wounds of a soldier. The American correspondent already quoted has described the process:

"Thousands of army Surgeons and Red Cross ambulance drivers and stretcher carriers assisted in this work, so like, in many respects, their own. The circle where the bark had been cut away was first covered with a special grafting cement, and the entire wound then carefully bandaged up—often with the same bandages that had been prepared for human limbs.

"So great was the number of trees that had to be dressed in this way that the entire available supply of grafting preparation was quickly exhausted. Tar was then used as a substitute, and, finally, loamy clay. Substitutes for surgical bandages also had to be found, and in the end it was discovered that moss, twisted and tied about the dressed wound, was as effective as anything else.

"A much more serious problem, of course, presented itself where the trees had been entirely cut or sawed down. But here French genius also solved the problem. The stumps, protruding usually two or three feet from the ground, were first trimmed off in a scientific manner, so as to conserve the sap and prevent the death of the roots. This stump was then treated with grafting paste, and carefully bandaged, till the cut-down tree, lying at the side, budded from the sap and life that remained in it. Branches that showed great numbers of buds and other signs of exceptional vitality were then cut off and finally grafted into the carefully prepared stump. Today these grafts are in full leaf and blossom; the roots appear to have been entirely saved by this process. Years have been saved in restoring the cut-down orchards of France."

A more conservative view is presented by an English correspondent, who estimates that in the territory recovered by a single French army the Germans had felled over 32,000 fruit trees. After stating that some of these have been saved by the methods indicated, he adds: "Unhappily, in the immense majority of cases, German malice has proved effective." The actual extent of the tree-rescue work lies somewhere between these two views.

Of the lands devastated by the Germans between Noyon and the Somme the zone covered by the French Army alone contained 243 evacuated villages and hamlets, not counting the communes recovered in the Soissons district or those in the British zone. The pursuing French Army found here a wretched population of 35,000 old men and women, mothers of large families, and children under 15. Twelve thousand, for whom it was impossible to find food or shelter, were removed to the interior of France, while the remainder stayed in their ruined villages and are endeavoring to restore life and prosperity to what had been one of the richest agricultural districts of France. Aided by the French Army and by American, French, and British civilians, they achieved wonders in the few weeks that still remained for planting and sowing.

The situation was that 250,000 acres of agricultural land which had once kept the whole region in prosperity had been neither plowed nor sown. There was one small exception. About 1 per cent. of the land had been sown with rye in September and October, before the enemy had fully made up his mind to retire. The work began at the end of March, and in less than two months over 6,000

acres had been plowed and over 3,500 acres sown. No draught animals of any kind had been left behind by the enemy, and almost all the agricultural implements had either been carried off or destroyed. The army, however, could supply horses, and miracles of ingenuity were displayed by the French officers in repairing and improvising the indispensable machines.

The French military authorities organized the whole project with wisdom and efficiency. First they concentrated their energies upon the vegetable gardens, and these were soon flourishing throughout the district, later giving large yields of potatoes, strawberries, and vegetables—enough to carry the local population until Winter. The army based its system on that adopted in the reconquered territory of Alsace. The recovered zone was divided into seven sectors, each under the command of a Lieutenant Colonel or Major. Each officer had under his orders a permanent staff, which included an agricultural expert, an architect, and about forty military engineers. This military organization is still working hand in hand with the civil organization, headed in each town by the Mayor, or, if he has been carried off by the Germans, then by a municipal councilor, who acts as intermediary between the army and the people. The results achieved have been surprising.

The first step was to supply food for the people, and this was done through the army commissariat. Horses for plowing were lent by the army, broken plows and harrows were repaired by motor mechanics of the army, seeds of all kinds were procured, and thirty American tractors found lying idle in a depot were put to work. Soldiers joined the meagre peasant contingent of laborers and toiled early and late to sow, cultivate, and gather the crops, counting all as part of their service for beloved France.

In the meantime houses are being repaired where possible, and temporary buildings erected where no habitation exists. Schools have been opened, military doctors attend the sick, a postal service has begun, and so far as possible life is being made endurable for the thousands who suffered so much during the German occupation and virtually lost everything they possessed when the invaders departed.

The State, in providing the peasants with their immediate necessities as concerns seeds, animals, implements, and the like, has adopted the following system: One-fifth of the cost price is to be paid down by the beneficiary, while the remainder is to be set against the indemnity that he is to receive from the State as compensation for the damage that he has suffered through the war. On this principle army horses still capable of work in the fields, though past war work, are being sold in the district. Brood mares also are being sent there on certain conditions. In addition to State aid, the inhabitants are being helped by French, English, and American subscriptions. Baron Henri de Rothschild has centralized a part of the work and founded a store that has rendered invaluable services by supplying gratuitously all necessities.

Midsummer of 1917 finds at least a beginning made in the vast task of rebuilding the ruined towns, partly with American aid. Noyon has been "adopted" by the City of Washington and is being rebuilt by contributions from the people of that city. The American Fund for French Wounded has taken full charge of the hamlet of Behericourt, and the Comtesse de Chabrannes has undertaken to rebuild the hamlet of Maucourt, which the enemy reduced to a desolate heap of bricks and stones. The vastness of the task that remains, however, is indicated by the fact that fully a hundred towns and villages were as thoroughly destroyed as Maucourt.

In the picturesque mountain region of the Vosges is the village of Vitrimont, an earlier victim of German destructiveness, which Mrs. Crocker of California has chosen for a similar work of resurrection. Being too infirm to go abroad herself, she sent Miss Daisy Polk with an ample fund to rebuild a ruined town in the region designated. Miss Polk chose Vitrimont, a village in Lorraine that had been reduced to a mass of blackened stones during the fighting around Nancy.

The place was a desert when she began, but soon she found herself at the head of a small army of eager villagers, mostly old men and young women, who undertook the heaviest tasks of house building under her leadership. The Préfet of the department came and solemnly laid the first stone of the new village. Already a church and rows of attractive two-story houses have risen under the American magic. In an illustrated article on the subject in Les Annales an enthusiastic French writer says:

"The construction of Vitrimont constitutes an experience which deserves to found a school. The architect of the department, who is directing the work, intends to make of Vitrimont a model village. Houses, farms, public buildings, are being erected according to a plan which gives them a logical grouping.

"Mme. Crocker has devoted a first appropriation of $20,000 to the resurrection of Vitrimont. Her ingenious charity seeks to avoid the form of alms and to render a real service. Half of her gift will remain the property of the commune, the other half is to be returned to her in annuities from the war indemnity which Vitrimont will receive when the imitators of the Huns will be compelled to pay for breakage."

Two Years Under the Germans

A Villager's Diary

SAVY is a little village three miles southwest of St. Quentin. A resident of Savy kept a diary throughout the years of German occupation, a simple document, such as any villager might write, but presenting a unique and truthful picture of what the people suffered under the heel of the invader. A correspondent of The London Times, writing from France, has summarized its contents in an interesting article.

The diary begins with occasional entries recording the outbreak of the war, the passing of English soldiers, and then, on Aug. 28, 1914, the news comes that the Germans are at St. Quentin. "At Savy nobody would believe it. However, it was only too true." The next day the first Germans appeared in Savy itself. They celebrated the day by looting a baker's shop and taking possession of the local tavern and drinking all the liquor.

Then began the real occupation, with continual and increasing requisitions, plunderings, limitations of the liberty of the residents, and punishments for minor offenses. People were fined or imprisoned for going out of the village into the wood without permission, for hiding oats or food in their houses or gardens, for not saluting German officers or not saluting properly, for giving oats to a horse to eat, for plowing a field without permission, for resisting German soldiers who came to loot furniture without authority, for giving coffee to a French prisoner of war, and (the Mayor himself being the culprit in this case) for selling potatoes contrary to orders. When a man was imprisoned he got off his sentence after a few days by paying money.

Meanwhile, constant thieving went on by German soldiers, especially from outhouses, barns, &c., which the villagers, being obliged to be indoors after dusk, were powerless to prevent. Houses were looted and barns stripped of planks and whatever odds and ends seemed worth taking.

Then notice was formally posted giving the German soldiers the right to go into any garden and take vegetables as they pleased.

Besides money tribute, requisitions were made for innumerable articles, such as oats, corn, clover, eggs, potatoes, beans, straw, blankets, boards, tools, and especially wine, which was hunted for in every cellar and hiding place and drunk. Besides firearms, bicycles and blankets had to be given up. Individual houses were plundered of chairs, beds, stoves, bottles, casks, and so forth. Censuses were made at one time and another of

agricultural implements, fruit trees, fowls, wheelbarrows, all bronze articles, and sheep, besides horses, asses, and mules, of which the three last were all first vaccinated and then commandeered by installments. So with cows. By November, 1916, only three cows were left in Savy to give milk to the children and invalids, and on Feb. 9, 1917, even these last three were taken.

A census was taken of all walnut trees, then all were cut down and the wood carted away. The Germans sheared all the sheep and similarly sent away the wool. Russian prisoners were set to break up the stones of the local mill to prevent illicit grinding. People were forbidden to go into the wood to gather fuel, or glean in the harvest fields, or to set traps for game. Notices ordered all the people to be ready to work in the fields from 4 in the morning to 8 in the evening. Children were made to weed the crops. As the corn and oats were reaped the Germans took charge of it all. The people were ordered to pick all the fruit and turn it over to the authorities. Finally, all copper articles, including the bells of the church and the school, were taken off to Germany.

We hear of the brutal abusing of old men of 80 by German soldiers and of men being beaten with sticks for trivial offenses. Thus:

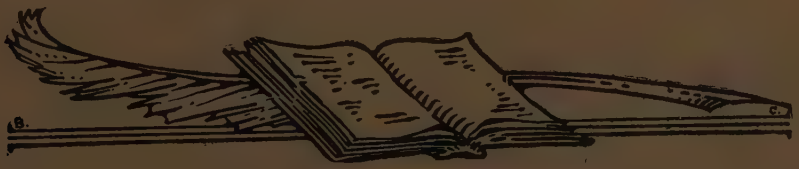
> At the general census of horses at Holnon, the owners had to stand for six hours at their horses' heads. Henri Catry happened to be standing two yards away from his horse. A gendarme demanded "Is that your horse?" Henri replied, "Yes," and was beaten with a stick. When he protested, "Don't hit so hard," he was beaten even more severely. There was one, an old man, who was lying down in front of his horse. He was severely beaten by a gendarme. M. Datchy of Holnon saw an old man who had hardly strength to walk. Two Germans hit him continually with their sticks. The other communes were treated in the same brutal manner.

These random quotations, says the correspondent, can give little of the impression created by reading the whole document, but they suffice to show the régime under which the people lived, a régime which grew steadily more severe. Then came the beginning of the end.

On June 29, 1916, we read: "Commencement of the German offensive, according to some; of the English offensive, according to others. For the last ten days at least there has been uninterrupted bombardment." For some days the bombardment continued, then on July 3 it ceased: "All is quite quiet." Though the people in Savy knew nothing of it, the British had made their great attack and were slowly at work breaking the German power on the slopes of the ridge toward Contalmaison and Mametz.

In November the Germans began to fill in the wells under the pretense that they were no longer wholesome, to destroy empty houses, and to carry all sorts of goods away. Just before Christmas the destruction of the fruit trees commenced and went on through the January frosts, when the Germans also pulled down the temporary huts which they had built for camp purposes. On Feb. 10 the Curé, doubtless with a hint of what was coming, turned over the sacred objects and vessels from the church to the Germans for safe keeping.

And then comes the last entry in the diary: "There is a rumor current that soon we are all going to be evacuated from our homes." They were evacuated to certain villages where the residents of the country round were concentrated before the Germans began in earnest their work of devastation, and by the middle of March the great retreat was in full swing. When the British reached the site of Savy in the early days of April the village was no more than a litter of dust and broken bricks. The torch and high explosives had done their work well before the Germans left the town.



Von Bissing's Plan to Annex Belgium

Pan-German Program Revealed

THE late Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, left at his death an extraordinary "political testament," which has finally reached the outside world through the columns of the Hamburger Nachrichten and the Deutsche Tageszeitung. As a frank and insistent statement of the Junker demand for the annexation of Belgium it must rank among the historic documents bearing upon the war aims of the Central Powers.

It begins with a long argument about the dire necessity and sacred duty of Germany to annex Belgium, insisting especially upon the military requirements of "the next war" and the value of the Belgian coal mines. Baron von Bissing protests against any thought of Germany's accepting "the Meuse line" and the fortresses of Liége and Namur, because the German frontier "must reach the sea." Coming to details, he reveals in the following passage the real intent underlying the talk about "the liberation of the Flemings":

We have among the Flemings many open, and very many still undeclared, friends, who are ready to join the great circle of German world interests. That will also be very important for the future policy of Holland. But, as soon as we remove our protecting hand, the Flemish movement will be branded by the Walloons and the Frenchlings (Französlinge) as pro-German, and will be completely suppressed. We must do everything without delay to repress boundless hopes on the part of the Flemings. Some of them dream of an independent State of Flanders, with a King to govern it, and of complete separation. It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism. But if we abandon part of Belgium, or if we make a part of it, such as the territory of Flanders, into an independent Flemish State, we are not only creating for ourselves considerable difficulties, but we are depriving ourselves of the considerable advantages and aids which can be afforded us only by Belgium as a whole and under German administration. If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Antwerp from the Belgian trade area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland.

Thus at the conclusion of peace we shall find opportunity after a century to make good the mistakes of the Vienna Congress. In 1871, by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia even at the time of the Vienna Congress wanted to claim for herself, repaired the first of these mistakes. It is our business now to put aside reluctance and ideas of reconciliation, and not to fall into new mistakes.

Baron von Bissing goes on to argue that the annexation of Belgium is the only means of obtaining "the necessary respect" from England, and of saving the Germans from being regarded all over the world as weaklings. He says that it is also the only means of repairing the prestige of German diplomacy. He then deals with alleged German anxieties as to the danger of incorporating non-German territory, and proceeds to the following conclusions:

There is no prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium. It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussion about the form of the annexation and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A King will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests. On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.

These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us.

Finally, Baron von Bissing demands that Belgium shall be kept under the present dictatorship after the peace, and discusses the comparative values of Belgium and the Belgian Congo. He says:

For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship. It is the only form of administration, based as it is upon military resources, which can be chosen, in order to gain time for the gradual and methodical building up of the most appropriate possible administration. The completion of the annexation will be regarded by many Flemings and by a great part of the Walloons as a release from uncertainty and from vain hopes. Both races will return to the life that will be rendered possible by renewed opportunities for trade and pleasure. The Walloons can, and must, decide, during this period of transition, whether they will adapt themselves to the definitely altered state of affairs, or whether they prefer to leave Belgium. He who remains in the country must declare his allegiance to Germany, and, after a fixed time, must declare his adoption of Germanism. * * *

Half measures and a middle course must be condemned most of all. Lack of determination in the decisive days of German fate will be a grave wrong to the blood that has been shed. Among such half measures I include the intention of treating Belgium merely as a pawn which might be used to recover or extend our colonial possessions. As regards the extension of our colonial possessions, the Belgian Congo comes especially into question. The possession of the Belgian Congo is certainly to be aimed at, and I desire to insist that a German colonial empire, whatever its shape, is indispensable for Germany's world policy and expansion of power. But, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that only such frontiers as will contribute to the acquisition of greater freedom on the sea are calculated to make colonial possessions valuable. Consequently the supporters of the colonial movement must also demand the Belgian coast, together with the Belgian hinterland. If we give up the Belgian coast our fleet will lack important bases for its share in the protection of our colonial empire.

Vorwärts, the Berlin Socialist organ, published in May, 1917, an interchange of letters between Baron Gebsattel, a Pan-Germanist leader, and Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. On May 5 the Baron wrote to the Chancellor on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Germanist League protesting against the Government's too narrow view of the way in which the results of certain victory should be utilized. The Baron said that the soldiers might even overturn the monarchy itself if they returned from the war and found that all possible gains from their sacrifices had not been secured by the Government.

The Chancellor replied on May 13 with a letter in which he said:

Only after the complete defeat of all the enemies of Germany will the time be ripe for considering the Pan-Germanist war aims. For the moment, the interests of the country forbid a closer examination of these aims. The league has rendered great service to Germany by developing national sentiment and combating the idealism of those who dreamed of a fraternity of nations, but it is grotesquely lacking in political judgment.

The Chancellor added that the Baron's allusion to a possible revolution, if it had any foundation, was a condemnation of those who were stirring up a dangerous spirit among the people, and, if it had no foundation, then it was a threat betraying the desires of those who were using it to subjugate to their own will the responsible counselors chosen by the Kaiser.

Battle's Grim Realities at Ginchy

An Irish Officer's Realistic Account of One Day's Awful Experiences

Second Lieutenant Arthur C. Young of the Seventh Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, a volunteer from Kobe, Japan, took part in the storming of Ginchy on the Somme front, Sept. 9, 1916, and wrote the subjoined letter to a relative in London shortly afterward. This remarkable narrative is here presented in its entirety, with the exception of a few personal references.

THE storming of Ginchy took place on Saturday last, Sept. 9. It had been taken once or twice before, I believe, (some say four times,) but even out here it is so difficult to get authentic news about things which are happening quite close to us that you will have to make allowances for my possible inaccuracies. Each time, however, it was recaptured by the Germans, for to them it was a most important stronghold, particularly from their artillery's point of view. A gunner officer told me why this was. You must remember that artillery fire is not very effective unless there is good observation, for atmospheric conditions affect shooting considerably. Now, the best sort of observation is that obtained from high ground in a forward position—it is better even than airplane or balloon observation, so I am told. Well, Ginchy was the last bit of high ground which the Germans held, and now that they have lost it, they are dependent on their less certain aerial observation, or, failing that, they must shoot by the map, which is no better than guesswork. Hence the vital importance to the Germans of Ginchy.

Try and picture in your mind's eye a fairly broad valley running more or less north and south. You must imagine that the Germans are somewhere over the further, or southern, crest. You are looking across the valley from the ruins of Guillemont. About half-right the further crest rises to a height crowned by a mass of wreckage and tangled trees. Well, that is Ginchy. The valley narrows somewhat and bends round this way to the right of Ginchy. Then it bends back again to its original line of direction, and goes on, goodness knows where. At that point another valley branches off at right angles to the left, or southward, and leads up to Combles, which the French are investing.

At the point of the peninsula between this valley and that other one is Falfemont Farm, which is now in our possession, for we have driven the Germans well back along the flat top of the peninsula to some place beyond Leuze Wood, which is on the right of Ginchy as we face it from Guillemont. You can see the trees stcking up on the skyline. Now, if you look the other way, half-left, you will see the ruins of Delville Wood, which seems to start almost at the botom of the broad valley and to go over the top of the slope beyond. Well, we hold that place too. In fact, we hold all the ground which you can see in front of you, except Ginchy, and that is what the Irish division is now going to storm at the point of the bayonet, if you have the patience to follow me.

I have conjured up some kind of scene in your mind—a framework, anyway. Now, to complete it, you must imagine that every square yard of ground, in front, behind, wherever you look, is churned up as if by some monster plow until barely one blade of green is left. Think what Hampstead Heath would look like if it were dug up in all directions into pits about ten feet deep and fifteen feet across—and you will have framed an image (I'm afraid a faint one only) of the awful scene of desolation which your eyes have to dwell upon for days at a time on the battlefield of the Somme.

Seeking a Habitable Trench

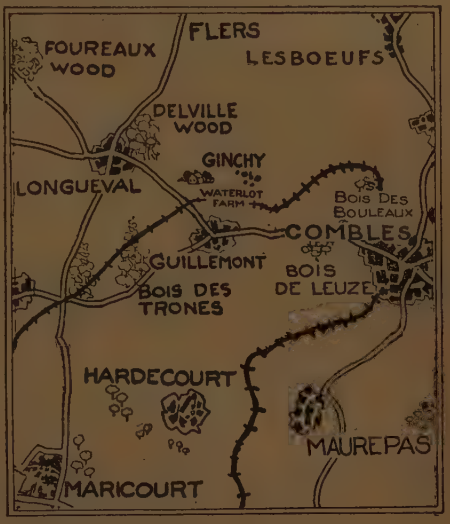
On the night previous to the taking of Ginchy my battalion had to take up a

position on the further slope of the valley. We were some distance in rear at the time, where the shells did not fall so plentifully. We had had nearly a week of it already, and a more horrible five days I have never passed in my life. We had been over the top from Falfemont Farm on the Tuesday, and had been thanked for our services in a special divisional order, but the price we had to pay for that feat of arms was a big one, as the casualty list printed by this time only too well shows.

I was sent out to find a habitable trench for my company. I found one near the spot indicated on the map. We moved in there at dusk. There is no proceeding to your sector through a long communication trench at the Somme. You just go over the top, skirting shell holes all the way. Nor is there any "taking over" in the sense in which that term is used in the more civilized regions further north, where the officer of the relieving company finds out the exact delimitations of his frontage, and takes an inventory of all stock in the way of ammunition, bombs, stores, &c. You don't do things on those lines here. The relieving company comes up at an unexpected hour, the commander reports himself to you, and asks you all sorts of questions which you answer to the best of your ability, and then you get your men together and make off, hell for leather. And the trenches are nothing like the elaborate affairs you meet with in the more settled parts of the line. They are just ditches and nothing else. There are no dugouts or shelters or fire bays or anything of that sort. Then, again, you don't always relieve another regiment in the same trench. You may prefer to go on a little bit in search of a more suitable one.

Driven Out by the Dead

Well, as I have just said, we moved into our trench north of Guillemont at dusk. We faced half-right, as it were, looking up the slope toward Ginchy. It was like being near the foot of Parliament Hill, with the village on top. Our right flank was down near the bottom of the valley; our left extended up to the higher ground toward the ruins of Waterlot Farm. The trench was very shallow in places, where it had been knocked in by shellfire. I had chosen it as the only one suitable in the neighborhood, but it was a horrible place.



SCENE OF THE FIGHT FOR GINCHY

British dead were lying about everywhere. Our men had to give up digging in some places, because they came down to bodies which were buried there when the parapet blew in. The smell turned us sick. At last in desperation I went out to look for another trench, for I felt sure the Germans must have the range of the trench we were in, and that they would give us hell when dawn broke. To my joy I found that a very deep trench some distance back had just been vacated by another regiment, so we went in there.

The night was bitterly cold. I have felt hunger and thirst and fatigue out here to a degree I have never experienced them before, but those torments I can endure far better than I thought I could. But the cold—my word! It is dreadful. I suppose life in the Far East does not harden one's constitution against that torture. Many a night have I slept out in the open, in narrow, wet trenches, with the rain pouring down, and almost groaned with the agony of cold. If two can huddle together, you can get some

warmth, but the trenches are frequently too narrow for that. I think I feel the cold more than any one.

However, dawn broke at last. It was very misty. All night we had been trying to get into touch with the unit on our left, but without success. So the Captain sent me out with an orderly to see whether I could manage it. We two stumbled along, but the mist was so dense we could see nothing. We came to one trench after another, but not a living thing could we see—nothing but dead, British and German, some of them mangled beyond recognition. Bombs and rifles and equipment were lying all over the place, with here and there a great-coat, khaki or gray according to the nationality of their one-time owners, but of living beings we could see no sign whatsoever. There was a horrible stench in places which nearly turned our stomachs.

A Dangerous Reconnoissance

To make matters more wretched, we could not make sure of our direction, and were afraid of running into a German patrol, or even into a German trench, for such accidents are by no means uncommon in this region. However, we managed to find our way back and report that up to such and such a point on the map (approximately) there was no one on our left. The Captain was not content with this, so I went out again, this time with another officer. Having a compass on this second occasion, I felt far more self-confidence, and to our mutual satisfaction we discovered that the unit on our left was the right flank of an English division. Captain —— was very bucked when we brought back this information. As the mist continued for some time afterward, we were able to light fires and make breakfast.

Now, I have forgotten to tell you that we were in reserve. The front line was some five or six hundred yards higher up the slope nearer Ginchy. We knew that a big attack was coming off that day, but did not think we should be called upon to take part. Accordingly, we settled down for the day, and most of the men slept. I felt quite at home, as I sat in the bottom of the deep trench, reading the papers I had received the previous day from England. I went through The Times and was much interested in its Japan Supplement, for the memories it brought back of many happy days in Dai Nippon were vivid ones. I also read The Nation from cover to cover. At Falfemont Farm I had picked up a good copy of Burns's "Poems" in the Everyman Series, so I read "The Cottar's Saturday Night" and some other pieces. Mentally, in fact, I was living in quite another world, and it was only the occasional "cr-r-r-rump" of a Boche shell which brought me back to my senses and to the hideous reality of things.

"Over the Top"

It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when we first learned that we should have to take part in the attack on Ginchy. Now, you probably expect me to say at this point in my narrative that my heart leaped with joy at the news and that the men gave three rousing cheers, for that's the sort of thing you read in the papers. Well, I had been over the top once already that week, and knew what it was to see men dropping dead all around me, to see men blown to bits, to see men writhing in pain, to see men running round and round, gibbering, raving mad. Can you wonder, therefore, that I felt a sort of sickening dread of the horrors which I knew we should all have to go through? How the others felt I don't exactly know, but I don't think I am far wrong when I say that their emotions were not far different from mine. You read no end of twaddle in the papers at home about the spirit in which men go into action. You might almost think they reveled in the horror and the agony of it all. I saw one account of the battle of Ginchy in which the correspondent spoke of the men of a certain regiment in reserve as "almost crying with rage" because they couldn't take part in the show. All I can say is that I should like to see such superhuman beings. It is rubbish like this which makes thousands of people in England think that war is great sport. As a famous Yankee General said, "War is hell," and you have only got to be in the Somme one single day to know it. The man who says he

loves being in a charge is a liar, and an adjective liar at that.

But to get on with the story. We were ordered to move up into the front line to reinforce the Royal Irish Rifles. None of us knew for a certainty whether we were going over the top or not, but everything seemed to point that way. Guides were sent down by the Rifles to lead us up. We wended our way up slowly, keeping as much as possible to the trenches, which were so shallow that the deepest part of them did not conceal more than our waists, but they were something to duck into if we heard a shell coming. The bombardment was now intense. Our shells bursting in the village of Ginchy made it belch forth smoke like a volcano. The German shells were bursting on the slope in front of us. The noise was deafening. I turned to my servant O'Brein, who has always been a cheery, optimistic soul, and said, "Well, O'Brien, how do you think we'll fare?" and his answer was for once not encouraging. "We'll never come out alive, Sir!" was his reply. Happily, we both came out alive, but I never though we should at the time.

Real Picture of a Charge

It was at this moment, just as we were debouching on to the scragged front line of trench, that we beheld a scene which stirred and thrilled us to the bottommost depths of our souls. The great charge of the Irish division had begun, and we had come up in the nick of time. Mere words must fail to convey anything like a true picture of the scene, but it is burned into the memory of all those who were there and saw it. Let me employ once more the simile of Parliament Hill. You are more than half way up it now. The flat top, where the village lies a heap of ruins, surrounded by a fence of shattered trees, is about 400 yards away. Between the outer fringe of Ginchy and the front line of our own trenches is No Man's Land—a wilderness of pits, so close together that you could ride astraddle the partitions between any two of them. As you look half-right, obliquely along No Man's Land, you behold a great host of yellow-coated men rise out of the earth and surge forward and upward in a torrent—not in extended order, as you might expect, but in one mass—I almost said a compact mass. The only way I can describe the scene is to ask you to picture five or six columns of men marching up hill in fours, with about a hundred yards between each column. Now, conceive those columns being gradually disorganized, some men going off to the right and others to the left to avoid shell holes. There seems to be no end to them. Just when you think the flood is subsiding, another wave comes surging up the beach toward Ginchy.

We joined in on the left. There was no time for us any more than the others to get into extended order. We formed another stream converging on the others at the summit. By this time we were all wildly excited. Our shouts and yells alone must have struck terror into the Germans, who were firing their machine guns down the slope. But there was no wavering in the Irish host. We couldn't run. We advanced at a steady walking pace, stumbling here and there, but going ever onward and upward. That numbing dread had now left me completely. Like the others, I was intoxicated with the glory of it all. I can remember shouting and bawling to the men of my platoon, who were only too eager to go on. The German barrage had now been opened in earnest, and shells were falling here, there, and everywhere in No Man's Land. They were mostly dropping on our right, but they were coming nearer and nearer, as if a screen were being drawn across our front. I knew that it was a case of "now or never" and stumbled on feverishly. We managed to get through the barrage in the nick of time, for it closed behind us, and after that we had no shells to fear in front of us.

A Psychological Note

I mention, merely as an interesting fact in psychology, how in a crisis of this sort one's mental faculties are sharpened. Instinct told us when the shells were coming gradually closer to crouch down in the holes until they had passed. Acquired knowledge on the other hand—the knowledge instilled into one by lectures and books, (of which I have only read one, namely, Haking's "Company Training,")

—told us that it was safer in the long run to push ahead before the enemy got the range, and it was acquired knowledge that won. And here's another observation I should like to make by the way: I remember reading somewhere, I think it was in a book by Winston Churchill, that of the battle of Omdurman the writer could recollect nothing in the way of noise; he had an acute visual recollection of all that went on about him, but his aural recollection was nil; he could only recall the scene as if it were a cinematograph picture. Curiously, this was my own experience at Ginchy. The din must have been deafening, (I learned afterward that it could be heard miles away,) yet I have only a confused remembrance of it. Shells, which at any other time would have scared me out of my wits, I never so much as heard—not even when they were bursting quite close to me. One landed in the midst of a bunch of men about seventy yards away on my right; I have a most vivid recollection of seeing a tremendous burst of clay and earth go shooting up into the air—yes, and even parts of human bodies—and that when the smoke cleared away there was nothing left. I shall never forget that horrifying spectacle as long as I live, but I shall remember it as a sight only, for I can associate no sound with it.

Capture of the Trenches

How long we were in crossing No Man's Land I don't know. It could not have been more than five minutes, yet it seemed much longer. We were now well up to the Boche. We had to clamber over all manner of obstacles—fallen trees, beams, great mounds of brick and rubble—in fact, over the ruins of Ginchy. It seems like a nightmare to me now. I remember seeing comrades falling round me. My sense of hearing returned, for I became conscious of a new sound, namely, the pop, pop, pop of machine guns and the continuous crackling of rifle fire. I remember men lying in shell holes holding out their arms and beseeching water. I remember men crawling about and coughing up blood, as they searched round for some place in which they could shelter until help could reach them. By this time all units were mixed up. But they were all Irishmen. They were cheering and cheering and cheering like mad. It was hell let loose. There was a machine gun playing on us near by, and we all made for it.

At this moment we caught our first sight of the Germans. They were in a trench of sorts, which ran in and out among the ruins. Some of them had their hands up. Others were kneeling and holding their arms out to us. Still others were running up and down the trench distractedly as if they didn't know which way to go, but as we got close they went down on their knees, too. To the everlasting good name of the Irish soldiery, not one of these Germans, some of whom had been engaged in slaughtering our men up to the very last moment, was killed. I did not see a single instance of a prisoner being shot or bayonetted. When you remember that our men were now worked up to a frenzy of excitement, this crowning act of mercy to their foes is surely to their eternal credit. They could feel pity even in their rage.

Only Two Officers Left

By this time we had penetrated the German front line, and were on the flat ground where the village once stood, surrounded by a wood of fairly high trees. There was no holding the men back. They rushed through Ginchy, driving the Germans before them. The German dead were lying everywhere, some of them having been frightfully mangled by our shellfire. As I was clambering out of the front trench, I felt a sudden stab in my right thigh. I thought I had got a "blighty," [a wound serious enough to send him back to Britain,] but found it was only a graze from a bullet, and so went on.

I managed to find my men without difficulty. They had rushed through the ruins of the village and were almost a hundred yards beyond the wood, where the ground dips down slightly into a shallow valley and mounts up gradually to a ridge about half a mile away. We were facing south here, having Delville Wood away to our left and Leuze Wood on our right. —— and I were the only two officers left in the company, so it was up to us to take charge. There

were not more than half a dozen officers in this part of the line, and so we had a great deal of work to do. We could see the Germans hopping over the distant ridge like rabbits, and we had some difficulty in preventing our men from chasing them, for we had orders not to go too far.

We got them—Irish Fusiliers, Inniskillings, and Dublins—to dig in by linking up the shell craters, and though the men were tired, (some wanted to smoke and others to make tea,) they worked with a will, and before long we had got a pretty decent trench outlined.

Scenes Among Prisoners

While we were at work a number of Germans who had stopped behind, and were hiding in shell holes, commenced a bombing attack on our right. But they did not keep it up long, for they hoisted a white flag, (a handkerchief tied to a rifle,) as a sign of surrender. I should think we must have made about twenty prisoners. They were very frightened. Some of them bunked into a sunken road or cutting which ran straight out from the wood in a southerly direction, and huddled together, with hands upraised. They began to empty their pockets and hand out souvenirs—watches, compasses, cigars, penknives—to their captors, and even wanted to shake hands with us! There was no other officer about at the moment, so I had to find an escort to take the prisoners down. Among the prisoners was a tall, distinguished-looking man, and I asked him in my broken German whether he was an officer. "Ja! mein Herr!" was the answer I got. "Sprechen sie English?" "Ja!" "Good," I said, thankful that I didn't have to rack my brains for any more German words; "please tell your men that no harm will come to them if they follow you quietly." He turned round and addressed his men, who seemed to be very grateful that we were not going to kill them! I must say the officer behaved with real soldierly dignity, and, not to be outdone in politeness, I treated him with the same respect that he showed me. I gave him an escort for himself and told off three or four men for the remainder. I could not but rather admire his bearing, for he did not show anything like the terror that his men did.

I heard afterward that when Captain ——'s company rushed a trench more to our right, round the corner of the wood, a German officer surrendered in great style. He stood to attention, gave a clinking salute, and said in perfect English, "Sir, myself, this other officer, and ten men are your prisoners." Captain —— said, "Right you are, old chap!" and they shook hands, the prisoners being led away immediately. So you see there are certain amenities which are observed even on the bloodiest of battlefields. I believe our prisoners were all Bavarians, who are better mannered from all accounts than the Prussians. They could thank their stars they had Irish chivalry to deal with.

There were a great many German dead and wounded in the sunken road. One of them was an officer. He was lying at the entrance to a dugout. He was waving his arms about. I went over and spoke to him. He could talk a little English. All he could say was, "Comrade, I die, I die." I asked him where he was hit and he said in the stomach. It was impossible to move him, for our stretcher bearers had not yet come up, so I got my servant to look for an overcoat to throw over him, as he was suffering terribly from the cold. Whether or not he survived the night I do not know.

After the Battle

Our line was now extended across the sunken road and beyond the corner of the wood to our right. Darkness was coming on. Airplanes were hovering overhead, and shortly afterward our shells began to form a barrage in front. The Germans had evidently rallied, for we could see a long line of them coming up on our right, evidently from the direction of Leuze Wood. Our machine guns opened fire. The counterattack was hung up, but the Germans must have dug themselves in for the night, for in the morning they gave us a good deal of trouble.

I could go on in this strain for a long time, but will cut the rest of the story short, for you must be weary of it. As briefly as possible, then, after the coun-

terattack had subsided, I was ordered to take my men and join up with the rest of the battalion on our right. There we spent the night in a trench. We must have been facing south. It was a miserable night we passed, for we were all very cold and thirsty. We had to keep digging. When morning broke it was very misty. We expected to be relieved at 2 in the morning, but the relief did not come till noon. Never shall I forget those hours of suspense. We were all hungry. The only food we could get was German black bread, which we picked up all over the place; also German tinned sausages and bully-beef. We had to lift up some of the dead to get at these things. Some of them had water bottles full of cold coffee, which we drank.

We all craved a smoke. Fortunately, the German haversacks were pretty well stocked with cigarettes and cigars. I got a handful of cigars off a dead German, and smoked them all morning. Also a tin of cigarettes. His chocolates also came in handy. Poor devil, he must have been a cheery soul when living, for he had a photograph of himself in his pocket, in a group with his wife and two children, and the picture made him look a jolly old sport. And here he was dead, with both legs missing! The trench (between ours and the wood) was stacked with dead. It was full of débris—bombs, shovels, and what not—and torn books, magazines, and newspapers. I came across a copy of Schiller's "Wallenstein."

Treatment of Wounded Germans

Hearing moans as I went along the trench, I looked into a shelter or hole dug in the side and found a young German. He could not move, as his legs were broken. He begged me to get him some water, so I hunted round and found a flask of cold coffee, which I held to his lips. He kept saying "Danke, Kamerad, danke, danke." However much you may hate the Germans when you are fighting them, you can only feel pity for them when you see them lying helpless and wounded on the ground. I saw this man afterward on his way to the dressing station. About ten yards further on was another German, minus a leg. He, too, craved water, but I could get him none, though I looked everywhere. Our men were very good to the German wounded. An Irishman's heart melts very soon. In fact, kindness and compassion for the wounded, our own and the enemy's, is about the only decent thing I have seen in war. It is not at all uncommon to see a British and German soldier side by side in the same shell hole nursing each other as best they can and placidly smoking cigarettes. A poor wounded German who hobbled into our trench in the morning, his face badly mutilated by a bullet—he whimpered and moaned as piteously as a child—was bound up by one of our officers, who took off his coat and set to work in earnest. Another German, whose legs were hit, was carried in by our men and put into a shell hole for safety, where he lay awaiting the stretcher bearers when we left. It is with a sense of pride that I can write this of our soldiers.

There was a counterattack on our left in the morning, and for a few minutes the machine guns were very active, but the Germans were beaten off. At last we were relieved, and made our way back, behind Guillemont, to be taken out of the line. We spent one night in a camp and next day came on here. I am writing this in a picturesque French village. You can see green fields and trees and stacks of corn and cattle when you look through the window. Here, at all events, "grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front." I am not alone in hoping that we shall not have to go back to that hellish place.

Well, now, that's the story of the great Irish charge at Ginchy, so far as I can tell it. I suppose by this time the great event has been forgotten by the English public. But it will never be forgotten by those who took part in it, for it is an event we shall remember with pride to the end of our days.

Need I tell you how proud we officers and men are of the Royal Irish Fusiliers who played as big a part as any in the storming of that stronghold, and who went into action shouting their old battle cry of "Faugh-a-Ballagh"—"Clear the way!"

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

The World Moves Slowly

—From Il 420, Florence.

"And still it moves"—as Galileo said—and in the end it will crush those who tried to seize it.

[English Cartoon]

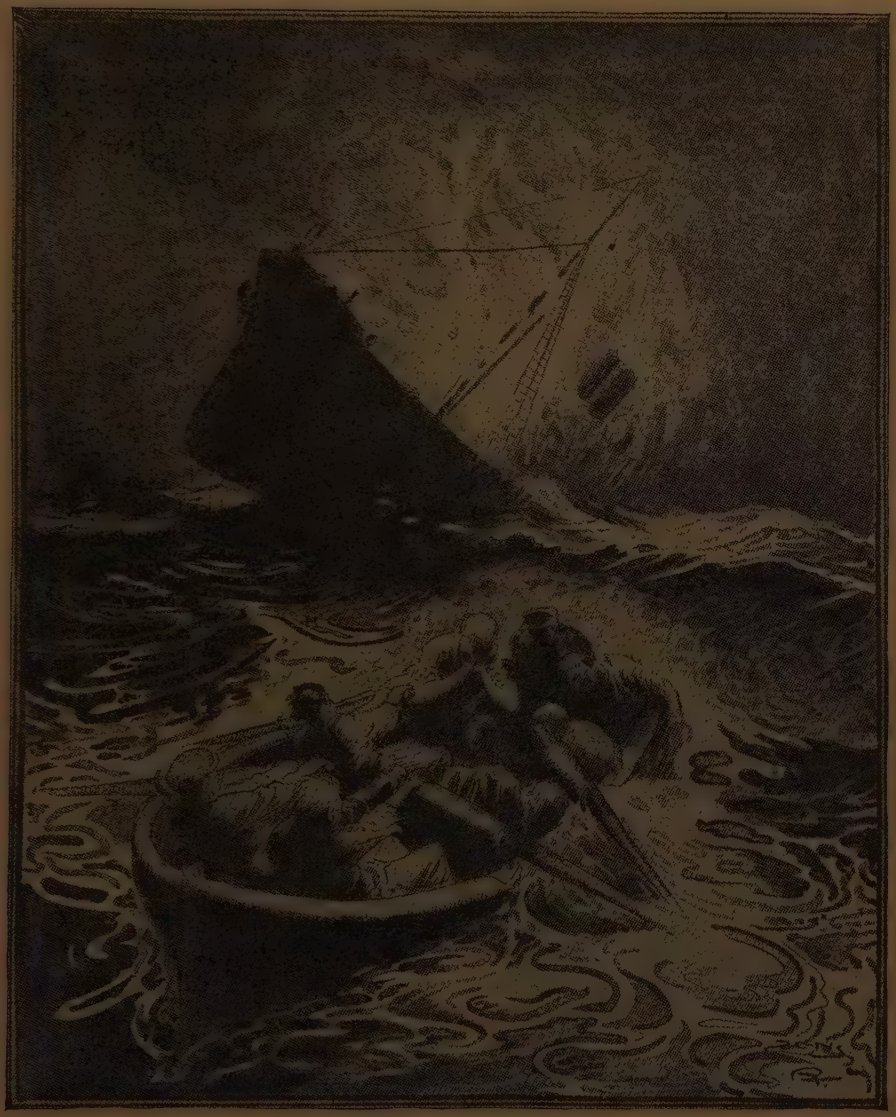
The Old Love and the New

—From Cassell's Saturday Journal.

MISS U-BOAT: "Will you love me as much three months later?"
WILLIAM (sotto voce): "I wonder!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]

U-Boat Morality

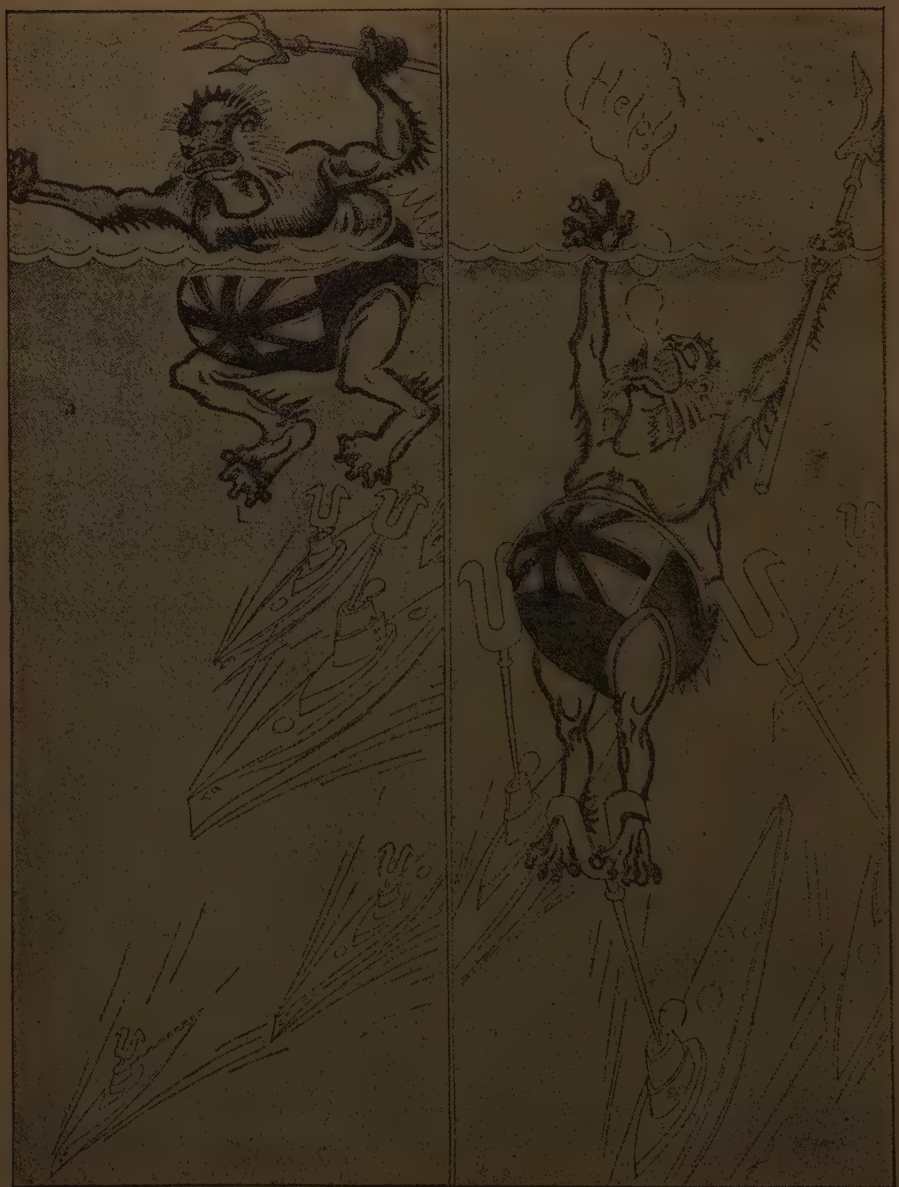


—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

"We are champions of the freedom of the seas."—German Claim.

[German Cartoon]

Britain and the U-Boats

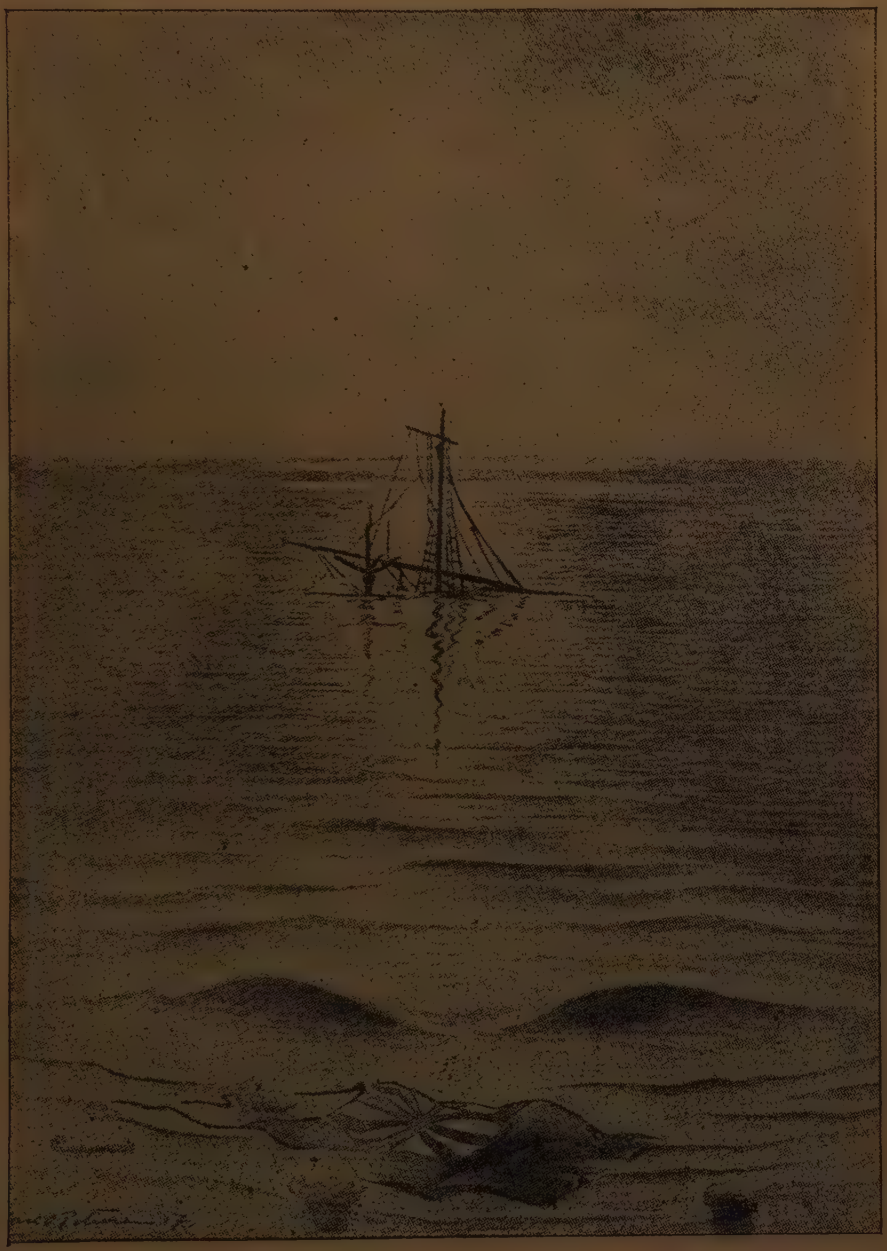


—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

RULER OF THE WAVES: "I will break Germany! I will smash Germany! I will . . . . !!!"

[German Cartoon]

"Still Lies the Sea!"



—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

[A German dream which is a long way from fulfillment.]

[English Cartoons]

A Naval Discovery

—From The Sunday Evening Telegram, London.

FATHER NEPTUNE (to John Bull and Brother Jonathan): "Well, boys, it's taken over a hundred years and Armageddon to convince you that my seas are intended not to divide, but to bring you together."

The Hope of the Family

—From The News of the World, London.

THE WOEFUL WARRIOR: "He is our last hope, Willie dear, and he's sinking fast!"

[American Cartoon]

Getting Hotter Every Minute

—*From The New York Times.*

[Spanish Cartoon]

The German Note to Spain

—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

GERMANY (to Spain): "Bless you, my dear, you are the only one who has stood by me. You shall be rewarded afterward."

[English Cartoon]

The Junk Sale at Stockholm

—From The Passing Show, London.

AUCTIONEER BETHMANN (to Russia): "Going! Going! this wonderful peace masterpiece. Just the thing for a democratic art lover's parlor!"

[French Cartoon]

Blind Leaders of the Blind

In due time they will fall into the ditch. —*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

[Figures, right to left: Hindenburg, Kaiser Wilhelm, Crown Prince, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Charles of Austria, Mohammed V. of Turkey.]

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Stockholm Conference

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

[English Cartoon]

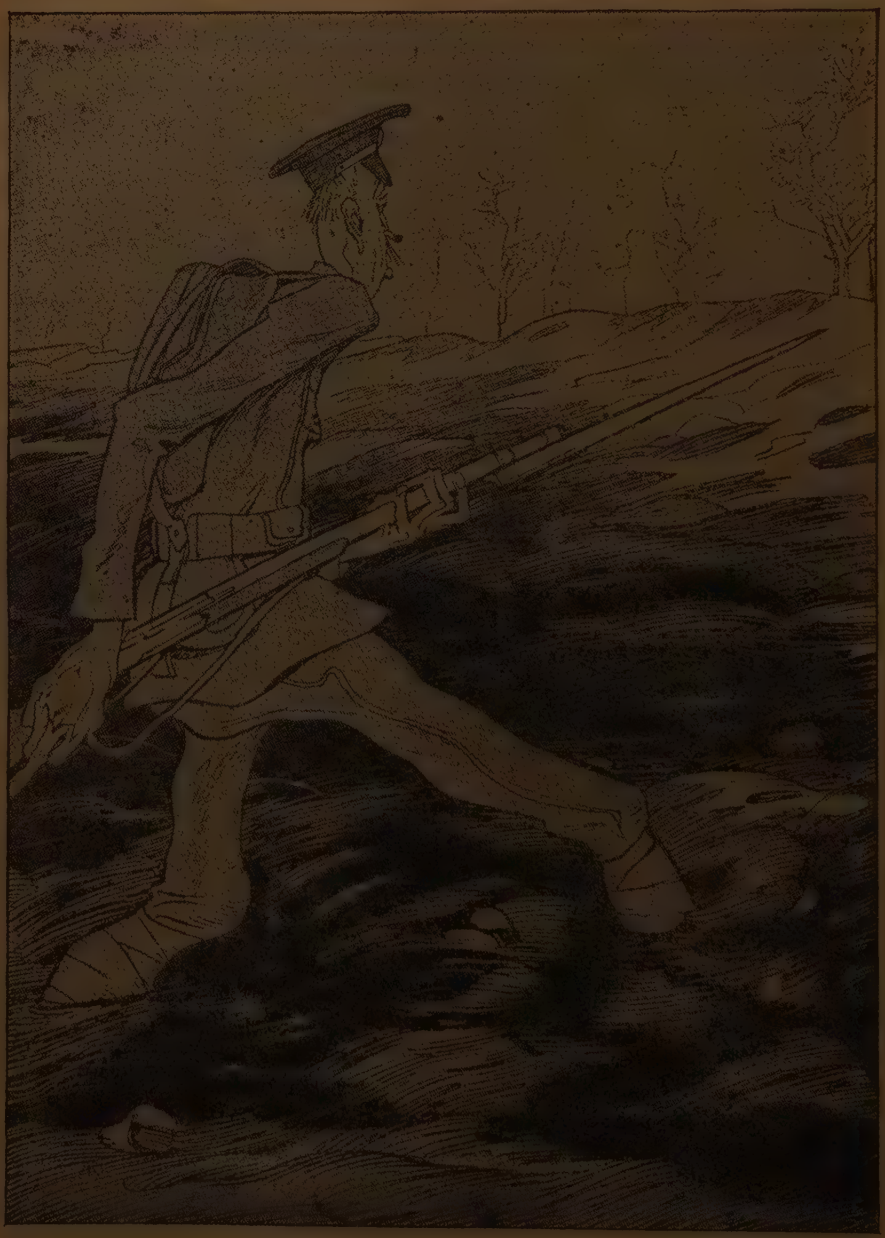
St. George and the Pacifist

—From The London Evening News.

PEACE CRANK: "Before you go on with this conflict you must give me your word that you will do nothing really injurious to the dragon."

[German Cartoon]

Germany's Clever Retreat



—From Kladderdatsch, Berlin.

BRITISH TOMMY: "Where are those confounded Germans?"

[French Cartoon]

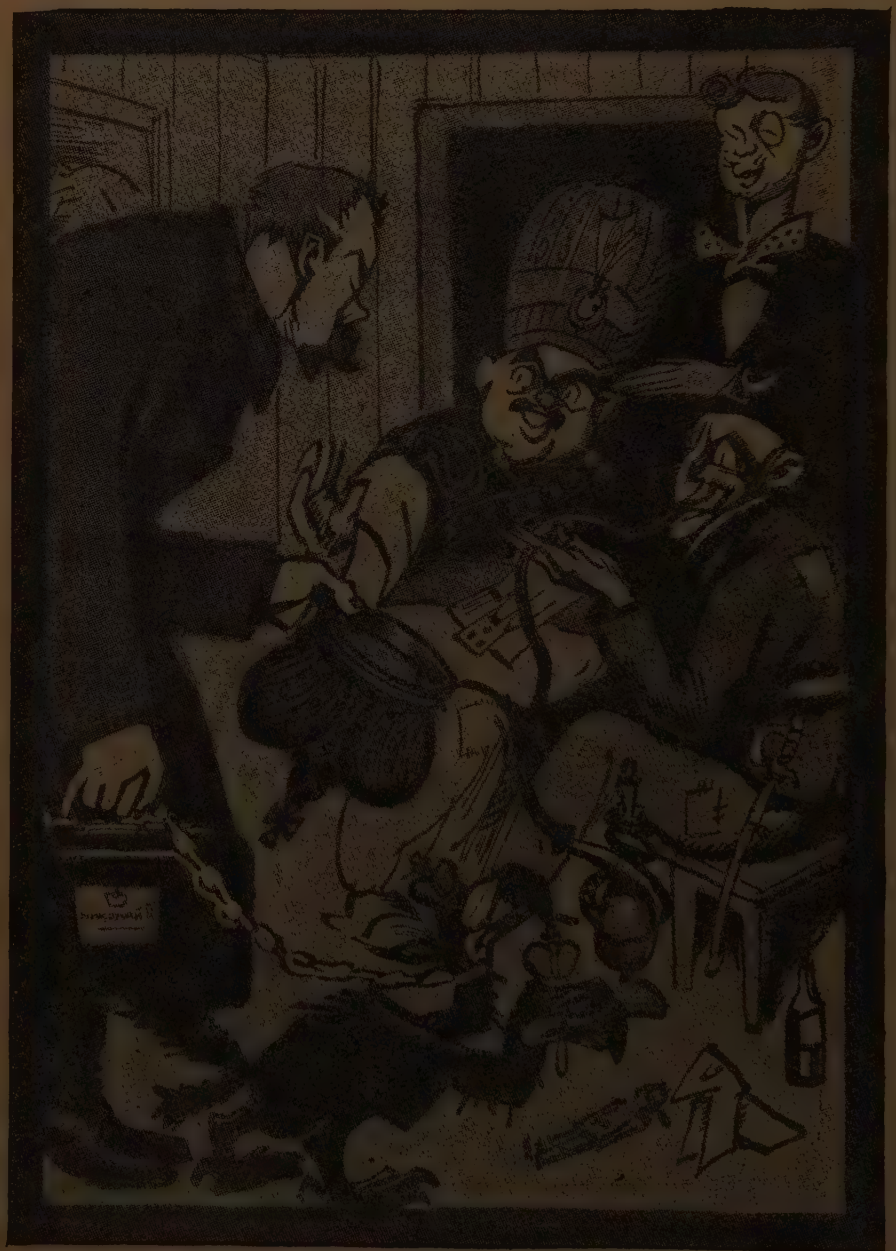
In the Torture Chamber at Nuremberg

—*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

GERMAN MOTHER: "All these instruments, my boy, will be useful after our victory—with the aid of the good old God."

[Russian Cartoon]

Company for Nicholas



—From Novi Satiricon, Petrograd.

"Ha, ha! Here is a fourth partner. Now we can play whist!"
[The other three are the ex-Shah of Persia, ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, and ex-King Manuel of Portugal.]

[German Cartoon]

Wartime Punch and Judy

—*From Der Brummer, Berlin.*

MARS: "Whose turn next?"
BRITAIN: "Please, Sir, take Ivan next!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Choice of Hercules

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

The Russian Hercules is at the parting of the ways. Which will he choose?

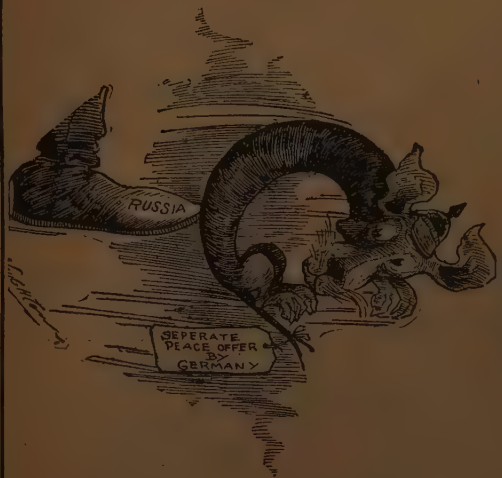
[Dutch Cartoon]

A Difficult Problem

—*From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

PEACE ANGEL: "I don't see where I can ever get hold of it."

Russia's Answer



—*Duluth Herald.*

"Oh, Say, Can You See?"

—*Knoxville Journal and Tribune.*

"— and Greece!"

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

The Middleman

—*Mobile Register.*

Find the Producer and the Consumer.

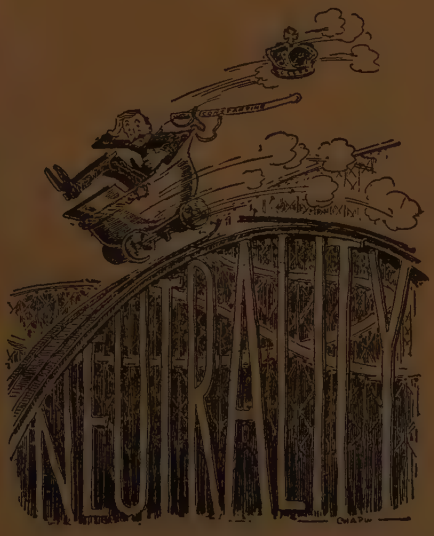
A Late Spring

—*Mobile Register.*

Blind the Enemy!

—*Baltimore American.*

How Constantine Lost His Crown



—*St. Louis Republic.*

Bars of Gold

—*Memphis Commercial Appeal.*

Who Next?

—*New York World.*

That Draft Gives Him a Chill

—*Los Angeles Times.*

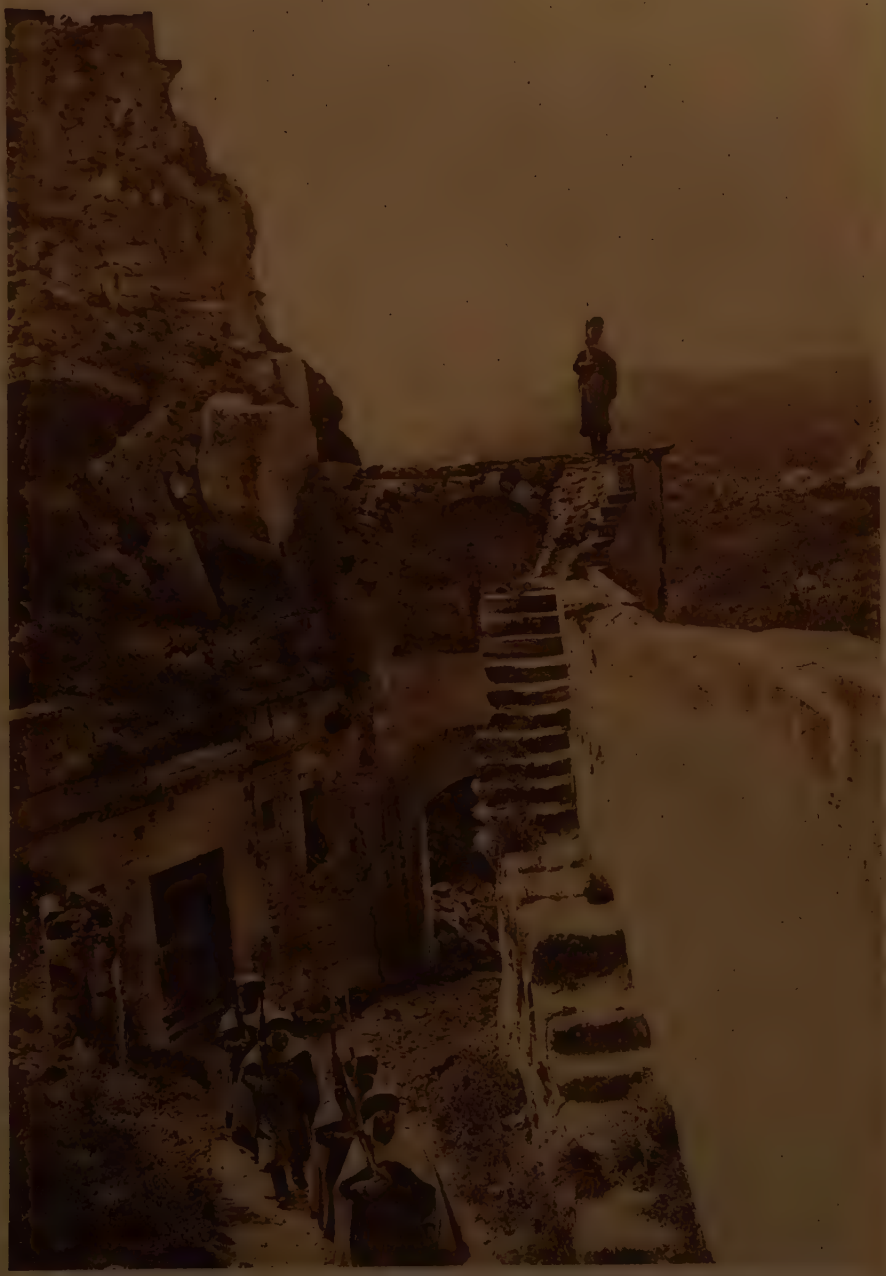
When Charlie Begins Strafing

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

In the Wrong Shop

—*St. Joseph News-Press.*

ALGERIAN TROOPS IN FRANCE.



Spahis, native Algerian cavalry, recuperating after a campaign, visiting the ruins of the ancient village of St. Remy at the mouth of the River Rhone.

(French Official Photo from Pictorial Press)

A BRITISH CAMP ON FORMER GERMAN LINES

A photograph taken from a kite balloon showing the winding course of trenches formerly held by the Germans, with a British encampment in the background.

(Photo American Press Association)

AN EXAMPLE OF THE WORK OF THE CAMOUFLAGE

A road hidden by screens painted to blend with the surrounding scenery and covered so that aerial observers will think they see grass below them.

(French Official Photo. from Pictorial Press)

A HUMAN EPISODE OF THE GREAT WAR

This striking photograph reveals a poignant moment in the drama of a German prisoner who is being questioned by his French captors in the hope that he may divulge facts of military importance.

DR. GEORG MICHAELIS

Germany's new Imperial Chancellor, successor to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, and head of a complete new Imperial and Prussian administration

(Photo Central News)

ALEXANDER F. KERENSKY

Premier of Russia, on whom the new Republic is depending for a successful issue, both to its external dangers and its internal troubles

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

CURRENT HISTORY

A Monthly Magazine of The New York Times

Published by The New York Times Company, Times Square, New York, N. Y.

Vol. VI. } No. 3 September, 1917 25 Cents a Copy
Part II. } $3.00 a Year

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

MUSTERING OUR ARMED FORCES:
America's First Million Fighting Men Mobilized 381
The Conscript Army in the Making 384
An Appeal to American Patriotism . . . . . By Julius Kahn 387
The United States Army in France 388

FOOD DICTATOR FOR THE UNITED STATES 389

POPE BENEDICT'S APPEAL FOR PEACE: Official Text 392

MILITARY EVENTS OF THE MONTH . . . . . By Walter Littlefield 394
The Battle of Flanders 400
A German Word Picture of the British Attack in Flanders 403

U-BOAT DESTRUCTION OF SHIPPING 405

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED . . . . Interpretative Summaries 406

PROGRESS OF THE WAR: Chronology to Aug. 19 415

GRAND TACTICS OF THREE YEARS OF WARFARE . By T. G. Frothingham 419

ESTIMATES OF WAR CASUALTIES 427

ARRIVAL OF THE JAPANESE MISSION AND OTHER ENVOYS 429

SERBIA'S PLAN OF REORGANIZATION 431

RUSSIA PASSES THROUGH DEEP WATERS: Kerensky's New Leadership . 433
Paris Conference on Balkan Affairs 438

THE SOCIALISTS IN THE WAR: Their Pacifist Activities 439
Peace Program of Belgian Socialists: Vandervelde's Manifesto . . . 445

GERMAN SOCIALISM AND THE WAR . . . . By Richard Dobson 447

THE APPALLING WASTE OF THE WAR . . . . . By Hall Caine 452

SECRETARY LANSING ON OUR WAR AIMS 455

Contents Continued on Next Page

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CONTENTS—*Continued*

		PAGE
WAR FOR AMERICAN HONOR AND LIVES	By Senator Borah	460
THE BATTLE OF THE CHANCELLERIES:		
Premier Lloyd George's Reply to German Chancellor		464
Reply of Dr. Michaelis to Lloyd George		467
The "Potsdam Plot" and Countercharges		469
The Kaiser's Message to President Wilson		473
The Kaiser Contradicts Himself	By Stephen Lauzanne	474
Italy's Position Defined by Baron Sonnino		476
Germany's Attitude Toward Restoration		479
THE FIGHTING FORCES OF FRANCE	By Andre Tardieu	481
RESULTS OF THREE YEARS OF WAR	By Major General Maurice	483
GENERAL ROBERTSON ON THE SITUATION		484
SERBIA PLUNDERED BY CONQUERORS: An Official Statement		485
A GERMAN VERSION OF THE MARNE	By Joseph Reinach	487
How Paris Was Saved	By General Clergerie	495
A German Sailor's Account of the Jutland Battle		497
Heartrending Scenes in Belgium		498
MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE WAR. VII.	By Major Edwin W. Dayton	499
BERLIN AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAR	By Professor F. Sefton Delmer	508
LIFE IN DENMARK'S LOST PROVINCE	By Gudrun Randrup Toksvig	512
$640,000,000 FOR AMERICAN AVIATION CORPS		514
SOME HISTORIC AIRPLANE RAIDS		516
A German Airman's Story of a Raid on London		521
Ear Disturbances Suffered by Aviators	By P. Lacroix, M. D.	523
Airplanes and Gas Bombs: New and Deadly Developments		525
JAPAN'S PART IN THE WAR	By Gardner L. Harding	528
THE ARABS AND THE TURKS IN THE WAR	By Dr. J. F. Scheltema	531
GENERAL HAIG'S OFFICIAL REPORT. II. The German Retreat		534
THE MESOPOTAMIAN DISASTER: British Commission's Report		538
REPORT ON THE CAPTURE OF BAGDAD	By General Sir Stanley Maude	544
THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS: 34 Cartoons, All Nations		551

ROTOGRAVURE ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Dr. Georg Michaelis	*Frontis*	Vice Admiral Geddes	459
Alexander F. Kerensky	"	M. I. Terestchenko	474
Drawing Conscript Numbers	394	M. Painleve	475
American Troops in France	395	China's New President	506
Map of Flanders Front	410	The King of Siam	507
Map of Russian Front	411	British Entering Bagdad	522
General Sir William Robertson	426	New German Airplane	522
General L. G. Korniloff	427	Interned Germans in America	523
King George, Admiral Beatty	458	Canal Monitors in France	Extra
		Russian Soldiers Celebrating	"

MUSTERING OUR ARMED FORCES

America's First Million of Fighting Men Mobilized and Ready to Begin Training for the Front

ONE of the most notable advances in the preparations of the United States to take part in the European war came with the conclusion of the effort to bring the regular army up to war strength. This was accomplished on Aug. 9, 1917, when the 183,898 men required at the beginning of the recruiting campaign on April 1 were at last enlisted. More than four months were thus occupied in reaching the maximum war strength of 300,000 men. The average daily enlistments during the 141 days were 1,300. But, despite its having now reached its war strength, volunteers for the regular army have since been coming forward in considerable numbers, so that on Aug. 20 the total was more than 10,000 in excess of the number originally required.

A further addition to the nation's military forces was made on Aug. 5, when the National Guard was drafted into Federal service. More than 300,000 men in the guard units were discharged from State service, and with enlistments which have since taken place the National Guard now numbers about 350,000. Add this to the regular army, and we find that the United States now has 650,000 men under arms. These figures do not include the 40,000 men in officers' training camps. Finally, when the 687,000 men of the first conscript army are under arms, the United States will have over 1,300,000 men in its land forces. If the training of these men proceeds without delay, the United States ought to have its first million men on the firing line at the beginning of the Summer of 1918. Early in September the first section of the National Army—raised by draft—will be in camp. From now onward all these men will form one great army, since regulars, guardsmen, and conscripts, together with the newly trained officers, will be merged into a single fighting force.

Comparison With Peace Forces

Within five months of America's entry into the war the nation will have raised over a million men, a fact which can be more fully appreciated by looking back a few years to the small army which was considered adequate for the defense of the United States in times of peace. In 1880 the actual strength of the regular army was 26,509, in 1890 it was 27,095, in 1900 it was 69,155, and in 1910 it was 77,035. At the beginning of 1916 it had increased to 5,016 officers and 92,973 enlisted men, including 5,733 Philippine Scouts.

But the year 1916 saw important developments. The Mexican raid on March 9, 1916, caused Congress to authorize an increase of 20,000, while the National Defense act of June 3, 1916, which was passed at a time when there was no thought of the United States intervening in the war, provided an aggregate war strength—including officers and special corps and services of all kinds—of 301,375. But when the United States declared war in April, 1917, over 180,000 enlisted men were required to bring the army up to this figure. The National Guard before the war had about 8,500 officers and 123,000 enlisted men.

At that time it was calculated that the United States could put into the field not more than 80,000 men at the utmost. It follows, then, that practically the whole army which will be ready to go to the front in 1918 will be an entirely new fighting force, created since America entered the war.

Navy and Army Totals

The naval forces have not been included in these figures. It was officially announced on Aug. 18 that since the United States declared war approximately 1,300,000 men had offered themselves for service in the naval and military forces of the country. Of this number, not includ-

ing those who have been commissioned from the training camps, 448,859 had been accepted since April 1.

The total number serving on Aug. 18 in the armed forces—all volunteers—on land and sea was 943,141 men, not including the 687,000 men who are being drafted and who will go into training camps in September and October. Since the United States became a belligerent in April, 121,514 men who had volunteered for service in the navy, marine corps, and other sea forces had been accepted. In the regular army the increase since April 1 by voluntary enlistment had been 190,347, and in the National Guard 136,998, making a total of 327,345 recruits accepted in the army branches, and a grand total of 448,859 for both land and sea forces.

Even this figure does not include all who have been accepted for service, for there have been additions to the different reserve corps, but these figures are not all available. The largest single item is that of 27,341 added to the list of land officers representing the young men commissioned from the first series of training camps.

The land forces on Aug. 18 were:

	Officers	Enlisted Men.
Regular army	6,700	298,996
National Guard	11,000	800,000
Reserve Corps	10,500	55,487
Res. Corps (train. camps)	27,341	.....
Total	55,541	654,483
		55,541
Total land forces		710,024

The sea forces are as follows:

Regular navy, enlisted men	138,500
Naval Reserves, enlisted men	35,000
Naval Militia in Federal service, enlisted men	11,000
Hospital Corps, regular navy, enlisted men	6,000
Hospital Corps, Naval Reserves, enlisted men	400
Marine Corps, officers and enlisted men	33,117
Total	224,077
Approximate number of naval officers	9,040
Total	233,117

The total forces on the date named were:

Land forces	710,024
Sea forces	233,117
Total forces	943,141

The enlistments since the declaration of war (in the case of the army since April 1) were as follows:

Regular navy	73,880
Naval Reserve forces	25,000
Hospital Corps	4,400
National naval volunteers	1,500
Marine Corps	16,734
Total naval forces	121,514
Regular army	190,347
National Guard	136,998
Total land forces	327,345
Grand total	448,859

New System of Organization

The changes in warfare during the last three years have been responsible for an important change in American Army organization. The new scheme is outlined in the following general order issued by the War Department on Aug. 7:

"The ratio of artillery strength to infantry is greatly increased. A division will hereafter include only four infantry regiments in two brigades in place of the old division of three brigades, each comprising three regiments of infantry. There will still be three regiments of field artillery in each division. Thus, in the new organization, there will be three regiments of field artillery to every four regiments of infantry instead of the ratio of three to nine. In addition, a trench mortar battery is attached to each division.

"The machine gun arm is also materially enlarged. A machine gun battalion of four companies has been made a unit of each division, in addition to the three machine gun companies included in each regiment.

Each Division 19,000 Men

"The American division will be made by this order to confirm practically to the units utilized by the Entente Allies, among whom a division numbers approximately 19,000 men. The reason for the change is that the division as heretofore made up of about 28,000 men is too unwieldy for the demands of trench warfare. With so large a unit, sure and

swift communication with all parts is difficult. The problem to be met was basically one of mobility for the peculiar needs of fighting on the western front.

"The smaller sized units call for maintenance of all units at full fighting strength. For this purpose reserve battalions will be provided. These will consist of 612 men each and are listed in the general order as 'separate training battalions.' The number of these battalions has not been made public. Details of regimental organization are also withheld for military reasons.

"The new order provides for army corps and armies, units which have practically existed only on paper since the civil war. Corps were organized during the Spanish war, but were not actually operated as such to any great extent.

Three Divisions to a Corps

"Each army corps will consist of three infantry divisions, corps headquarters, and certain army corps troops not specified. Each army will normally consist of three or more army corps, army headquarters, and certain army troops not specified.

"Under the new order each infantry division will be composed as follows, the changes from the present organization being as indicated:

"One division headquarters, (same as at present.)

"One machine gun battalion of four companies, (new.)

"Two infantry brigades of two regiments and one machine gun battalion (four companies) each. (The present division is three infantry brigades of three regiments each.)

"One field artillery brigade of three regiments and one trench mortar battery, (same, except trench mortar battery, is new.)

"One field signal battalion, (same.)

"One train headquarters and military police, (same.)

"One ammunition train, (same.)

"One supply train, (same.)

"One engineer train, (same, except that pontoon and searchlights sections are not included in new plan.)

"One sanitary train of four field hospital companies and four ambulance companies, (same.)

"The new organization provides for no cavalry in the division. The division as at present constituted calls for one regiment of cavalry. The present division also calls for one aero squadron, while the new plan calls for none, the aircraft units being otherwise provided for.

"The order specifies sixteen divisions of the National Army to be organized and numbered from 76 to 91, both inclusive, and states the numbers to be given to each of the different units in each division. It provides that the sixteen divisions of the National Guard now organized shall be reorganized to conform to the new plan as soon as practicable after their arrival in the training camps.

"The regular army, the National Guard, and the National Army will all conform to the same plan."

So far as the regulars are concerned, the reorganization already has been carried out for the units now in France.

Sixteen Weeks of Training

A large number of French officers have been selected by the French War Office to assist in the training of the new armies. France has also furnished aviation specialists for the instruction of American officers as well as a number of artillery specialists, who are giving the benefit of their experience to American artillery men at the Army School of Fire at Fort Sill, Okla. There are several French officers in Washington who have been in daily conference at the War College and the War Department. These officers will be attached to the staffs of the thirty-seven Major Generals recently announced to command the national army divisions.

The plans of the War Department call for sixteen weeks, or virtually four months, intensive training, for the National Army and the National Guard in the cantonments. According to this plan, the first of these men should complete their training in January. On account of difficulties of transportation the probabilities are that American troops will be sent to France in a steady stream as fast as transports are available to send

them. A considerable number of picked National Guard officers are now undergoing special training at the War College in Washington. This special instruction covers the whole field of modern warfare as now developed in Europe.

The number of applications for the second series of officers' training camps was much larger than was at first expected. The figures made public by the Adjutant General showed a total of 72,914, of whom 51,838 passed the physical examinations. This work was accomplished in a month, as the applications were opened June 15 and closed July 15. It was originally stated that the War Department would choose for the second series of camps about 16,000 applicants. Applications came in very slowly at first, but increased with unexpected rapidity during the last ten days, as a result of the active campaign of the War Department. The camps opened on Aug. 27.

Forty-seven Major Generals

President Wilson on Aug. 14 sent to the Senate the names of 37 Major Generals and 147 Brigadier Generals whom he had appointed as general officers in the National Army. The appointments are for the period of the war. These officers may be assigned to the regular army, the National Guard army, or the National Army. All the thirty-five Brigadier Generals in the regular army were promoted to be Major Generals, and two officers of the National Guard were likewise promoted.

These, with the ten Major Generals of the regular army already in office, give the United States a total of forty-seven Major Generals.

Following are the names of the Brigadiers of the regular army who have been made Major Generals:

William A. Mann,
James Parker,
Eben Swift,
Edward H. Plummer,
Edwin F. Glenn,
A. P. Blocksom,
Henry A. Greene,
Francis H. French,
Charles J. Bailey,
George Bell, Jr.,
F. S. Strong,
Harry F. Hodges,
C. P. Townsley,
E. St. J. Greble,
Francis J. Kernan,
John F. Biddle,
George T. Bartlett,
Henry C. Hodges, Jr.,
Joseph T. Dickman,
Charles G. Treat,
Adelbert Cronkhite,
Henry T. Allen,
William H. Sage,
Clarence R. Edwards,
John W. Ruckman,
Chase W. Kennedy,
Omar Bundy,
Harry C. Hale,
R. M. Blatchford,
Samuel D. Sturgis,
David C. Shanks,
William M. Wright,
Robert L. Bullard,
Joseph E. Kuhn,
Peyton C. March.

The National Guard officers made Major Generals of the army are:

Major Gen. Charles M. Clement, Pennsylvania.
Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, New York.

The Major Generals already in office in the regular army are:

John J. Pershing,
Leonard Wood,
J. Franklin Bell,
Thomas H. Barry,
Hugh L. Scott,
Tasker H. Bliss,
Erasmus M. Weaver,
Hunter Liggett,
Henry G. Sharpe,
William C. Gorgas.

One hundred and five Colonels of the regular army and two Lieutenant Colonels of that service were appointed Brigadier Generals of the National Army; also thirty Brigadier Generals of the National Guard and nine National Guard Colonels. The new officers are to rank from Aug. 5, 1917.

It was announced on Aug. 14 that the first National Guard division to be sent to France would be the Forty-second, to be formed immediately out of troops from twenty-six States and commanded by Major Gen. William A. Mann. Three days later the War Department had completed plans for sending another composite division, the Forty-third, to be made up of National Guard troops from twenty-four States.

The Conscript Army in the Making

The second step toward the development of the National Army was taken on July 20 when a drawing by lot at Washington decided the order in which the nine and a half million men who had registered on June 5 should be called up for examination. The great national lottery created far more interest and discussion than either the enactment of the conscription law or the registration of the nation's young men.

The War Department had devised a

simple system of deciding the order of all registrants in each of the 4,557 local registration districts. As the total registered in any one district did not exceed 10,500, all that was necessary was to draw all numbers up to that number. When the drawing was complete, the list of rearranged numbers enabled every man to see at a glance when he would be required to report for examination. Thus, the first number drawn was 258, and the man in each district who had received that number was the first to report to the local board. If there were not 258 men in the district, then the first man called was the one holding the first sufficiently low number drawn at Washington. It took sixteen and a half hours to draw the 10,500 numbers.

A Historic Occasion

The drawing of the numbers was made the occasion of an interesting ceremony. The scene was one of the rooms in the Senate Office Building, and the centre of the stage was taken by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. He opened the proceedings with a brief address, in which he said:

> We have met this morning to conduct the lot or draft by which the national army and such additions as may be necessary to bring the regular army and the National Guard up to war strength are to be selected. This is an occasion of very great dignity and some solemnity. It represents the first application of a principle believed by many of us to be throughly democratic, equal and fair in selecting soldiers to defend the national honor abroad and at home.
>
> I take this occasion to say that every step has been most honestly studied with a view not only to preserving throughout the utmost fairness in the selection, but also to preserve all those appearances of fairness which are necessary to satisfy the country that this great selection has been made in accordance with every principle of justice.
>
> There are assembled here this morning in addition to officers of the army, who are going to conduct for the most part the mechanical part of the work, the Chief of Staff, the Adjutant General, and other men high in the military establishment, and the drawing is to be held under the observation of the Senate and House Military Committees, so that both the executive and legislative branches of the Government are here to see that fairness is given to every person.

Secretary Baker then introduced General Crowder, who succinctly explained the process of the lottery and the program of the War Department to acquaint each one of the men registered on June 5 with information regarding the priority of his examination for service with the National Army. As General Crowder concluded, a handkerchief was tied about the eyes of Secretary Baker, the camera squad focused their instruments, the calcium light of the movie operators played upon the big blackboards in the rear, and the lottery began.

Drawing the First Numbers

Secretary Baker plunged his hand into the large glass jar containing the 10,500 numbers inclosed in capsules and drew one, announcing to the spectators, "I have drawn the first number." A clerk assigned by the War Department opened the capsule and announced "258." An officer seated at the long table upon which were spread the tally sheets repeated the number, and another clerk walked to a large blackboard at the rear and wrote upon it the figures. Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, likewise blindfolded, drew the second number. He was plainly nervous. His hand was guided to the top of the jar, which was fourteen inches in diameter. "The second number is 2,522," said the announcer, and again there came the click of the cameras, the rustle of copy paper, and the murmur of excited men and women who thronged the committee room.

Members of Congress and high officials of the army attended the start of the drawing. Eight numbers were drawn by officials before the ceremony became routine, with students from various universities acting as the blindfolded withdrawers of the fateful capsules. Chairman Dent of the House Committee on Military Affairs drew the third gelatin capsule from the jar. The number within was 9,613. In turn Senator Warren, Representative Kahn, the ranking Republican of the House Committee on Military Affairs; Major Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Acting Chief of Staff; Provost Marshal General Enoch H. Crowder, and Adjt. Gen. McCain were blindfolded and led to the glass bowl.

A round of applause greeted the appearance of General Crowder, who had worked tirelessly for days perfecting the details of the nation-wide lottery. Adjt. Gen. McCain, too, was applauded by the throng which crowded the committee rooms. Members of the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs and other members of Congress occupied seats of honor at the drawing.

The unprecedented ceremony seemed particularly to impress Representative Julius Kahn, who had led the Administration's fight in the House for the Army Draft bill. "It is an inspiring sight," he commented as he left the room soon after the proceedings settled down to a routine basis. Mr. Kahn was born in Germany and came to the United States when a child. The thrilling statement printed at the end of this article was issued by him on July 20. As the eighth number was drawn by an official, Secretary Baker said: "We will wait a "moment while the photographers re- "move their apparatus. Meanwhile I "want to ask that perfect quiet prevail. "This is a most important occasion and "absolute quiet is necessary."

Work of Regular Tellers

John H. Phillips, a student of Princeton University, was the first "regular teller" who took his place at the glass jar and began to draw out the capsules —black looking affairs, because the paper upon which the numbers were written was coated black on the outer surface. It was impossible for any one to examine the exterior of a capsule and ascertain the number within. The blindfolding lent an additional touch of the dramatic to the event, but it was unnecessary. Every few minutes Major Gen. C. A. Devol, delegated by Secretary Baker to guard the glass container, walked over to stir the capsules with a long wooden spoon. On the handle of the spoon was a piece of bunting, red, white, and blue. General Devol stirred deeply, bringing the capsules at the bottom to the top and a few moments later sending the capsules at the top to the bottom. While this stirring process was on there was a momentary pause in the recording of the numbers. The only interruptions were the frequent changes of tired announcers and tabulators and the removal of the blackboards. When a group of 500 numbers had been written the first section of the board was taken out to be photographed to establish an absolute record, while a second section was substituted.

The lottery ended at 2:15 o'clock on the morning of July 21, and later the same day the figures were officially checked and rechecked in the office of General Crowder. There were a number of tally sheets kept simultaneously, in addition to the recording of the drawn numbers on two blackboards, and every number was gone over and checked by a force of experts under the supervision of army officers. The result of the drawing was set into type at the Government Printing Office. "Master sheets" containing the numbers in the order in which they were drawn were then sent by General Crowder to each Governor and distributed to each local registration board.

Appointing the District Boards

Another step accomplished was the appointment of the district boards of the States and the announcement of the names of the five men who composed each of them. Some States have six or eight boards to ease the task, Federal judicial districts, the areas used for geographical location of the boards, being divided into two or three parts for that purpose and a separate board named for each. These district boards have no function until the local boards in their territory have begun to certify to them the men found fitted for military duty physically and not burdened with dependents. The higher boards are courts of appeal, either for the individual or for the Government, against the findings of the local boards. The whole question of industrial exemption, however, has been turned over directly to these district boards, which have original jurisdiction in all cases of this kind. They are sole judges of any registered man's field of greatest service to the nation, whether in the army or in the munition factory, business house, or other civilian occupation in which he is engaged. Each case

is weighed on its merits and the value of the individual, for there is no blanket exemption for the other classes specifically named in the law. Even they must file affidavits showing their status, to be supported in such matters as the board may determine.

The War Department, having completed the work of deciding the order in which registrants should be called for examination, drew up a list showing the quota which each State would have to furnish toward the 687,000 men required in the first draft. Each State in turn determined the quotas for its registration districts. To allow for exemptions, the number called up in each district was double that of the quota, but as it was soon found, when the examinations began at the end of July, that there was a very high percentage of rejects on physical grounds and an unexpectedly higher percentage of claims for exemption, many more men on the lists had to be called up. At this writing the work of examination is proceeding all over the country.

Sporadic cases of resistance to the execution of the conscription law were reported from some parts of the country, mostly in the South and Southwest. At the outset most of the agitation was in the mountain regions of the South, but it spread later to other districts, and one of the most serious revolts against the law was in Texas. The Department of Justice was informed that fifty-three members of the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association had been indicted in the United States court at Dallas for an organized attempt to resist the draft. In Oklahoma farmers were reported to have armed to prevent Federal officers from executing the draft law. There was also said to be organized resistance in Georgia. Through an agent of the Internal Revenue Service the Department of Justice learned of a revolt against the draft in Western North Carolina.

An Appeal to American Patriotism

Representative Julius Kahn of California, a German-born American, made the following statement on the occasion of the drawing of the numbers under the conscription law on July 20, 1917:

For the fourth time in our history we are ready to fight for the right of American citizens to sail the seas untrammeled. Our first difficulty after the Revolution was with France. In 1798 we broke off diplomatic relations with that Government. We ordered the immediate construction of a fleet of many vessels. Washington was appointed, by act of Congress, commander of the American forces. France had interfered with our ships and our shipping. We were determined to fight rather than submit. France yielded our rights, and the incident was closed.

In 1812 we fought England for the rights of American citizens on the seas. Every schoolboy is familiar with the history of that war. In 1815 we threw down the gage of battle for the third time and fought the Barbary corsairs who interfered with American ships in the Mediterranean. We brought them to terms and compelled them to recognize American rights on the seas without the payment of any tribute.

Now we are at war with Germany to protect again the rights of Americans on the seas. Today the National Army of the United States is being formed through the medium of the draft. Hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of 21 and 31 years will give their lives, if need be, to the service of the country.

To those who were drawn to bear the burdens of the Republic on the field of battle I would like to recall an incident in our national life. In 1798, when we broke off relations with France, the Congress appointed George Washington as commander of the American forces. He was in retirement at Mount Vernon. The Secretary of War himself brought the commission to General Washington and announced to him the action of Congress.

Washington was in the field at the time harvesting his crops. When the matter was stated to him by the Secretary of War, he said:

"I am ready for any service that I can give to my country."

In that spirit I am sure the young men of this day will accept their obligation to the Republic. In that spirit they will again show the world that American rights must be observed by all the world. In that spirit they will make it possible for future generations to continue still to enjoy the blessings of liberty which this country vouchsafed to its humblest citizens. In that spirit they will again carry the American colors to victory, and may God defend the right.

The United States Army in France

The number of American soldiers in France is gradually increasing as additional contingents arrive, and the training of these men with the assistance of French and British instructors is making excellent progress. These are the two principal facts of the last month regarding the United States Army in France.

The entire army is divided into squads, the majority of which are billeted out with the inhabitants of the district in which the training camp is located. The first official inspection of the camp and the quarters where troops are billeted was made by Major Gen. William L. Sibert on July 19. The result of the inspection was apparently satisfactory in the main, for the General criticised but seldom, and everywhere had a good word for the results achieved by the troops in cleaning up the quarters into which they had moved. The encampment has almost metamorphosed the thoroughly and distinctively French town into an American community, notwithstanding the fact that the soldiers have taken notable pains to adapt themselves to the customs and habits of their hosts.

Actual intensive training began on July 25. Trenches were dug in the way of practice with an enthusiasm almost equal to that with which soldiers dig themselves in under actual artillery fire. These trenches were of full depth and were duplicates of certain sections of the front line, consisting of front, or fire, trenches, support trenches, and reserve trenches, with intricate communication trenches connecting them. Dummies were constructed for bayonet practice, and the men taught the six most vital points of attack. Later instruction in the use of gas masks was begun under British officers.

General Pershing made a thorough inspection of the training centres on Aug. 1 and 2. He also inspected various places suggested for his field quarters, in anticipation of removing from Paris to near the troops in training. At the end of the first day's inspection General Pershing said:

> Our principal concern just now, of course, is to perfect the army organization. This is a big task, but it is moving along smoothly and in a most satisfactory manner.
>
> The work at certain ports of disembarkation is well started. Railroad material is coming over as rapidly as can be arranged. The progress we have made thus far with the assistance of the French is a source of great satisfaction to me. Billets and training ground for the men are as well located as could be expected at this time of the year, when space is limited by crops in the field.
>
> After these are removed we shall have plenty of space for lodging and training the divisions that are to come. Some of the places where men are now sleeping are not all that could be desired, but this soon will be remedied by the construction of portable barracks. Training is progressing very well with the assistance of the French.

Official announcement was made on July 18 that the United States transport service was taking over control of the French railroad lines from the port bases to the permanent camp and the front. Tracks were laid and sidings enlarged.

A section of the French State forests has been turned over to the United States. American lumbermen are taking out lumber for railroad ties, barracks, and other purposes. In addition to this, 30,000 tons of lumber are being imported from America monthly.

Troops Greeted in London

A great demonstration took place in London on Aug. 15, when a large contingent of United States troops marched

through the streets, escorted by all the famous bands of the Guards, English, Scotch, and Irish, and were reviewed by Ambassador Page and Admiral Sims from the balcony of the embassy in Grosvenor Gardens, and afterward by King George at Buckingham Palace. British soldiers on their way to the front and wounded men recentiy sent back from the firing line joined in the demonstration, the like of which had not been witnessed since the frenzied scenes which marked the return of the troops from the Boer war.

A meeting of the Cabinet was in progress when the Americans approached Whitehall. It was promptly adjourned and the Premier and his colleagues hurried in a body to the War Office. As the Americans passed the Horse Guards Parade to Whitehall they were greeted from the windows of the War Office by Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, Chancellor Bonar Law, War Secretary Derby, Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions; George N. Barnes, member of the War Council; Admiral Jellicoe, and other high officials, as well as by French and Belgian officers.

The greatest crowd gathered in front of Buckingham Palace. The King, accompanied by the Queen, Queen Alexandra, Princess Mary, Field Marshal French, commander of the home forces; the household staff, and officers, took his place at the gate. The Americans then filed past, eyes left, officers at salute, while the bands played and the cheering and waving of flags continued. As the first Stars and Stripes passed with the ranks the King and his party raised their hands in salute. The flag was dipped, and the crowd roared approval so vigorously that the King was forced to smile. As each flag passed the King saluted, and the enthusiasm of the crowd became almost uncontrollable. After the review the Americans camped temporarily in Green Park, at the rear of the palace.

Food Dictator for the United States

Law to Control War Supplies Places Large Powers in the Hands of Herbert C. Hoover

A WAR measure endowing the President with far-reaching powers over the nation's food supplies became law on Aug. 10, 1917. Herbert C. Hoover, who was thereupon formally appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson, immediately served notice on speculators and profiteers that the time of reckoning had come if they were not ready to co-operate with the Government to obtain lower prices for the American consumer and help supply the Allies with foodstuffs.

The Government's food control program was outlined in a statement issued by President Wilson on May 19, in which he said:

> The objects sought to be served by the legislation asked for are: Full inquiry into the existing available stocks of foodstuffs and into the costs and practices of the various food producing and distributing trades; the prevention of all unwarranted hoarding of every kind and of the control of foodstuffs by persons who are not in any legitimate sense producers, dealers, or traders; the requisitioning when necessary for the public use of food supplies and of the equipment necessary for handling them properly; the licensing of wholesome and legitimate mixtures and milling percentages, and the prohibition of the unnecessary or wasteful use of foods.
>
> Authority is asked also to establish prices, but not in order to limit the profits of the farmers, but only to guarantee to them when necessary a minimum price which will insure them a profit where they are asked to attempt new crops and to secure the consumer against extortion by breaking up corners and attempts at speculation, when they occur, by fixing temporarily a reasonable price at which middlemen must sell.

After nearly two months' delay in the Senate the Administration Food Control bill was passed by that body on Aug. 8. One of the chief objections made by the Senate was to the appointment of one man who would practically have dictatorial powers. But the Senate eventually yielded, as it also did in eliminating the amendment by which it had sought to create a Congressional board to supervise the conduct of the war.

Statement by Mr. Hoover

Immediately after his formal appointment, Mr. Hoover issued a statement in the course of which he said:

The hopes of the food administration are threefold. First, to so guide the trade in the fundamental food commodities as to eliminate vicious speculation, extortion, and wasteful practices and to stabilize prices in the essential staples. Second, to guard our exports so that against the world's shortage we retain sufficient supplies for our own people, and to co-operate with the Allies to prevent inflation of prices, and third, that we stimulate in every manner within our power the saving of our food in order that we may increase exports to our Allies to a point which will enable them to properly provision their armies and to feed their peoples during the coming Winter.

The food administration is called into being to stabilize and not to disturb conditions and to defend honest enterprise against illegitimate competition. If there are men or organizations scheming to increase the trials of this country, we shall not hesitate to apply to the full the drastic, coercive powers that Congress has conferred upon us in this instrument.

The deep obligation is upon us to feed the armies and the peoples associated with us in this struggle. The diversion of 40,000,000 of their men to war or war work; the additional millions of women drafted to the places of their husbands and brothers; the toll of the submarine, have all conspired to so reduce production that their harvests this Autumn will fall 500,000,000 bushels of grain below their normal production.

Therefore, whereas we exported before the war but 80,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum, this year, by one means or another, we must find for them 225,000,000 bushels, and this in the face of a short crop. Our best will but partly meet their needs, for even then they must reduce their bread consumption 25 per cent., and it will be war bread they must eat—war bread, of which a large portion consists of other cereals.

Already the greater call for meat and animal products, due to the stress of war on the millions of men on the fighting line and the enhanced physical labor of populations ordinarily subsisting on lighter diets, coupled with the inadequate world supply, have compelled our allies to kill upward of 33,000,000 head of their stock animals. This is burning the candle at both ends, for they are thus stifling their annual production. Therefore, not only must we increase their supplies of meat and dairy products, but must prepare, as war goes on, to meet an even greater demand for these necessary commodities.

France and Italy formerly produced their own sugar, while England and Ireland imported largely from Germany. Owing to the inability of the first named to produce more than one-third of their needs, and the necessity for the others to import from other markets, they all must come to the West Indies for very large supplies and therefore deplete our own resources.

Because of the shortage of shipping only the most concentrated of foods, wheat, grain, beef, pork, and dairy products and sugar can be sent across the seas. Fortunately we have for our own use a superabundance of foodstuffs of other kinds—the perishables, fish, corn, and other cereals—and surely our first manifest duty is to substitute these for those other products which are of greater use to our fellow-fighters.

Our second duty is to eliminate wastes to the last degree. Seventy per cent. of our people are well known to be as thrifty and careful as any in the world, and they consume but little or no more than is necessary to maintain their physical strength. It is not too much to ask the other 30 per cent., by simpler living, to reduce their consumption. The substitutions we ask impose no hardships.

There is no royal road to food conservation. It can be accomplished only through sincere and earnest daily co-operation in the 20,000,000 kitchens and at the 20,000,000 dinner tables of the United States. If we can reduce our consumption of wheat flour by one pound, our meat by seven ounces, our fat by seven ounces, our sugar by seven ounces per person per week, those quantities, multiplied by 100,000,000, will immeasurably aid and encourage our allies, help our own growing armies and so effectively serve the great and noble cause of humanity in which our nation has embarked.

Wheat Speculation Stopped

Mr. Hoover's first step was to announce a sweeping scheme to regulate wheat and flour supplies. In a statement issued on Aug. 12 he said that,

with the full approval of President Wilson, the price to be paid for the wheat crop of 1917 would be fixed by a commission headed by Harry A. Garfield, son of the late President James A. Garfield, and President of Williams College. Gambling on the Wheat Exchanges, Mr. Hoover asserted, must end, even if the Government had to purchase the entire wheat supply of the nation. As a preliminary step, Mr. Hoover decided to take over control of all grain elevators and all mills with a daily capacity of over 100 barrels of flour and place them under a system of licenses which would make hoarding impossible. The Grain Exchanges at the same time were to be requested to suspend all dealings in futures. The Food Administration, despite the protests of some of the bread-making interests, considered the present level of prices extortionate.

There was no intimation as to the price which would be fixed for the 1917 crop, but Mr. Hoover was careful to point out that the minimum of $2 a bushel fixed by the Food Control act did not apply to it, and affected next year's crop only, under restrictions to be later explained.

Flour Contracts Unlawful

The text of Mr. Hoover's announcement read:

> With a view to determining a fair price, the President has approved the appointment of a committee, to be selected from representatives of the producing sections and consuming elements in the community. The committee will be assembled under the Chairmanship of President Garfield of Williams College, and it will be the duty of this committee to determine a fair price for the 1917 harvest.
>
> Upon the determination of this fair basis it is the intention of the Food Administration to use every authority given it under the bill and the control of exports to effect the universality of this fair basis throughout the whole of the 1917 harvest year, without change or fluctuation. It should thus be clear that it will not be to the advantage of any producer to hold back his grain in anticipation of further advance, for he will do so only at his own cost of storage and interest, and, if it is necessary for the Government to buy the entire wheat harvest in order to maintain this fair price in protection of the producer, we intend to do so.
>
> Furthermore, the holding of wheat or flour contracts by persons not engaged in the trade, and even when in trade, in larger quantities than is necessary for the ordinary course of their business is unlawful under the food act, and such cases will be prosecuted with vigor. We would advise such holders to liquidate their contracts at once.

Immediate Drop in Prices

A Chicago dispatch, dated Aug. 12, stated that the signing of the Food Control bill had caused a drop in prices of grain, vegetables, and poultry. Cash corn registered a decline of 25 and 27 cents a bushel. Prices in St. Louis and Peoria fell off 30 and 32 cents a bushel. The last Chicago quotation, $1.85, showed a loss of 50 cents in three days. Futures were affected, December going to $1.14. Wheat declined 4 cents a bushel, selling down to $2.15, within 15 cents of the minimum established by the bill. Hogs at the yards sold at the highest prices ever known, one lot bringing $17.25 a hundred pounds. Since March 1 hog packing had fallen off 225,000, compared with the same period last year. Pork was now selling higher than beef and poultry. Beef sold as high as $14.50, almost a record price. Lard was 22.75 cents a pound, 10 cents higher than the same time last year. Pork was $17 a barrel higher, at $43.17. Potatoes sold for $1.50 a bushel, $2 down from the high price. Poultry was down 2 and 3 cents a pound, turkeys at 14 cents and 17 cents for chickens. Eggs were down 2 cents, at 30 cents for firsts. Butter was down 1 cent, to 37 cents.

Federal Wheat Corporation

A $50,000,000 corporation, with all the stock held by the United States Government, was established on Aug. 15 to buy and sell wheat at the principal terminals. Preparations were made to take over the entire 1917 wheat crop, if necessary, to stabilize the price of wheat throughout the year. The move was one of a series largely with the object to reduce the price of bread. Millers had already agreed to put themselves under voluntary regulations and were working out with the food administration a differential of profits.

In announcing the formation of the

wheat corporation, the food administration also made known the personnel of a committee to fix the price for this year's wheat yield and the names of twelve purchasing agents for the corporation at terminals. The wheat corporation was put under the Administration's grain division. Its Chairman is Herbert C. Hoover and its President Julius Barnes, a Duluth exporter, who has been serving as a voluntary aid in the food administration. The price-fixing committee is headed by President Garfield of Williams College, and will comprise twelve members, representing producers and consumers.

Pope Benedict's Appeal for Peace

Official Text of His Proposal

PRESS dispatches from Rome on Aug. 14, 1917, announced that the Pope was issuing a peace proposal in the form of an identic letter to all the belligerent powers, and added an official outline of the document. The British Foreign Office published the French text and an English translation of the Pope's appeal on the evening of the 15th, with Cardinal Gasparri's note of transmission. The translation made by the State Department at Washington, and given to the public on the morning of Aug. 16, is as follows:

To the Rulers of the Belligerent Peoples:

From the beginning of our Pontificate, in the midst of the horrors of the awful war let loose on Europe, we have had of all things three in mind: To maintain perfect impartiality toward all the belligerents, as becomes him who is the common father and loves all his children with equal affection, continually to endeavor to do them all as much good as possible, without exception of person, without distinction of nationality or religion, as is dictated to us by the universal law of charity as well as by the supreme spiritual charge with which we have been intrusted by Christ; finally, as also required by our mission of peace, to omit nothing, as far as it lay in our power, that could contribute to expedite the end of these calamities by endeavoring to bring the peoples and their rulers to more moderate resolutions, to the serene deliberation of peace, of a "just and lasting" peace.

Whoever has watched our endeavors in these three grievous years that have just elapsed could easily see that, while we remained ever true to our resolution of absolute impartiality and beneficent action, we never ceased to urge the belligerent peoples and Governments again to be brothers, although all that we did to reach this very noble goal was not made public.

About the end of the first year of the war we addressed to the contending nations the most earnest exhortations, and in addition pointed to the path that would lead to a stable peace honorable to all. Unfortunately our appeal was not heeded, and the war was fiercely carried on for two years more, with all its horrors. It became even more cruel, and spread over land and sea, and even to the air, and desolation and death were seen to fall upon defenseless cities, peaceful villages, and their innocent people.

And now no one can imagine how much the general suffering would increase if other months or, still worse, other years were added to this sanguinary triennium. Is this civilized world to be turned into a field of death, and is Europe, so glorious and flourishing, to rush, as carried by a universal folly, to the abyss and take a hand in its own suicide?

In so distressing a situation, in the presence of so grave a menace, we, who have no personal political aim, who listen to the suggestions or interests of none of the belligerents, but are solely actuated by the sense of our supreme duty as the common father of the faithful, by the solicitations of our children who implore our intervention and peace-bearing word, uttering the very voice of humanity and reason—we again call for peace, and we renew a pressing appeal to those who have in their hands the destinies of the nations. But no longer confining ourselves to general terms, as we were led to do by circumstances in the past, we will now come to more concrete and practical proposals and invite the Governments of both belligerent peoples to arrive at an agreement on the following points, which seem to offer the base of a just and lasting peace, leaving it with them to make them more precise and complete.

First, the fundamental point must be that the material force of arms shall give

way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then, taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards.

When supremacy of right is thus established, let every obstacle to ways of communication of the peoples be removed by insuring, through rules to be also determined, the true freedom and community of the seas, which, on the one hand, would eliminate any causes of conflict, and, on the other hand, would open to all new sources of prosperity and progress.

As for the damages to be repaid and the cost of the war, we see no other way of solving the question than by setting up the general principle of entire and reciprocal conditions, which would be justified by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, all the more as one could not understand that such carnage could go on for mere economic reasons. If certain particular reasons stand against this in certain cases, let them be weighed in justice and equity.

But these specific agreements, with the immense advantages that flow from them, are not possible unless territory now occupied is reciprocally restituted. Therefore, on the part of Germany, there should be total evacuation of Belgium, with guarantees of its entire political, military, and economic independence toward any power whatever; evacuation also of the French territory; on the part of the other belligerents, a similar restitution of the German colonies.

As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of durable peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private interests to the general good of the great human society.

The same spirit of equity and justice must guide the examination of the other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia, the Balkan States, and the territories forming part of the old Kingdom of Poland, for which in particular, its noble historical traditions and suffering, particularly undergone in the present war, must win, with justice, the sympathies of the nations.

These we believe are the main basis upon which must rest the future reorganization of the peoples. They are such as to make the recurrence of such conflicts impossible and open the way for the solution of the economic question, which is so important for the future and the material welfare of all of the belligerent States. And so, in presenting them to you, who at this tragic hour judge the destinies of the belligerent nations, we indulge a gratifying hope, that they will be accepted and that we shall thus see an early termination of the terrible struggle which has more and more the appearance of a useless [illegible]

Everybody acknowledges, on the other hand, that on both sides the honor of arms is safe. Do not, then, turn a deaf ear to our prayer, but aecept the international invitation which we extend to you in the name of the Divine Redeemer, Prince of Peace. Bear in mind your very grave responsibility to God and man. On your decision depend the quiet and joy of numberless families, the lives of thousands of young men, the happiness, in a word, of the people, for whom it is your imperative duty to secure this boon.

May the Lord inspire you with decisions comformable to His very holy will. May Heaven grant that in winning the applause of your contemporaries you will also earn from the future generations the great title of pacificators.

And for us, closely united in prayer and penitence with all the faithful souls who yearn for peace, we implore for you the divine spirit, enlightenment, and guidance.

Given at the Vatican Aug. 1, 1917.

BENEDICTUS P. M. XV.

Cardinal Gasparri's Note

The Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gasparri, sent the following note of transmission with the copy of the Pope's appeal addressed to the King of England:

Your Majesty: The Holy Father, anxious to do everything he can in order to put an end to the conflict which for the last three years has ravaged the civilized world, has decided to submit to the leaders of the belligerent peoples concrete peace proposals exposed in a document which I have the honor to attach to this letter. May God grant that the words of his Holiness will this time produce the desired effect for the good of the whole of humanity.

The Holy See, not having diplomatic relations with the French Government or with the Government of Italy or of the United States, I very respectfully beg your Majesty to be good enough to have handed a copy of his Holiness's appeal to

the President of the French Republic, to his Majesty the King of Italy, and to the President of the United States. I also beg to add twelve other copies, which I request that your Majesty be good enough to hand to the leaders of the nations friendly to the Allies, with the exception, however, of Russia, Belgium, and Brazil, to whom the document has been sent direct.

In expressing to your Majesty my sincere thanks for this extreme kindness, I am happy to take the opportunity to offer you the homage of sentiment and very profound respect with which I have the honor to sign myself.

Your Majesty's very humble and devoted servant. GASPARRI.

Sentiment of the Nations

The peace proposal of Pope Benedict was received with diverse comments in different circles and nations. The sentiment expressed in the allied countries indicated the likelihood of a respectful refusal by the Entente. Comment in the press of the Central Powers was generally favorable, notably in that of the Catholic Centre Party, whose leader, Herr Erzberger, had some time ago formulated a similar peace program. In many Entente quarters the Pope's proposal was adversely criticised because it contained no condemnation of German atrocities, the invasion of Belgium, or the submarine warfare. In reply to this charge the Vatican on Aug. 17 issued a supplementary statement thus summarized in a Rome dispatch:

A semi-official statement issued today says the Vatican considers the reproach of a part of the press that the Holy See has not condemned violations of law, such as atrocities committed, is unjust, since Pope Benedict, faithful to his principle of impartiality, in his note had the intention of acting as peacemaker, and not as judge, and also because he lacks the necessary powers to do so. No peacemaker, the statement adds, would have the faintest chance of success if he began by trying to prove which side is right and which is wrong. The Pontiff went as far as possible, the statement continues, to make understood what his feelings are without risking the failure of his proposal on the rocks of Austro-German ill-feeling. Besides, it concludes, the Papal proposals were in solemn condemnation of those responsible for the war methods adopted and the barbarities committed.

Military Events of the Month

From July 18 to August 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

ATTENTION has been particularly concentrated during the last thirty-one days on three sectors of the western front, and on one of the eastern—at Ypres, Lens, and the Aisne, and in Bukowina and Moldavia. On the Italian front—in the Trentino and along the Julian and Carso sectors—there have been a succession of bombardments, but whether these foreshadow an Austrian offensive in the former, and an Italian offensive in the latter, or merely the consolidation of positions, is not known. However, by a series of bombardments from their famous Caproni airplanes on the Austrian naval base of Pola and other strategic and fortified positions of the enemy, the Italians appear to have gained the mastery of the air in the Upper Adriatic. News from the British fronts in Palestine and Mesopotamia reveals the fact that the armies there are preparing for assault in force by the enemy.

Although the strategy maintained on the Aisne, in Champagne, is the same as it has been from the beginning, further west, the great German retreat of last Spring has caused the Allies to make several modifications in the method and place of attack. Whereas, in the battle of the Somme the objectives were purely military, they now have a decided economic and moral significance. In the first place, the air service has laid bare the German lines of communication and their industrial and supply bases, and, in the second, it has been demonstrated

DRAWING THE NUMBERS OF AMERICA'S FIRST CONSCRIPTS

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, at left, blindfolded, starting the great national lottery on July 20 to decide the order in which men registered under the Conscription law should be called up for examination. He is drawing the first number from the bowl

THE FIRST AMERICAN REGULARS ON FRENCH SOIL

Men of the first contingents of the United States Army to serve in Europe just landed from a transport at an unnamed seaport in France

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

that from whatever terrain the enemy may withdraw he leaves behind him a desert waste, whether the material destroyed be of military or industrial or of mere civic or sentimental value. These considerations, therefore, have been found to qualify, if not actually to limit, the recent military operations of Generals Haig and Pétain.

Hence, it may be convenient to separate the military from the non-military phases of the engagements, for the contrast may be summed up in the statement that the military advantage would have to be greater than there seems the remotest hope of gaining to offset the wanton destruction of a town like Lille, which would be likely to attend deliberate German evacuation quite as much as occupation by assault. And Lille is to the northern part of the line in France what Laon, with its blast furnaces and mediaeval buildings, is to the southern part. And both Lille and Laon, as well as the new factories established by the Germans at St. Quentin, are supplied with fuel from the great coalfields of Lens, which before the war produced 15,000,000 tons a year and employed 25,000 hands. Thus we have an explanation of the fact that for the last month the attacks of the Allies have concentrated at Lens rather than at St. Quentin, although the possession of the latter would be of more military value on account of its control of the German line to the southeast, in the Champagne.

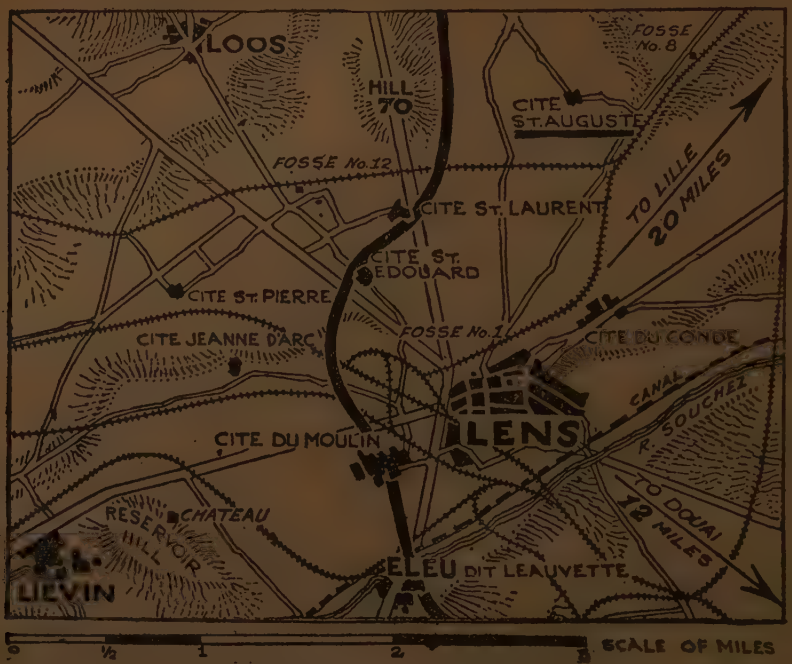
The Battle of Flanders

The British salient at Ypres is no more. It had been a military accident which resulted from the great defensive manoeuvres of November, 1914, when Sir John French was almost flanked ere he could form a junction with the Belgians, and the French reinforcements arrived which were to save Dunkirk. It has since been maintained at great tactical expense and merely for political reasons. German guns from the east commanded every direct approach and the town itself was soon a mass of ruins. For the Allies it was the weakest sector on the whole front. For three years the alternative had been the constant preoccupation of the British and French General Staffs: to efface it by either abandonment or expansion. Twice had an attempt to achieve the latter failed.

These attacks failed because they were directed against its centre, and its centre was covered by the German guns on Messines Ridge, lying to the south. With the greatest mine and bombardment preparation in the history of the war the British, on June 7, captured this ridge. This capture made what has been called the Third Battle of Ypres, or the Battle of Flanders, possible. So far it consists of two phases—the first of a single day, July 31, the second begun on Aug. 16. In both attacks French troops co-operated in the northern part of the offensive. In the first an advance was made over a front of fifteen miles—from the River Lys to the Yser, the enemy's positions were penetrated to a depth of two miles in the centre and to one mile on the right centre, the powerfully defended Sanctuary Wood and neighboring farms captured, and the villages of La Basséville, Hollebeke, Bixschoote, Verlorenhoek, Frezenberg, St. Julien, Pilkem, Hooge and Westhoek occupied. Nearly 5,000 prisoners were taken by the attack and in the ineffectual counterattacks of the succeeding days. The first two days of the second assault saw an advance along a nine-mile front to the northeast, with the capture of Langemarck and nearly 2,000 prisoners.

The capture of Pilkem is said to have been a particularly fine performance on the part of the guards, as they reached their last goal without the assistance of a barrage by creeping forward and stalking machine gun posts. In this way they got to Steenbeck River, and threw bridges across without serious opposition. The easiest advance was on the northern side of the salient, where there was an expanse of open ground, although more or less waterlogged, like the rest of the Plain of Flanders. Directly east of the town of Ypres the advance was greatly retarded owing to the unusual character of the obstacles met—patches of wood interlaced with shallow streams and pools of water.

The first phase of the Battle of Flanders demonstrated several things and startled the Germans with at least one



BATTLE LINE AROUND LENS, (AUG. 18, 1917,) WHERE THE CANADIANS HAVE BEEN WAGING A DESPERATE FIGHT FOR POSSESSION OF THIS FRENCH MINING CENTRE

surprise. It established the mastery of the British artillery over the German, both in bombardment and barrage fire, particularly with mid-calibre guns; it hammered into pieces some thirteen divisions of the enemy; and it confirmed, by many noteworthy experiences, the value of "tanks" on rolling or flat surfaces, and the use of the bombad-plane in protecting shell-craters from being occupied by the enemy.

This last is of particular importance. At a certain point the barrage fire which has protected the advance of infantry changes its shells from shrapnel to high explosive, so that when the infantry reach the designated point they find a line of entrenchments formed by shell-craters waiting for their occupancy. It had been the custom of the Germans to anticipate this by occupying the craters themselves and facing the advancing infantry with machine guns. In the Battle of Flanders the curtain dropped by the bombad-planes prevented this.

Although the first and second phases of the Battle of Flanders may be considered in natural sequence of the battles on the Somme and the Ancre, at Vimy Ridge, and at Messines, it would be idle to speculate in advance how the sequel will develop. On no other front, unless it be amid the Alps of the Trentino, do weather conditions play such a dominating rôle in shaping military actions. All the elaborate resources with which modern armies wage war have not abolished their dependence on the weather, whose arbitrary interventions are only the more to be feared now that the complexities of an attack make it impracticable to vary the date for it.

As to the objective of the Battle of Flanders: In an effusive message to Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria the German Kaiser suggested that the Anglo-French attack of July 31 was "intended to conquer the coast of Flanders." This coast, with its submarine bases at Zeebrugge, Ostend, and elsewhere on the shore, and its aerodromes hidden on the downs, certainly forms an inviting objective. On this terrain, too, military strategy and valor have more chance for endeavor than they do amid the concrete-reinforced walled towns and villages further south.

Closing In on Lens

Lens was the elusive objective sought in the Battle of Loos in September and October, 1915, when Sir John French's plan went wrong on account of lack of co-ordination between artillery and infantry. A salient, second in weakness only to that of Ypres, was then left exposed. This Loos salient was commanded from the south by the Germans on the Vimy Ridge, which bore the same relation to it that the Messines Ridge did to the Ypres salient. But Vimy Ridge also had another function, it commanded the great Arras salient to the south and, what is more important, the Arras-Cambrai highway. If eliminated, the southern approaches to Lens would be thrown open as well as the Arras-Cambrai highway.

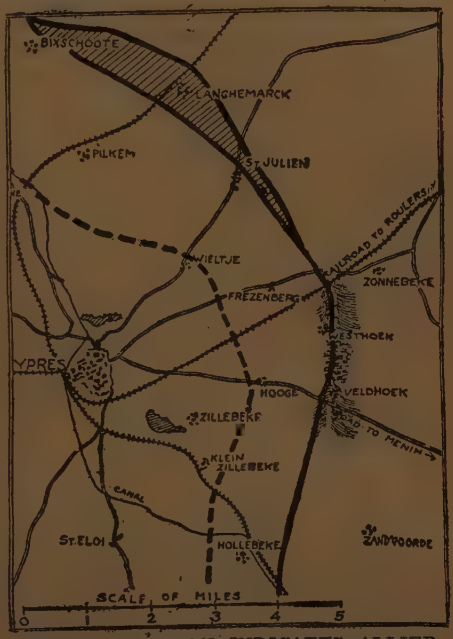
It was eliminated—April 9—and immediately a British advance was made astride the highway—the first leg of the Hindenburg line—and preparations were made to encircle Lens and its 200 square miles of coal area.

Gradually the encircling took the form of a pair of pincers. On July 20 the Canadian troops reached a post in the mine region to the north hardly 1,500 yards from the heart of Lens. Several days earlier it had been revealed from observations made on Vimy Ridge that most of the buildings in the town had been reinforced with concrete, just as St. Quentin is known to have been, and all indications showed that the Germans were intending to hold the centre of the city until their losses became unendurable.

Hill 65 to the west of the city was taken in the middle of June, but Hill 70, to the north, was not to succumb until Aug. 15. Gradually at first and then more rapidly have the jaws of the pincers closed upon the Prussians from the Rhinelands, men of the Fifty-sixth Division, who hold this mining city. They have put up one of the gamest fights of the war—counterattacking sometimes very fiercely, as at La Coulotte, just south of Lens and west of Avion, where the Canadian infantry pushed closer and threatened their main defenses.

On the same day that Hill 70 fell, whose formidable defenses had resisted every assault in the battle of Loos, fell also every defense which dominated the city from the north—Cité Ste. Elizabeth, Cité St. Laurent and the Bois Rasé just north of Hill 70.

On the day following Prince Rupprecht



SHADED SECTION INDICATES ALLIED GAINS IN THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS UP TO AUG. 18, 1917

made frantic efforts to capture the lost positions, and ten times the Prussians charged, each time driven back with frightful slaughter and a heavy loss in prisoners. The Seventh Division is said to have been completely wiped out in a sortie, while the Fourth Guard Division fared little better. It was a day of machine gun and volley fire.

Although the capture of Lens would open the way to Douai and flank, from the north, the Siegfried line constructed to protect that depot and Cambrai, yet its importance to the Germans, aside from the strategic obstruction it has presented to the Allies, is chiefly industrial, as has already been indicated. And this importance is commensurate with the defense it has made.

Laon Threatened with Investment

Laon, a beautiful city whose cathedral-topped hill can be seen for miles around,

is held as a sort of architectural hostage by the Germans for the preservation of the blast furnaces they have established there. One would hardly expect them to evacuate it without leaving it a mass of ruins. The Germans also have a sentimental attachment to the place, for here on March 9-10, 1814, the Prussian Blücher beat Napoleon.

But Laon is threatened with investment from two sides—from the northwest and the southeast. The capture of St. Quentin would open the way to the first approach, and as long as the French hold the Aisne front along the Chemin des Dames and Craonne, with its plateaus, the second is a constant source of danger. Not impossible successes simultaneously achieved at both points would probably mean the envelopment of the city before the Germans could make good their retreat or wreck the place.

Now the Chemin des Dames and the Craonne terrain bear much the same relation to Laon that the French line on the edge of the Meuse-Moselle watershed does to the great fortress of Metz. It fell to the Crown Prince to attempt to eliminate the latter in the battle of Verdun. He is now attempting to eliminate the other. So far it is proving as costly in German lives as his Verdun enterprise. Since April 16 he has had seventy-one divisions, or 1,065,000 men, engaged in vain efforts to push the French back from their threatening positions between Soissons and Craonne and along the Aisne.

Heavy German Losses

Having pulled off his coup d'état at Berlin on July 14, a week later he was back on the front and began a new and furious onslaught against Craonne and its defensive plateaus, Vauclerc, Casemates, and Californie. Four days later he diverted his attack, with the same prodigious loss of men, from the Craonne region to west of the Aisne—to a two-mile front from La Bovelle to east of the Hurtebise Farm. And so it has been in this region ever since—furious assaults, a waste of men, and the French standing firm or counterattacking with vital results.

Now, aside from the military aspect of this terrain in its relation to Laon, already dwelt upon, there is also, as an ever-present rule of action in all that the Crown Prince does, the political aspect. And it has been said on high authority that, somehow, somewhere, his Imperial Highness had to secure a striking victory which would affect the malcontents at home, in the Reichstag, and elsewhere. Whether the end which he had in view was purely a military one or not, the net result is that he has lost very large numbers of men without gaining anything in the way of observation posts or a tithe of the area which represented his permanent achievements against Verdun.

From the right bank of the Meuse the French lines still threaten Metz across the plain of the Woevre; still the French from the Chemin des Dames and the Craonne Ridge can see the cathedral of Laon.

Offensive Against Russia

The Teutonic offensive against the southern end of the eastern front, where it drops from Bukowina into Rumania, seems like an attempt to capture a doubtful outpost while the citadel itself lies exposed—the citadel in this case being the road to Petrograd or to Moscow. But it takes men to capture even an exposed citadel, and men neither the Germans nor the Austrians have got. The Bulgars will not lend them any. The Turks cannot.

When between April and June both the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz were momentarily expecting Prince Leopold's efforts with the Provisional Government of Russia to be crowned with the success of a separate peace 300,000 Germans were sent to the western front and over 100,000 Austrians to the Italian. These men have not come back. Many of them cannot.

Moreover, a successful campaign in Rumania leading into Bessarabia, aside from its political significance, would shorten the great eastern battlefront by 200 miles—a very inviting prospect in Teuton eyes.

By July 11 the personally led spasmodic offensive of Kerensky had capt-

BLACK LINE INDICATES WHERE THE RUSSIANS AND RUMANIANS AT LAST CHECKED THE GERMAN ADVANCE ABOUT AUG. 15, 1917

ured Halicz, the strategic key to Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, and a week later the offensive reached its ultimate, investing Zloczow and Brzezany, forty miles east of Lemberg. By July 21 the Russian mutiny and retreat in Galicia were in full swing. That it has not accumulated more velocity is probably due to the fact that the pursuers are not fully prepared either in numbers or in munitions.

By July 23 the Russian retreat had expanded to a 150-mile front, but there were Russo-Rumanian successes in the Susitza and Putna Valleys, with 2,000 prisoners and 57 guns taken. Then in rapid succession followed the fall of Stanislau and Tarnopol, the enemy crossing the Sereth from Tarnopol to Czortkow, and finally the fall of Czernowitz, and the last Russian soldier was driven out of Bukowina.

The difficulty of getting men and supplies over the mountains to the Austrians desperately fighting among the streams on the right bank of the Sereth in Moldavia gave a respite to all that remains of Rumanian territory. Whether it will be retained depends upon the rehabilitation of the Russian arms. Even so, Rumania has not the value as an ally to the Provisional Government at Petrograd that it had to the Government of the Czar. The present Russian institution does not covet Constantinople.

Germany's Waning Man Power

The most striking revelation that has emerged from the month's fighting has been the waning of Germany's man power, both in numbers and stamina. She is already using her 1918 men on the western front and there are isolated cases of boys of 14 being found among her dead. In November she will call her 1919 men to training. These will furnish 450,000; no more. Her casualties since Aug. 1, 1916, have been nearly a

million, (943,982,) according to her own official lists. Man for man they have shown themselves inferior to the French and English in Flanders. Another important feature, also revealed in the Battle of Flanders, has been the machine-like, complementary co-operation between the French and English and the wonderful co-ordination of artillery fire and its relation to infantry attacks.

The Battle of Flanders

Terrific Barrage Fire

BELGIUM, during the last month, has been the scene of the fiercest fighting on the Western front. For three weeks the bombardment on both sides was tremendous. The German artillery, thickly massed against the most vital sectors of the British front, poured vast quantities of shells into Nieuport, Ypres, Armentières, and other towns. The German long-range guns fired at targets twelve to twenty miles beyond their emplacements. The British reply was even more terrific. For every German shell fired, the British returned two. "A rivalry in destruction greater than any former phase of the war," was one British correspondent's description of the great artillery duel.

The bombardment culminated on the morning of July 31 in a gigantic infantry attack in which both the British and French troops took part. They attacked along a front of nearly twenty miles, from Dixmude in the north to Warneton in the south, on the Franco-Belgian frontier. The preliminary bombardment had leveled the German trenches, at some points wiping them out completely. While the shelling had been going on for days at what appeared to be the highest pitch, it was redoubled on the morning of the attack just before the men went "over the top." The first and second German lines were soon behind the advancing infantry, and in places they crossed the third line of trenches. At some points the Germans put up a desperate resistance in their rear positions, holding up the advance with machine guns. These places were stormed, not without some losses, although both General Haig and General Pétain called attention to the fact that their losses were exceedingly small.

Capture of Menin Tunnel

One of the most striking and spectacular events of the day's fighting occurred at the so-called Menin tunnel, a great underground fortification constructed by the Germans on the Menin road, opposite Hooge. The British preliminary bombardment had forced the Germans to hold the French line thinly here, and the British division which was to attack at dawn lay out all night in shell holes within twenty-five yards of the German line, waiting for the signal to advance. When the time arrived for the charge, and the British gunners had dropped a protecting barrage on the German front trench ahead of the British troops, it was seen that the Germans were fleeing. The British, seeing their prey escaping, went mad and charged directly through their own barrage, fortunately without heavy casualties. The Menin tunnel, which was expected to be occupied by several hundred Germans, was found to be held by only forty-one, the rest having retreated. It was only at the second line that the British met resistance, and here, after sharp hand-to-hand fighting, they forced the Germans again to withdraw.

German Account of Fight

A semi-official survey of the Flanders battle supplied by the German General Staff through the Wolff Bureau mentioned that Bixschoote three times changed hands, the French eventually retaining the village at nightfall, but that the German lines gripped the village north and east. The British, according to the survey, delivered the main thrust before Ypres and succeeded

in capturing Langemarck in addition to other places, but were unable to hold Langemarck and St. Julien in the face of a German counterattack and were repulsed. The report sought to give the impression that only the immediate front-line trench in any case was lost, and carefully avoided any mention of the depth of the Entente gain. The Berliner Tageblatt correspondent wrote:

> The great brutal force of the initial blow has been parried. We survived the gruesome tension occasioned by the uncanny artillery fire, and we are able again to hold our heads high as the battle of living men is resumed. The struggle has now reached the phase of human effort, after unseen mechanical death has been knocking at the door day and night for weeks. The German fighting spirit was fully awakened, and heroes flung themselves from the islands of defense in the conquered district against the advancing masses and seriously weakened the flanks of the oncoming troops. Millions of shells have been spent, and now comes the test of strength and nerves.
>
> The mainspring which impelled the German fighting man was the strong realization that he was here called upon to defend the German U-boat—to serve the mightiest, most promising weapon of his country and bar the path to it with his life. The German troops counterattacked in frightful bayonet and hand grenade combats. It was the mightiest counterthrust, following the mightiest impact, which the world has ever seen.
>
> Nightfall witnessed the happy German achievement. The foe had won German trenches, had gained control of Bixschoote, and had carried off prisoners, but he lay bleeding at the foot of the wall he desired to scale.

Battling in the Rain

Stubborn and almost blind fighting in the pouring rain was kept up throughout the night of Aug. 1 and the following day from the junction of the French and British lines at Langemarck, in Flanders, to the French frontier, along the banks of the River Lys. It was almost entirely an infantry struggle, for neither the air nor artillery branches could work effectively in the thick, torrential weather. General Haig's lines between St. Julien and the Ypres-Roulers railway, northeast of Ypres, were completely re-established in the face of repeated and costly enemy assaults.

The controlling factor in the military situation in Flanders at this time was the incessant downpour of rain, which had now lasted for fifty hours. Over the whole field of attack the only high ground lay where the Germans massed their counterassaults. Elsewhere the country was a marsh, split and interwoven with flooded streams. This unstable quagmire was just beginning to form when the Anglo-French drive was launched. The infantry slipped and stumbled forward. The tanks managed to negotiate the distance in mud up to the hubs of their caterpillar wheels.

Westhoek and Langemarck

By a sharp stroke early on the morning of Aug. 10, east of Ypres, General Haig penetrated the German lines to a depth of several hundred yards, completing the capture of the village of Westhoek, and carrying the remaining positions held by the Germans on the Westhoek ridge.

The following day there was more violent fighting. The right of the British attack in Glencorse Wood was heavily engaged with the enemy concealed in the usual concrete emplacements and defending himself with well-placed machine guns. The Germans massed great power of artillery against the British, and there was apparently no immediate lack of ammunition. It was truly a fearful thing to see, even from a distance, the wide and deep belt of fire flung by the German guns over the countryside. For miles the horizon was seething with the smoke of heavy shells. Anti-aircraft guns sprayed the sky with shrapnel, and from a range of twelve miles or more monstrous shells were exploding. The great unending tragedy of war was along that belt of ground, sweeping around the horizon where innumerable shells were bursting and where in the smoke of them great bodies of men were fighting and dying.

The enemy's barrage fire was great; that of the British was greater. Between Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse and all about Stirling Castle and Frezenberg he made a hell of fire, and many of the British had to pass through its fury, and not all passed or came back again. But

afterward the enemy's turn came, and masses of his men—thick waves of them sent forward with orders to counterattack—were caught under the fire of British guns and smashed to pieces.

Striking together on a nine-mile front east and northeast of Ypres early on the morning of Aug. 16, British and French troops carried all their objectives except on the right flank. The French, on the left, drove the Germans from the tongue of land between the Yser Canal and the Martjevaart and captured the bridgehead of Dreigrachten. In the centre Haig's troops captured the village of Langemarck, which had been held strongly by the Germans ever since the allied attack early in the month, and pushed half a mile beyond. On the right British troops attempted to seize the high ground almost directly east of Ypres, which lies north of the road to Menin. They swept up and gained the ground, but in face of terrific losses the Germans attacked with great fury, and finally pressed the British back from the terrain they had won.

Reports of British casualties issued during the first two weeks of August gave a total of 21,722 officers and men. They were divided as follows: Killed and died of wounds—Officers, 223; privates and noncommissioned officers, 4,424. Wounded or missing—Officers, 1,821; men, 15,254. Total of killed, wounded, and missing, 21,722.

Wonderful Barrage Fire

The wonderful accuracy of the British barrage fire was described by an artillery observation officer who was wounded at Langemarck:

> I have seen much modern artillery work, but, frankly, I never dreamed there could be such perfection. I was stationed in an advance post where I could see the full effects of our fire on the Langemarck region. While I directed the firing of the guns in the rear I was amazed to see what our gunners could not see. At the jumping-off hour, which was 4:45 o'clock, the British batteries dropped a barrage in front of our infantry for the advance. It was as though a solid curtain of steel had been dropped before our men. It moved forward with the mechanical precision of clockwork. All our guns broke out with such a hurricane of fire that I was stunned with the effect. I tried to say something to a companion standing beside me, but could not make him hear my loudest shouts.
>
> The barrage moved forward with such accuracy that our infantry was able to keep quite close to it without danger, for there was no wavering of the barrage line. Straight on over Langemarck and the surrounding region passed the barrage, with the infantry trailing. The Germans undoubtedly were expecting our attack, for their counterbarrage was dropped back of our lines almost as soon as our advance began. There is absolutely no doubt of the tremendous superiority of our artillery work and the preponderance of our guns. No worse ground for an advance could have been encountered. The Steenbeke River was in flood and the whole region was waterlogged from recent rains. Our infantry was wallowing in mud all the time, and had it not been for the efficacy of our artillery fire the men would have had a hard time with the enemy.
>
> Our troops had destroyed most of the concrete machine gun redoubts which represent the main defenses in this section, but there still remained many underground fortifications which had to be fought through and silenced with bombs or left behind with the Germans still in them. There was a typical example of this at a point southwest of Langemarck known as Aubongite. Here the Germans had constructed a steel and concrete dugout with heavy steel trapdoors on top. It would hold perhaps fifty to seventy-five men with numerous machine guns. The artillery had been unable to shell them out, and when the infantry advanced, the Germans crawled into their hole and closed the steel doors over them. There was no bombing them out, but the Germans themselves were prisoners. They dared not open their doors to fire machine guns for fear of bombs, so we pushed ahead and left the Germans there with a squad of bombers sitting outside ready to throw explosives when the door opened.

This advance brought to a conclusion another phase of the battle of Flanders. The Allies were now able to look back on one of the great achievements of the war. The attack against the Germans east of Ypres, which resulted in such sanguinary fighting, did not accomplish the advance desired, but the great push to the north represented one of the remarkable accomplishments of the year.

This fighting was noteworthy for a radical change in the German defense methods. The continuous lines of wonderfully constructed forward trenches with their deep dugouts, in which lived

and fought great numbers of men, were now fast passing into the discard. The new system was one of scattering advance forces over a great depth. Cunningly constructed strongholds among the myriads of shell holes along the front concealed innumerable small and more or less isolated garrisons of men who formerly fought shoulder to shoulder along great stretches of picturesque ditches, through which communication was not broken for miles. This alteration was brought about by the ever-growing preponderance of British artillery, which buried the German front line trenches under an avalanche of shells and left the defenses nothing but heaped furrows of earth, and rendered the famous dugouts mantraps, in which many thousands lost their lives without a chance of fighting back. The continuous deluge of breaking steel made repair work on the trenches impossible, and as the Germans were gradually pushed back they of necessity were forced to invent another mode of stemming the advancing tide.

A German Word Picture of the British Attack in Flanders

Max Osborn, war correspondent of the Berlin Zeitung am Mittag, wrote from the German Headquarters on the west front, July 30, 1917:

NEVER-ENDING howls and piercing screams are rending the air from the sea to the River Lys, while accessory noises like growls and blows seem to spring from everywhere on the Yser, in front of Dixmude and Langemarck, around Hollebeke and Warneton. The whole of West Flanders is one large, steaming pot, in which death and devastation are brewing. With the sun smiling its brightest at us, terrific, never-ending thunderstorms are raging over the land. Amid noises such as the old earth never heard before, a crop of new battles and new wars between nations is growing to maturity.

What were the battles of the Somme, Arras, the Aisne, and Champagne against this earthquake of Flanders? Millions of capital are blown up in the air and explode in the ground. It is like a Cyclopean concert of unheard-of brutality, to celebrate with becoming fitness the end of the third year of universal madness. The louder the desire of the nations for peace begins to express itself, the wilder the thunder of the guns at England's command to drown any cry of hope. Sometimes one thinks the end of the bloody intoxication is coming, but there are still graduations of description for which there are no words. We thought we had got accustomed to the atrociousness of all this, and at home you may forget the monstrous events. At the front for days our senses and nerves must certainly have suffered from these awful three years. Spirit and feelings seek to escape the intolerable horror, but it is no use. Here, up against the worst form of slaughter, again these nameless noises bring it home to you with overpowering force.

This battle has lasted for days; now it is again that continuous roar that effaces, or, rather, consumes, all individual noises, that makes even fierce explosions close by you indistinguishable. Everything disappears in one loud, rolling, threatening volume of sound. The air carries it a hundred miles distant, and tremblingly they listen, south and north, west and east, where they cannot see the horror of all this.

But if you come nearer, it is like the bowels of the earth exploding. Our soldiers sit in their dugouts, and cannot do anything but trust to luck. Just now the infantry must keep quiet; only the big guns are talking. The waiting infantry is, as it were, locked in prison. The men cannot get out, nor can anybody approach them. The way to them is fraught with fearful danger. All around

spatter steel splinters, shrapnel bullets, stones and earth. If you are hit you are dead or crippled. What shall one do? One smokes incessantly, until the air in the narrow shaft is heavy enough to cut. That is bad, but somehow it helps one to endure the horrors of the situation.

You live for days in the closest contact with your comrades in a contracted space. You cannot move, and are unable to think clearly. Never did I realize how difficult it can be to lead a human life. There is nameless agony in it.

Suddenly there is a terrible explosion quite near you. The earth is moving. Splinters drop from nowhere. Our works have been hit at an adjacent point, but thank Heaven! there are no wounded. Nobody was stationed there when the projectile struck.

There is still another explosion, this time the other side of us. Nine dugouts have been hit and have collapsed.

Then there is one of those rare lulls in the cannonade, and quite distinctly we make out some of our comrades struggling in the ruins of a wrecked dugout. We rush to their aid, heedless of the shells bursting around us. Another of those deadly beasts strikes almost at our feet, but it does not explode. We don't stop; we rush on; we shout to our friends, who are buried under the earth, stones, and timber, and we set to work digging them out.

"Nobody is seriously hurt," they cry joyously, when we drag them, covered with scratches and contusions, to daylight again. We do not always fare so well as this. Sometimes we dig them from cellars and earthworks as corpses, sometimes fearfully mutilated, or just in time to draw their last breath.

But, after all, our losses are not so large—certainly not compared with the mass of munitions exploded. Our men have become masters in the art of dodging and using cover. They certainly have had experience enough. But still too many sons of German mothers must yield up their young lives mutely without a chance of defending themselves. But they all realize that only the Fatherland counts; that the individual cannot claim special attention here. The heavy twenty-four-centimeter projectiles of the enemy care not where they strike, be it human life, wire entanglements, or trench, and sometimes they hit our nerves though they strike many meters distant.

There is one consolation: Our artillery pays them back with interest, and the hellish noises at our rear are almost music to the ears of our men in our dugouts. Once upon a time infantrymen used to swear at artillery in battles; nowadays you hear nothing of the kind. Our infantry knows that those men behind their guns are having a hell of a time, while the infantryman is comparatively safe in his dugout.

But even the artillery needs our infantryman. He must carry munitions to positions that are inaccessible to horses and carts. The infantryman must watch the approaches to the artillery positions from all sides, and must be at his post when the sign is given for a general advance. Is this the end of terror, or merely the lull before the attack? Fiercely your fist grips gun and hand grenade. The eyes of the men on guard pierce the dense darkness ahead. There rises a green fireball. Is it ours? Is it theirs? Nobody seems to know its meaning, but all of a sudden the English begin to rain steel again. We give them tit for tat. The artillery on each side seems to try to surpass that on the other. What has happened? Nothing particular, but since they were at it, they thought they might as well keep hammering, and that one long roar continues until the sun rises again on a new day as cruel as yesterday. Nobody will ever forget the horror of it.

U-Boat Destruction of Shipping

Record From July 15 to August 12, 1917

THE average number of merchant ships destroyed by submarines and mines apparently remained almost constant in the last month. The aggregate British tonnage lost was almost the same as that in the preceding month, as the following figures, issued officially by the Admiralty, show:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended July 22..	23	3	1
Week ended July 29..	18	[illegible]	0
Week ended Aug. 5...	21	[illegible]	0
Week ended Aug. 12..	14	2	3
Total for four weeks	74	10	4
Total for previous four weeks.....	64	[illegible]	26

The increase in the loss of larger ships equalizes, if it does not exceed, that of the smaller vessels and fishing craft.

Premier Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons on Aug. 16, said that there was a steady diminution of vessels sunk. The unrestricted submarine campaign, he continued, began in February, and by April England had lost 560,000 tons of shipping in one month. The German official figures claimed that England was losing between 450,000 and 500,000 monthly after allowing for new construction Mr. Lloyd George said his figure of 560,000 tons for April was gross. In June the losses had fallen to 320,000 tons gross, and if the improvement were maintained those for July and August would be 175,000 each. Steps had been taken, he added, for quickening shipbuilding, and a good many ships had been ordered abroad. In 1915 the new tonnage built was 688,000 tons. In 1916 it was 538,000 tons. For the first six months of this year it was 480,000 tons. The tonnage acquired by construction and purchase during the last six months would be 1,420,000. The total for the year would be 1,900,000 tons.

The figures of losses given above do not include French, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, or American ships, a considerable number of which have been sunk since the beginning of February. In regard to American vessels 37 have been destroyed, with a loss of 121 lives, in the three years of war by German or Austrian raiders or submarines. Before the United States entered the war, on April 6, 1917, thirteen ships had been sunk. Since that time twenty-four have been destroyed. The tonnage of the vessels destroyed is estimated at about 110,000 tons, 61,000 of which have been lost since the United States entered the war. Only four American ships were sunk before Germany began her unrestricted submarine warfare. Two of these were destroyed in 1915, and two in 1916. Between the publication by Germany of unrestricted submarine warfare and the acknowledgment of a state of war by the United States nine American vessels were sunk, either by torpedoes or by gunfire, with a loss of forty-seven lives. Since the United States entered the war twenty-four ships flying the United States flag have been lost, and seventy-one lives sacrificed.

It was announced in the House of Commons on Aug. 14 that 9,748 lives were lost on British merchantmen from the opening of the war to June 30, 1917, as a result of enemy action. Of these 3,828 were passengers, the remainder being officers or seamen. A later official declaration, bringing the figures down to Aug. 20, 1917, stated that the losses of British mercantile sailors and officers were 6,637.

The Belgian Prince Outrage

That thirty-eight members of the crew of the British steamship Belgian Prince were drowned in the most deliberate manner by the German submarine which sank the ship was the accusation made by survivors on reaching British shores. One of them was the Chief Engineer, who many times after the steamer was torpedoed was perilously

near drowning. He gave the following narrative of his experience:

About 9 o'clock on Tuesday evening, (July 31,) when we were 200 miles off land, I saw the wake of an approaching torpedo. The vessel gave a lurch as she was hit, and I was thrown to the deck among the débris. The vessel listed heavily, and all of us took to the boats. The submarine approached and shelled the vessel, and then ordered the small boats alongside the submarine. The skipper was summoned and taken inside. The others were mustered on the deck of the submarine. The Germans removed the lifebelts and the other clothing of all except eight of us, smashed the lifeboats with axes, and then re-entered the submarine and closed the hatches, leaving us on deck. The submarine went about two miles and then submerged. I had a lifebelt. Near me was an apprentice boy of 16, shouting for help. I went to him and held him up until midnight, but he became unconscious and died of exposure. At daylight I saw the Belgian Prince afloat. I was picked up after eleven hours in the water by a patrol boat.

The second engineer, who also was a survivor, succeeded in reaching the Belgian Prince before she blew up. The Germans came on board and looted her, he reported. He was in hiding, but finally jumped into the sea and kept afloat on the wreckage. William Snell, a negro of Jacksonville, Fla., the only American survivor, added the following details:

We left the Belgian Prince in three boats and had got fifty yards from the ship when the submarine came alongside and asked for our Captain, who was taken aboard and inside the U-boat. The members of the crew were ordered to hold up their hands, and the Germans asked if there were any gunners among us. Although there were two, we said "No." The Germans next asked if we had any pocket arms. We were then ordered to the deck of the submarine, where we were told by the commander to remove our lifebelts and to lie on the deck. This we did. Then the commander went into the boats, threw the oars into the sea, and had his men remove the provisions. After that the plugs were taken out of holes in the boats, which were then cast adrift. The submarine went to the northeast for twelve miles, the commander taking the lifebelts to the top of the conning tower and throwing them overboard. I hid mine under a raincoat, and as the submarine began to submerge I tied it around my neck and jumped into the sea. The rest of the crew stayed on deck until they were swept off by the sea as the boat dived. It was a terrible sight. One by one they threw up their hands and went down, or, fighting to keep up, they splashed water as they disappeared.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1917]

CHINA AND SIAM DECLARE WAR

CHINA formally declared war on Germany and Austria, beginning at 10 A. M., Aug. 14, 1917. The official war proclamation, which was signed by President Feng Kuo-chang, reviews China's efforts to induce Germany to modify her submarine policy. It says that respect for international law and protection of the lives and property of Chinese citizens forced China to sever relations with Germany and now compels her to declare war against Germany and Austria, too, as it was not Germany alone, but Austria-Hungary as well, which adopted and pursued this policy without abatement.

The proclamation declares that all treaties, agreements, and protocols between China and the Central Powers have been abrogated. It says China will respect The Hague conventions and the international agreements respecting the humane conduct of the war, and, in conclusion, asserts that China's object in entering the war is to hasten peace. President Feng Kuo-chang made this statement:

Our people have not yet recovered from the sufferings due to the recent political disturbances. Calamity again befalls us. I, as President of the Republic, have a profound sympathy for our people when I consider their further sufferings. I did not resort to this step until it seemed impossible to delay the momentous decision. I could not bear to think that the dignity of international law should be

impaired through us; that our position in the family of nations should be undermined, or that the restoration of world peace and happiness should be retarded. Therefore, it is hoped that all our people will endeavor, in these hours of hardship, to maintain and strengthen the Chinese Republic, so that we may establish ourselves amid the family of nations and share the happiness and benefits to be derived from that position.

Siam officially declared war against Germany and Austria at 6 o'clock July 22, 1917, and all German and Austrian subjects were interned and German ships seized. Prince of Songkla, brother of the reigning monarch, declared on July 23 that national necessity and moral pressure forced Siam into the war on the side of the Entente. Neutrality on the part of this small but long independent nation in the Far East had become increasingly difficult, and there had been a growing sentiment that freedom and justice for States not strong from a military standpoint were not to be secured through the policy of the Central Powers. Sympathy for Belgium, which began with the invasion of that country, had taken strong hold on the Siamese, and the popular aversion to Teutonic methods, solidified by President Wilson's message asking Congress to declare a state of war, left no doubt as to the duty, as well as the path of expediency, of Siam.

* * *

Our Armed Forces 1,500,000

THE regular army of the United States was brought up to its full war strength of 300,000 men on Aug. 9, 182,000 volunteers having enlisted from April 1 to Aug. 9. During the same four months the volunteering for the navy brought the naval total up to 137,000 men and the Marine Corps to its authorized strength of 30,000, while 45,000 enlisted in the Naval Reserve and the National Naval Volunteers. The National Guard, brought up to a strength of 300,000, was drafted into the Federal service on Aug. 5. This brought the regular army and navy up to 812,000, to which the draft for the National Army added 687,000 on Sept. 1, thus bringing the armed forces of the United States to a total of 1,500,000. It was only four months preceding that the United States was a peaceful and unprepared nation, with an army and navy totaling less than 175,000. In the same period the country floated and oversubscribed a war loan of $2,000,000,000 and made extraordinary strides in preparation and equipment, besides sending a preliminary expeditionary force of sailors, soldiers, engineers, aviators, doctors, hospital units, &c., to France.

* * *

Great Britain After Three Years of War

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, while at Paris on July 27, in a formal statement to leading French editors, said that Great Britain now had between 5,000,000 and 5,500,000 soldiers enrolled, without counting between 400,000 and 500,000 belonging to the navy, or nearly a million men from the dominions and colonies.

Great Britain had placed at the disposition of her allies, he added, from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons of merchant ships. Next year's building program for merchant ships, which already has begun, amounts to 4,000,000 tons, or twice as much as in a good year during peace time. Referring to the campaign against submarines, Mr. Lloyd George said:

> The diminution in shipping losses is incontestible. It is impossible to abandon this subject without paying homage to the aid given by the American Navy, both regarding the organization of convoys and by torpedo boat destroyers, which have rendered an invaluable service.

Mr. Lloyd George said that 5,000,000 men and women now were engaged in war work in the United Kingdom. More women could be employed if the trades unions did not fear the competition of women after the war.

* * *

China's Millennium of Peace

THIS appears to be the first time in the last thousand years, since the reconstruction of the Chinese Empire under the founder of the Sung dynasty, that China has issued a declaration of war, taking the initiative in bringing about an armed conflict.

Beginning with the period about a thousand years ago, China was repeatedly invaded by her militant northern

neighbors, the Mongols and their kindred, but China always fought defensive campaigns and was content with driving the invaders beyond her frontiers, or persuading them to withdraw by the payment of indemnities of money and China silks. This procedure encouraged the Mongols to continue their raids until 1260, when Kublai Khan, perhaps the most remarkable member of a family which produced some of the world's greatest soldiers and conquerors—the descendants of Ghengis Khan—finally invaded and conquered China. His successors, lacking administrative ability, gradually allowed his empire to fall to pieces, until the founder of the Ming dynasty re-established an independent China. But raids from the north continued, the Manchus gradually becoming the dominant aggressors and conquering China in 1644.

The Mings had waged a successful war against Japan during the years when Shakespeare was writing his first plays, but here also the Japanese were the aggressors, invading and overrunning Korea, which was claimed as a vassal kingdom by China. Twenty-two years ago Japan again fought China, once more for the control of Korea, but Japan was the aggressor. In 1900, at the time of the Boxer outbreak, Peking was occupied by foreign troops, but there was no formal declaration of war. Now, after a thousand years, China for the first time takes the initiative by declaring war against Germany and her allies.

* * *

The Pope's Peace Proposal and the Austrian Empire

STUDENTS of contemporary history have already pointed out the close similarity between the peace proposals put forward in the middle of August by Pope Benedict and the peace plans of the Centrist (Catholic) Party in the Reichstag, voiced by Matthias Erzberger, a representative of the Catholic Kingdom of Bavaria. In both cases it was suggested that these proposals embodied the wishes of Austria, and especially of the young Austrian Emperor Charles. It was further suggested that both proposals represented an effort on the part of Austria and of the Catholic States of South Germany to free themselves from the burdens laid on them by Prussia's victories in 1866 and 1870; and that the Vatican, desiring to preserve the integrity of the strongly Catholic Austrian Empire and to strengthen the South German Catholic States, for that reason strongly seconded the effort of the Emperor Charles.

When this possible co-operation between the Vatican, on the one side, and Austria and the South German Catholic States, on the other, has been discussed, it has generally been conjectured that an effort to revive the temporal power of the Pope, as ruler of the Papal States, was included as a part of the contemplated arrangement. It has many times been said that Kaiser Wilhelm had promised this restoration in case of the victory of the Central Empires.

But, even without this restoration of the temporal power, the Vatican's position in the world would be strengthened should Catholic Austria regain something of the power and prestige she lost when defeated by Prussia in 1866, and even more, perhaps, when the King of Prussia assumed the title of Emperor in 1871; and, should a new alignment of the Germanic States be brought about which would detach Bavaria and the other South German Catholic States from Prussia and join them to Austria, this would, of course, still further raise the Vatican's prestige.

* * *

Russia's Greek Church and the Roman Catholics

WHILE the people of Russia are preparing to hold a Constitutional Convention, or Constituent Assembly, to decide on the future government of the 8,000,000 square miles of territory formerly ruled by the Czars, the Russian Church is getting ready to hold a National Church Council, which is expected to re-establish the office of Patriarch of Russia, abolished by Peter the Great; for Peter the Great was unwilling to see a single conspicuous personality at the head of the national church who might become a rival to the Czar. Peter, therefore, substituted for the Russian Patri-

arch a Synod, or College of Bishops, with a civil Procurator as his representative; the Procurator of the Holy Synod having a controlling voice in church appointments.

If the Russian Patriarchate be restored, the Patriarch of Russia will be one (and the most influential) of a group of five Oriental Patriarchs: the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Russia. Two of these, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Patriarch of Antioch, claim to outrank in antiquity the Patriarch (now the Pope) of Rome, who, they say, owed his precedence to the fact that Rome was the political capital of the empire.

It was the claim of the Patriarch (Pope) of Rome to exercise authority over the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, which brought about the division between the Eastern and Western Churches; the Eastern Patriarchs were willing to admit the seniority, but not the absolute authority, of the Patriarch (Pope) of Rome. When the Roman See demanded complete obedience, the Eastern Patriarchs declared their complete independence of Rome. This event took place some nine centuries ago.

The division between the Eastern and Western Churches has colored the religious life of Eastern Europe and much of Western Asia ever since. The eastern half of the empire, with Greek as its ecclesiastical tongue, included most of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula—the whole region later to be invaded by the Mohammedan Turks. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania were thus within the area of the Eastern Church, and, when Serbian missionaries carried Eastern Christianity northward, to the new realm of Russia, they also carried with them allegiance to Constantinople and the old Serbian tongue, which became, and has ever since been, the ecclesiastical language of Russia, as it is of Bulgaria and Serbia, and as it long was for Rumania also.

There are practically no differences of doctrine in the group of autonomous churches which form the Eastern Orthodox Church, including, besides the four ancient patriarchates, (Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople,) the churches of Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Poland, though Slavonic, owes allegiance to the Church of Rome, while, in the regions which were long the subject of contest between Poland and Russia, a compromise was arrived at, some two centuries ago, under which certain populations retained the Slavonic ritual, while acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. Their religious organization was called the Union, or "Unia," and they were known as Uniates; but they have recently been called "Greek Catholics," to distinguish them from the Roman Catholics, who, like them, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, but who, unlike them, used the Latin ritual, on the one hand; and from the Greek Orthodox, belonging to the Eastern Church which used the Greek or Slavonic ritual and included the group of autonomous but united churches, governed by the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, the synods of Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and the Primate of Rumania.

Russia's intervention in the Balkan Peninsula in the nineteenth century to aid in the liberation of the Greeks, Serbians, Rumanians, and Bulgarians from the domination of the Mohammedan Turks was largely due to the fact that these small peoples, like Russia, belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church.

* * *

The Peoples of Siam

THERE is a curious fitness in the entry of Siam into the world war among the nations that are "making the world safe for democracy," since the native names of Siam, "Thai," and "Muang-Thai," mean "free" and "the kingdom of the free." Siam is about as large as France (about 200,000 square miles) with a population slightly larger than that of Belgium just before the war, some eight millions. Its people, who are of many shades of yellowish brown, appear to have drifted down into this furthest outpost of Asia from the highlands north of Burma and east of Tibet descending the valley of two immense

rivers, the Mekong and the Salwen, that rise on the Tibetan uplands not far from where the Yang Tse-kiang also has its source.

There was a folk tradition among these people that the further south they descended the shorter they would grow; when they reached the southern plains they would be no larger than rabbits; when they came to the sea, they would vanish altogether. But while the northern tribes are much taller than the southern, the prophecy has stopped short of complete fulfillment. The various yellow-brown tribes who make up the Siamese people, found on their arrival, several thousand years ago, a race of black dwarfs, absolutely savage and akin to the Negrito race of the Philippines—one of the oldest races in the world. These small black men they drove back into the mountain jungles, where they still dwell in caves and nests of palm-leaves, so shy and furtive that it is almost impossible to catch sight of them.

Siam received its literary and religious culture from Southern India and Ceylon, after the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism. In this way Buddhism became the dominant religion of "the kingdom of the free." There are many Mohammedans also, supporting more than 500 mosques in this far-eastern land, yet these are far from being the most easterly Mohammedan settlements, for one is found nearly 2,500 miles further east, in the Aru Islands, immediately over Central Australia.

* * *

THE FIGHT FOR UNITED ITALY

NOT all students of the world-war realize, perhaps, that Italy's part in it is simply the continuation of the struggle to unite the whole Italian nation, the fight for "United Italy," begun in Garibaldi's days. Italy was included in Charlemagne's empire, the union between the Emperor and the Pope dating from 800 A. D., when the Pope crowned Charlemagne. By the Treaty of Verdun, Lothair, Charlemagne's grandson, united under a single crown Italy (to a line south of Rome) and Lotharingia, (from which comes the modern name, Lorraine,) which included both Belgium and Holland. Thenceforth, throughout the whole history of the Empire, much of Italy was held, for long periods, by the Teutonic Emperors, the title of the Empire, from the tenth century, being "The Holy Roman Empire of the German People."

Thus, at the beginning of the Napoleonic period, much of Northern Italy, including Venice and Trieste, was a part of the Austrian Empire. Napoleon forced Austria to loosen her grip on Italy, but made no united Italian kingdom; and, after his fall in 1815, both Venice and Trieste, with Lombardy, were united once more to Austria. Beginning in 1859, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour worked for the union of Italy, using Piedmont, the northwest corner of the peninsula, as a foundation for the building. In that year the victory of Napoleon III. over Austria at Magenta and Solferino drove Austria out of Lombardy, and brought it under Victor Emmanuel's crown.

In March, 1860, the three duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, having driven out their dukes, by an almost unanimous plébescite united themselves to Victor Emmanuel's growing kingdom. Two months later, in May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa and captured Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. But the eastern part of the Papal States, ruled by the Pope as temporal sovereign, was excepted. In 1866, Venice was won from Austria, Prussia being then Italy's ally; and finally, in 1870, Italy took possession of Rome, her ancient capital. There remained "unredeemed" Trent and Trieste, for which Italy is now fighting.

* * *

GERMANY'S NEW MINISTRY

THE political crisis in Germany has subsided following the appointment of Dr. Georg Michaelis as Imperial Chancellor, and of other new Imperial and Prussian Ministers. Dr. Zimmermann has been succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, formerly German Ambassador to Turkey. Dr. Karl Helfferich remains as Imperial Vice Chancellor, member of the Ministry of State, and temporary Minister of the

THE NEW ALLIED OFFENSIVE IN BELGIUM

A picture-map showing the scene of the offensive opened by the Allies on July 31, 1917, on a line extending from Dixmude to Armentières

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

WHERE THE RUSSIANS HAVE RETREATED

The territory abandoned by the Russians is shown in the above picture-map. After an offensive which opened vigorously on July 1 demoralization of the Russian troops set in and wiped out the previous success

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

Interior. One of the most interesting of the new appointments is that of Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party in the Reichstag, to be head of the Prussian Ministry of Justice. Adolph von Batocki, the Food Controller, resigned, and was succeeded on Aug. 15 by Herr von Waldow, formerly Lord Lieutenant of Pomerania. None of the changes indicates any advance toward Parliamentary control. The Reichstag adjourned on July 20 to reassemble Sept. 26.

* * *

Conscription in Canada

AFTER an acrimonious debate in Parliament, preceded by grave disorders and threats of civil war by French Canadian Catholics, in which prominent clericals participated, the Canadian Senate on Aug. 8 passed on its third reading the Conscription bill previously passed by the House. It provides for drafting men between the ages of 20 and 32. It is expected that 100,000 men will be raised by the draft. No disorders followed the passage of the measure.

* * *

Premier Alexander Kerensky

IT has several times been asserted that Kerensky, the most conspicuous figure in Russia since the revolution, is "a young Jewish Socialist." But a careful canvass of the Russian official colony in New York appears to make it certain that he is a Russian Slav by birth and ancestry, the son of a schoolmaster in the town of Saratoff on the Volga. Alexander Kerensky early manifested oratorical gifts of a high order, studied law, and was elected a member of the Duma from one of the constituencies in the region between the Volga and the Siberian border. He particularly interested himself in labor questions and defended labor cases in the law courts, so that he soon came to be regarded as one of the leading advocates of labor interests in the Duma.

As labor organizations were forbidden in imperial Russia, the workmen, seeking to protect their interests, were induced to join the Socialist Party in large numbers. It thus happened that the Socialists were the best organized and most numerous body in Petrograd when the revolution took place, and their Council of Workmen's Deputies immediately became prominent, seeking to dictate the domestic and foreign policies of the Provisional Government (formed of Duma leaders) and even interfering disastrously with the discipline of the army. The organization of debating committees in each unit of the army was the work of this council, and was the source of the worst demoralization of the Russian Army. The proposal to confiscate the property of the landowners originated at the same source.

While Kerensky called himself a Socialist, he has, since he became Premier, done everything in his power to reverse the action of the Petrograd Socialists. He has forced a continuation of the war, has first limited and then forbidden the army debating clubs, and has restored the death penalty for insubordination in the army.

* * *

The Political Status of Egypt

THE present political status of Egypt is an example of the innate conservatism—in the sense of conservation—which has marked all England's dealings with Oriental peoples, and notably with the peoples of India. For while, as a result of Turkey's entry into the war and England's command of the sea, British power was extended over Egypt in December, 1914, Egypt becoming in effect an integral part of the British Empire, England nevertheless conserved all details of the existing administration, except that the title of Khédive, hitherto borne by the native ruler, was changed to Sultan. As the former Khédive had thrown in his lot with Turkey and the Central Powers, he was declared deposed, and Hussein Kamil Pasha was put at the head of the Egyptian Government, with the title of Sultan. The present Sultan of Egypt, born in 1854, is the son of Ismail I., who was forced to abdicate under pressure of the British and French Governments in 1879, and is the eighth in descent from Muhammed Ali, appointed Governor in 1805, who threw off Turkish domination six years later,

though a money tribute was still paid to Turkey.

The administration of Egypt is carried out by a native ministry acting under the Sultan, but England exercises, through a Financial Adviser, a decisive influence over the acts of the Egyptian Government. In July, 1913, certain existing councils were replaced by a new Legislative Assembly, which includes the Ministers, sixty-six elected members, and seventeen members nominated by the Government, to represent minorities. The elected members hold office for six years, one third being elected every two years, as in the United States Senate. This Legislative Assembly has a considerable voice in law making and taxation. There are 10,000,000 Mohammedans in Egypt, or 90 per cent. of the population; the Copts, 700,000 in number, who are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, are the next largest element.

* * *

New Faces for Wounded Men

FACIAL plastic surgery has made great strides recently. A new hospital has been opened in London devoted especially to the work. It is devoted to the building up of the features and restoration of contour from the patient's own tissues. Portions of skin, bone, and cartilage are transferred and manipulated in a manner which a few months ago would have been thought to be impossible.

Demonstrations have been made showing how a portion of a man's own rib can be taken whence he will feel no inconvenience, and used as the foundation of a new jaw. Bits of cartilage can be taken from his chest to reconstruct a nose, and the new creation is of a type to accord with the features of the patient.

Skin from the brow can be turned down, flaps can be drawn from parts of the face that are intact, for these things taken from the living organism can still preserve their own vitality under the process of transference. The method is slow. As much as a whole year, or even two, may be occupied as one after another of the delicate operations are successfully performed. Indeed, the only real difficulty in regard to a perfect cure is that the men are frequently so delighted with the amendments partially wrought that they and their friends say that is quite good enough, and no more need be done. At least, they know none will shrink away from them.

* * *

A French Officer's Tribute to an American Hero

THE first American to be killed under enemy fire on the French front after the entry of the United States into the war was Paul G. Osborn of Montclair, N. J., a Dartmouth student in the class of 1917, who had volunteered as an ambulance driver at the beginning of the war, and who received fatal injuries while transporting wounded French soldiers from amid heavy shell fire to the nearest aid stations, dying on June 22, 1917.

PAUL G. OSBORN

His body lay for a time in the little wooden field chapel at Chalons, covered with a great American flag. According to l'Illustration of Paris, which devoted a page to pictures and text on the subject, the funeral was held at Chalons on June 26, the day when the first United States troops were landing on French soil. The body, borne to the grave on an ambulance truck draped with the flags of both nations, was accompanied by a delegation of French troops in command of General A. Baratier of Fashoda fame, who spoke these eloquent sentences in honor of the young hero:

> In the name of the 134th Division I salute Soldier Osborn, who came at the outbreak of the war to aid us to triumph for right, liberty, and justice. In his person I salute the army of the United States, which is fighting with us. The same ideal inspires and leads us onward. We are fighting to save the liberty of the world.
>
> Soldier Osborn, my thoughts go out to

your parents, who on the other side of the ocean will learn of the grief that has stricken them. I know that words have no power to lessen a mother's sorrow, but I know, too, that the ideal which she inspired in the heart of her son will be able if not to dry her tears at least to transform them, for it is through these tears, the tears of all mothers, of all women, that victory will come—that victory which will assure the peace of the world, which will be theirs more than any others, since they will have paid for it with their hearts. Soldier Osborn, sleep in the midst of your French comrades, fallen gloriously like you. Sleep on, wrapped in the folds of the American flag and under the shadow of the banners of France.

* * *

Supporting Canadian Soldiers' Families

THE United States will establish a system for the maintenance of the dependents of men who join the army and navy based on the Canadian system, whose main features are these:

(1.) Enlisted men (not officers) are required to assign at least one-half of their monthly pay, but not more than twenty days' pay each month.

(2.) The Canadian Government grants to dependents a separation allowance, based on the rank of the soldier, as follows: Privates, $20; Sergeants, $25; warrant officers and Lieutenants, $30; Captains, $40; Majors, $50; Lieutenant Colonels, $60.

(3.) In certain localities in Canada families of enlisted men are protected by life insurance, the premiums on which are paid by the municipality in which the soldier resided at the time he enlisted.

On May 14 in Toronto alone $42,297,000 insurance was outstanding, of which the municipality carried 76.4 per cent.

The fourth source is from patriotic funds, largely made up of voluntary subscriptions. This fund in April, 1917, had reached $22,981.615, of which $16,575,634 had been disbursed. The scale of assistance runs from $5 a month for a wife having no children (in receipt of $20 a month as separation allowance and $15 a month or more as assigned pay) to $30 a month for a wife with seven or more children. A widowed mother receives from the fund a monthly allowance not to exceed $10. If the parents are dependent on the soldier they receive from the fund a monthly allowance not to exceed $20. A wife with three children receives a total of $60 a month from all sources. The pension for total disability or death is $480 a year for privates to $2,700 for Brigadier Generals.

* * *

Russian Women in Battle

PRESS correspondents assert that the battalion of Russian women was actively engaged late in July on the Vilna front, and that five women were killed and wounded in the first battle; it was reported that in a subsequent engagement only fifty-five women in the entire battalion escaped unhurt. The women's battalion left Petrograd for the front in July under command of Mme. Botchkneva, who was herself injured by shell shock. They called themselves the Legion of Death. The women soldiers were garbed in trousers, puttees, and tunics a trifle longer than the usual army coats. They wore the regulation army caps over bobbed hair and carried packs only a trifle lighter than those of the regular Russian soldiers.

They entrained amid the tears of their families, like veterans. The girls were of Russia's best blood, of the strong stock of some of the city's intellectual, financial and social leaders. Most of them were students at universities. Some were wealthy. They were recruited from the higher educational institutions with a few peasants, factory girls, and servants. Some married women, but none with children, were admitted. They range in age from 18 to 25 years and are of exceptional physique. Their hair is worn short. They are armed with the cavalry carbine, which is lighter than the regular army rifle. They were trained by officers of the Kolynsky Regiment.

* * *

Vast British War Credits

THE British Commons granted an additional new vote of credit of $3,250,000,000 in July, which brings the total up to $26,000,000,000, as follows, in English money:

1914-1915.

Aug. 6	£100,000,000
Nov. 15	225,000,000
March 1	37,000,000
	£362,000,000

1915-1916.	
March 1	£250,000,000
June 15	250,000,000
July 20	150,000,000
Sept. 15	250,000,000
Nov. 11	400,000,000
Feb. 21	120,000,000
	£1,420,000,000

1916-1917.	
Feb. 21	£300,000,000
May 23	300,000,000
July 24	450,000,000
Oct. 11	300,000,000
Dec. 14	400,000,000
Feb. 12	200,000,000
March 15	60,000,000
	£2,010,000,000

1917-1918.	
Feb. 16	£350,000,000
May 9	500,000,000
July	650,000,000
Total	£5,292,000,000

At normal exchange this total is $26,460,000,000. Of the preceding sums, somewhat in excess of $5,000,000,000 was advanced to the allies of Great Britain.

* * *

How Britain Buys Supplies

GREAT BRITAIN'S expenditures for army supplies up to June, 1917, embracing only clothing, food, and utensils for the present war, were $3,500,000,000, of which $1,000,000,000 was expended for her allies. The purchases now run for Great Britain alone at the rate of $1,750,000,000 per annum, nearly $5,000,000 a day. Among the purchases during the war are included:

Cloth	105,000,000 yards
Flannel	115,000,000 yards
Knives, forks, and spoons	35,000,000
Bacon	400,000,000 pounds
Cheese	167,000,000 pounds
Jam	260,000,000 tins
Preserved meats	500,000,000 rations
Boots	35,000,000 pairs
Smoke helmets	25,000,000
Horseshoes	40,000,000

The method pursued in buying depends on the relation that the demand has to the general output. If it is in small proportion, competitive bids are invited; if the industry must be enlarged to meet the demand, the price is fixed plus a reasonable profit. In some trades, on which the demands of the department are unusually heavy, it is necessary to regulate production in all stages of manufacture down to the raw material. The latter is either purchased by the department or dealings in it are controlled under the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and its conversion into the finished article is arranged on the basis of fixed prices for each process of manufacture. The chief raw materials controlled in this way are wool and jute, and a similar kind of control is applied to leather, flax, and hemp.

* * *

American Loans to Allies

THE loans by the United States to the Allies up to July 13, 1917, had reached $1,327,500,000, divided as follows:

1917.		France:	
Great Britain and Ireland:		May 8	$100,000,000
		June 2	100,000,000
April 25	$200,000,000	June 26	10,000,000
May 5	25,000,000	July 6	30,000,000
May 7	25,000,000	July 9	70,000,000
May 14	75,000,000	July 23	60,000,000
May 25	75,000,000		
June 9	75,000,000		$370,000,000
June 14	25,000,000		
June 19	35,000,000	Belgium:	
June 26	15,000,000	May 16	$7,500,000
June 30	10,000,000	June 19	7,500,000
July 2	25,000,000	July 23	7,500,000
July 5	100,000,000		
July 20	85,000,000		$22,500,000
	$770,000,000	Russia:	
		July 6	$35,000,000
Italy:		July 13	10,000,000
May 3	$100,000,000		
July 5	20,000,000		$45,000,000
	$120,000,000		

* * *

Germany's Loss of Shipping

IT will be remembered that, on or about Aug. 5, 1914, the powerful German wireless stations all over the world sent out a general alarm to all German ships, announcing that England had declared war against Germany, and ordering the Captains to take refuge at once from the British fleet in the nearest neutral ports. Obeying this order, Germany's large merchant marine almost immediately disappeared from the seven seas, seeking internment in American, Asiatic, and neutral European harbors. One of the features of the war has been the progressive conversion of nearly all these originally neutral powers into active enemies of Germany, with the re-

sultant seizure of the interned German ships, which have then been diverted to the traffic of the Allies, to replace tonnage destroyed by Germany's illegal submarine campaign.

Portugal was the first conspicuous instance of this, a large fleet of German merchant ships which had taken refuge in the Tagus being seized by the Portuguese Government and this seizure leading to a declaration of war against Portugal by the German Government; Siam and China are the latest powers to take this course. With the exception of the few German steamships which may have taken refuge in Scandinavian, Dutch, or Spanish harbors, and the few ships in German ports when war was declared, practically all of Germany's once great merchant marine is now in the service of the Allies, or is being prepared for such service.

* * *

UNDER the new income tax law in France the following are the rates: Business profits, 4½ per cent.; salaries, incomes, &c., 3¾ per cent.; mortgages, loans, deposits, 5 per cent. Revenue tax on total business done by firms is as follows: Between $200,000 and $400,000, 1 per cent.; $400,000 and $2,000,000, 2 per cent.; $2,000,000 and $20,000,000, 3 per cent.; between $20,000,000 and $40,000,000, 4 per cent.; above, 5 per cent. The impost on revenue from rents starts at 5 per cent. and increases to 12 per cent. The margin free of tax allowed residents of Paris is $600. The impost on rents annuls the tax heretofore laid on doors and windows.

* * *

A FORMAL charge of theft was preferred against Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the Kaiser, by M. Dubois, proprietor of a château in the neighborhood of Compiègne. There was a formal hearing before the Court of the Oise Department, and testimony was introduced to establish the theft of furniture, valuable ornaments, and decorative and artistic articles by the Prince.

* * *

THE House of Commons after a sharp debate fixed the minimum wage of British farm laborers at $6.25 a week. The Labor Party moved to make it $7.50, but the Government carried its point by a majority of 199.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From July 19 Up to and Including August 19, 1917

UNITED STATES

The drawing for the nation's first draft army took place in Washington July 20.

Congress passed a bill, signed July 24, appropriating $640,000,000 for the aviation service.

Another contingent of troops from the regular army arrived in France.

A controversy between William Denman, Chairman of the Shipping Board, and Major Gen. Goethals, General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, over the merits of steel and wooden ships resulted in the resignation of Major Gen. Goethals and in the retirement of Mr. Denman, at the request of President Wilson. Edward Hurley was appointed to succeed Mr. Denman and Rear Admiral Washington Lee Capps was named to succeed Major Gen. Goethals. Captain John B. White, a member of the Shipping Board, also resigned. He was succeeded by Bainbridge Colby.

A Norwegian Commission and a Swiss Commission arrived in the United States to discuss the question of food importation as the result of the passage of a bill to limit exports to neutral countries.

The Council of National Defense was reorganized to provide for the formation of a War Industries Board of seven members and a Central Purchasing Commission to take charge of obtaining war supplies for the United States and her allies.

A food control bill was passed by Congress and was signed by President Wilson Aug. 10. Herbert C. Hoover was named Food

Administrator. A $50,000,000 corporation, headed by Mr. Hoover, was formed to control wheat prices and supply.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Official British reports made public July 19 showed that losses by actual sinkings of allied and neutral ships in the first six months of 1917 amounted to 3,507,257 tons, and the total losses from August, 1914, to July, 1917, were 7,706,291 tons.

Germany declared that the monthly average of her losses in submarines was little more than three.

The American bark Camela was sunk by bombs at the entrance of the English Channel after it had been attacked by a German submarine and looted. Twenty-four persons, including eight naval gunners, lost their lives in the sinking of the American steamship Motano. The Standard Oil tanker Campana was sunk and the Captain and four members of the naval gun crew were reported taken prisoners. Other American losses included the schooners John Hays Hammond and John Twohy and the bark Christiane.

England lost twenty-one vessels of more than 1,600 tons in the week ended July 21, eighteen in the week ended July 28, twenty-one in the week ended Aug. 4, and fourteen in the week ended Aug. 11. Thirty-eight members of the crew of the steamship Belgian Prince, including four Americans, were drowned after the attacking U-boat took away their lifebelts and smashed the lifeboats. Forty American muleteers were lost on the steamer Argalia. The cruiser Ariadne was sunk and thirty-eight members of the crew drowned.

French losses averaged about three vessels of more than 1,600 tons each week. Italy lost from four to six small steamers each week of the month.

Sweden's losses from submarines and mines, from the beginning of the war, amounted to 136 vessels with a tonnage of 125,000 and Denmark's amounted to 100 ships. Norway lost thirty-three ships in July. Ten persons were killed in the sinking of the Norwegian steamer Falkland.

Argentina sent a peremptory note to Berlin concerning the sinking of the steamship Toro.

Peru refused Germany's offer to submit the circumstances of the sinking of the Peruvian bark Lorton to a prize court, and demanded payment for damages and an indemnity.

The German Emperor accepted proposals to spare hospital ships.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

July 19—Germans penetrate Russian positions in Northeastern Galicia on a wide front near Zlochow; Russians reoccupy Novica, but withdraw to the eastern end of the village under heavy losses.

July 20—Teutons make successful attacks on the Pieniaki-Harbuzov front, owing to mutiny of extremist Russian regiments, and occupy Russian first-line trenches east of Brzezany.

July 22—Russians continue to retreat in Northern Galicia as mutiny spreads, and yield ground as far south as the Dniester; Babino, on the Lomnica, evacuated.

July 23—Russians pierce German lines north of the Pinsk marshes, in the district of Tsary-Bogushi, but retreat further in Northern Galicia; Germans capture Tarnopol.

July 24—Germans pursue Russians on a 155-mile line from the Baltic to the Black Sea and cross the Sereth River in the region of Mikulice; Russians evacuate Stanislau; regiments on the Dvinsk-Vilna front abandon the enemy's positions after capturing them, as mutiny spreads north.

July 25—Germans occupy Tarnopol, Stanislau, and Nadworna.

July 26—Germans pursue the Russians east of Tarnopol to the Gnizdiorzno and Gnizna Rivers, penetrate positions near Loszniov and on the Sereth, south of Trembowla, and occupy three towns south of Tarnopol; Russians abandon the Carpathian front as far as the Kirlibaba sector.

July 27—Russians retire from Czernowitz; Germans capture Kolomea.

July 29—Russians retreat over the Galician border at Husiatyn; Germans capture Kuty, in the Carpathians.

July 30—Russians stiffen their line and hold heights to the east of the River Zbrocz; Germans advance through the Suchawa Valley toward Seletyn.

Aug. 1—Russians begin offensive in Galicia in the direction of Trembowla, but retreat in the south.

Aug. 3—Austrians capture Czernowitz.

Aug. 4—Austrians cross the Russian frontier northeast of Czernowitz; all of Galicia except a narrow stretch of ground from Brody to Zbaraz wrested from the Russians.

Aug. 5—Russians resume offensive tactics east of Czernowitz and capture a wood near Baian, but retire southwest of that region.

Aug. 6-7—Russians take the offensive in Volhynia and capture two villages; Russians evacuate Proskurov, in Podolia, and Kamenetz-Podolsk, the capital of Podolia.

Aug. 8—Russians resume the offensive in the Chotin region and capture two villages and retake positions near Sereminki, in Volhynia, after being driven out.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN.

July 21—Fighting resumed on the Rumanian front; Austro-Germans attack positions near the confluence of the Rimnik and Sereth Rivers, but are repulsed.

July 25—Rumanians enter Teuton trenches in the region of Bystro Patak.

July 27—Rumanians capture ten villages in their advance toward the upper reaches of the Suchitza River.

July 30—Germans advance east of the Upper Moldavia Valley and attack on both sides of the Fokshani-Ajoud Railway.

July 31—Rumanians take fortified positions on the right bank of the River Putna, northwest of Soveia.

Aug. 2—Teutons advance in Bukowina and take stand before Kimpolung.

Aug. 3—Russians evacuate Kimpolung.

Aug. 5—Teutons occupy Vama.

Aug. 7—Austro-Germans begin offensive against Russo-Rumanian armies in Moldavia and storm Russian positions north of Fokshani.

Aug. 8—Russians fall back between the Fokshani-Marasechti Railroad and the River Sereth.

Aug. 11—Teuton attacks in the valleys of the Sereth and Suchawa, in the region of Terechini and Gadikalba, repulsed; Rumanians retire southwest of Ocna.

Aug. 12—Austro-Germans in Moldavia capture Grozesni and the dominating heights; Russian attack at the mouth of the River Buzeu repulsed.

Aug. 15—Austro-Germans seize the bridgehead at Baltaretu and capture Stracani, northwest of Pantziu.

Aug. 16—Russians and Rumanians forced to cross to the east side of the River Sereth and retire on the Moldavian border.

Aug. 18—Austrians drive Russo-Rumanians from intrenched positions south of Grozesci.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

July 19—Germans make two attacks upon the French lines south of St. Quentin and reach the first French line, but lose most of their gains.

July 20—Germans repulsed on the plateau before Craonne and Vauclerc, and between the Californie Plateau and Casemates Plateau.

July 22-23—Germans launch fierce attacks on the Casemates and Californie Plateaus.

July 24—French retake all ground lost between Casemates and Californie Plateaus; heavy artillery duels in Flanders.

July 26—Germans penetrate French lines from La Bovelle Farm to a point east of Hurtebise.

July 27—French repulse five German attacks on the heights south and west of Moronvilliers; British capture La Bassée Ville.

July 31—French and British smash German lines in Belgium on a twenty-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton, taking ten towns and crossing the Yser in many places; French on the Aisne capture German trenches over a front of nearly a mile.

Aug. 1—Germans in Belgium retake St. Julien from the British and gain a footing at Westhoek.

Aug. 2—British regain Ypres-Roulers railway station and repulse German assaults between the railway and St. Julien.

Aug. 3—British reoccupy St. Julien and improve their positions south of Hollebeke.

Aug. 4—French push forward east of Kortekeer Cabaret and check Germans near Verdun; British expel Germans from trenches near Monchy-le-Preux, re-establishing their lines.

Aug. 5—Canadians push forward southwest of Lens; British advance at St. Julien and repulse attacks at Hollebeke.

Aug. 8—French take German trenches northwest of Bixschoote.

Aug. 9—French advance south of Langemarck.

Aug. 10—British capture Westhoek Ridge; French extend their positions in the Bixschoote region; Germans win ground north of St. Quentin.

Aug. 11-12—British win more ground east of Ypres; French retake lost trenches at Fayet.

Aug. 14—British push German posts across the Steenbeke River and re-establish their lines.

Aug. 15—Canadians take German positions on a two-mile front east and south of Loos, including Hill 70.

Aug. 16—British capture Langemarck and push on a half mile beyond; French drive Germans from a tongue of land between the Yser Canal and the Martjewaart.

Aug. 18—French complete their conquest of German territory south of the St. Sansbeek and Breenbeek Rivers.

Aug. 19—British advance 500 yards east of Langemarck.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 20—Italians destroy advanced Austrian post on Monte Plana and repulse a patrol at the Maso Torrent; Austrians bombard Italian positions in the Plezzo Basin, on the Vodice, on the Dosso Faite, and west of Versic.

July 24—Austrians show increased activity in the Trentino and attack advanced Italian posts in the Posina Valley, San Pellegrina Valley, and Overbacher region.

Aug. 10—Italians repulse attacks in the Coalba Valley, at Brenta, and north of Caterina.

Aug. 19—Italians begin offensive on a thirty-seven-mile front from the region of Tolmino to near the head of the Adriatic Sea.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

July 24—Russians bombard Tireboli, on the Black Sea, with torpedo boats and artillery; scouting parties cross the Karshut Darasi and enter Turkish trenches; Turks report dislodging of British troops who had penetrated positions at Chewet-Tepe, on Gaza-Honjunous Road.

Aug. 8—Russians defeat Kurds near Hoshaba, southeast of Van, and near Dizy, west of Urm.

Aug. 14—Turks begin offensive in the region of Mount Salvus, Dag, and Pelimer, in the direction of Kharput.

AERIAL RECORD

On the western front the British raided Zeebrugge, Bruges, Ghistelles, and other Belgian towns and dropped bombs on the German airdrome at Sparappelhoek. Many notable battles were fought. On July 28 the British downed thirty-one German machines, and on July 29 they brought down sixteen machines and drove fourteen out of control. Thirteen British machines were reported missing. In the fighting Aug. 17-18 the Allies brought down thirty-seven machines and the Germans twenty-six.

German airplanes flew over Paris on the nights of July 27 and 28 and dropped bombs in suburban sections. One aviator attacked a hospital near the front, killing four people.

Twenty German airplanes dropped bombs over Felixstowe and Harwich on July 22, killing eleven persons and injuring twenty-six. One German airplane was brought down at sea. In a raid on watering places on the southeast coast of Essex on Aug. 12 twenty-three persons were killed and fifty injured. Two German machines were destroyed.

Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, announced in Commons on July 30 that since the beginning of hostilities 366 persons had been killed and 1,092 injured in the London metropolitan area.

Germany announced that the Allies lost 213 airplanes and 24 captive balloons in July and admitted the loss of 60 German machines.

Italians raided St. Lucia-Tolmino, damaging the railway works, bombed the arsenal and military works of Pola, and dropped four tons of high explosives on Austrian troop quarters in the Chiapovano Valley.

Austrians raided the maritime arsenal at Venice. The School of St. Mark was damaged.

NAVAL RECORD

Two German ships were sunk off the coast of Holland by British destroyers and two were captured and taken to England.

The Netherlands Government charged that a British submarine violated Holland's neutrality by sinking the Dutch steamship Batavier II. in her territorial waters.

Nineteen passengers, including five Americans, were lost when the British steamer City of Athens was sunk by a mine off Cape Town on Aug. 10.

MISCELLANEOUS

Chancellor Michaelis addressed the German Reichstag on July 20, declaring that Germany contemplated no new peace offer, but was willing to treat with the Allies if they opened negotiations. A resolution for peace without annexations or indemnities was adopted. The British House of Commons rejected a resolution of sympathy with this move.

Pope Benedict sent a letter to the rulers of the belligerent countries urging peace. The text was made public in England on Aug. 15.

The Finnish Diet adopted the Autonomy bill July 19, after rejecting a proposal to submit it to the Russian Provisional Government. The Russian Government declined to acknowledge the validity of the measure, dissolved the Landtag, and declared that it would submit to the Landtag its own laws governing Russo-Finnish relations. On Aug. 16 the Cabinet resigned and the Governor General asked M. Tokio to form a Socialist Ministry. Revolts were put down by Russian troops.

The Canadian Parliament passed a conscription bill.

Siam and China declared war on the Central Powers. Austria-Hungary declared that China's declaration was illegal and unconstitutional.

Germany notified Turkey and Bulgaria that she would assume all the expenses incurred by those countries in the campaign of 1917-1918.

Changes were made in the British Admiralty, Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss succeeding Sir Cecil Burney as Second Sea Lord and Alan Garrett Anderson assuming the Controllership of Naval Construction. George Nicoll Barnes was appointed to succeed Arthur Henderson as Labor member of the War Cabinet.

Serbia protested to the United States against the economic exploitation of the Serbian provinces by the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian authorities. The capital was moved from Corfu to Saloniki.

On Aug. 6 official announcement was made that four German Imperial Secretaries, including Foreign Secretary Zimmermann and Adolph von Batocki, President of the Food Regulation Board, and five Ministers of the Prussian Cabinet had resigned. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann was appointed Foreign Minister and Herr von Waldon was named food rationer.

Representatives of the allied powers held a conference in Paris July 25-26. They decided to continue the war until their objects were attained and to withdraw their troops from ancient Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus.

Rear Admiral Lacaze, French Minister of Marine, and Baron Denis Cochin, Under Secretary of State for Blockade, resigned from the French Cabinet. Charles Chaumet succeeded Lacaze. An Under Secretaryship of Marine was created and Jacques Louis Dumesnil was appointed to the post. The Chamber of Deputies was prorogued until Sept. 18, following the withdrawal of support from the Government by strong Socialist groups.

The Grand Tactics of Three Years of Warfare

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts

IT is now known that, at the outbreak of the war in 1914, the German Great General Staff had its definite plan of campaign, which had been decided upon for years, and which had been carefully worked out in every detail. This was a repetition of the plan of 1870 directed against Paris. It was true in 1914, as in 1870, that the French capital was the heart of France, and its capture, with the huge levy of money that would have been imposed on the city, would have paralyzed France.

The German Staff had mistakenly committed its plans to an invasion of France through Belgium to avoid the theoretical strength of the French frontier fortresses. The Germans at that time did not realize that in the powerful Teutonic artillery they possessed a weapon that made all fortresses of no value. They had believed the French fortresses impregnable, and had deliberately chosen a passage through a neutral nation instead of the attempt to reduce them.

In a previous article* it was shown that the unexpected resistance of the Belgians, which delayed the Germans nearly three weeks, gave the French time to mobilize, to correct the mistaken offensive in Alsace, and to interpose the French armies against the German invaders. The French Commander in Chief, General Joffre, was the ideal man in character and temperment for such a crisis. He fought a cool, wary, retiring fight, all the time gathering his resources for a final stand against the onthrusting Germans.

In England Lord Kitchener had been given absolute military authority, and a British army of regulars, (about 90,000,) under General French, Kitchener's Lieutenant in South Africa, had been sent to France, where it was placed on the left flank of the French armies, (Aug. 21, 1914.)

As the Germans advanced into France General Joffre kept his armies in hand, fighting and falling back successively from the lines of the Semois, (Charleroi,) Meuse, and Aisne, (Aug. 23-28.) At the beginning of these withdrawals the British army on the left flank had overstayed its battle, (Mons, Aug. 23,) and in its retreat had been badly cut up by the German right, but the French armies were not impaired.

Joffre's Stroke at the Marne

General Joffre had withdrawn to the Marne, (Sept. 3,) and General von Kluck, who commanded the German right, knowing the battered condition of the British army on the French left, believed that his own right flank was safe, and drove on to the southeast to join the massed attack on Paris. But there was a new element in the campaign that changed the result. General Joffre had sent in a fresh army from the environs of Paris (Sixth Army) and placed it on the left of the British army, so that the latter was no longer the left flank of the Allies.

This Sixth Army on Sept. 6 pressed north, threatening the German right, as did the Fifth Army which had been on the right of the British. This brilliant manoeuvre decided the battle of the Marne, (Sept. 6-10,) and saved Paris.

The Germans were forced to retreat to the Aisne, where they intrenched in positions previously chosen in case of an emergency. After vain attempts to break this line, (battle of the Aisne, Sept. 12-17,) the Allies intrenched against it.

The regions of Verdun and the other

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* The Moltke of 1870, &c., CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, February, 1917.

French frontier fortresses had been also intrenched, as fortresses had already been proved of no value against the heavy Teutonic artillery. Both armies extended their flanks toward the sea, and in an astonishingly short time there was a line of Petersburg intrenchments from Switzerland to the sea, which has since swayed backward and forward for almost three years.

A part of the pre-war calculations of the German Staff had been the confident assumption that there would be so much delay in the mobilization of the Russian Army that no serious move was to be expected from Russia for many months. Instead of this the Russian mobilization was unexpectedly rapid, and in August, 1914, there was an invasion of East Prussia by two Russian armies, which started an exodus of the inhabitants, and made it necessary to send German troops to that front. This, of course, was a help to the Allies in the French campaign.

Battle of Tannenberg

The command of this German army in East Prussia was given to General von Hindenburg, who had been out of favor and in retirement. Hindenburg had been derisively called "The Old Man of the Lakes," because of his insistence on the strategic value of the Masurian Lakes in East Prussia. Against the Russians in actual warfare Hindenburg proved the truth of his contention. Calmly and methodically, as if at army manoeuvres in his favorite region, he halted the advance of the Russian General, Samsonov, in a strong frontal position among the Masurian Lakes, and, striking first one flank, then the other, Hindenburg practically destroyed Samsonov's army. The other Russian army, under General Rennenkampf, which had invested Koenigsberg, at once retreated into Russia.

This battle of Tannenberg (Aug. 26-Sept. 1, 1914) is already considered a classic by military critics, and it made Hindenburg the idol of Germany, as confidence waned in the supposedly infallible General Staff. The defeat itself was not a vital blow to Russia, nor to the Entente Allies. In fact, the diversion of troops and the necessity of retaining an army on the Russian front was well worth the price; but the consequent rise of Hindenburg resulted in great harm to the cause of the Entente Allies.

In the southeast the rapid mobilization of the Russians also disconcerted the Teutonic Allies. The Austrians had prepared in Galicia for an invasion of Russian Poland. Instead of being able to carry out their plans, the Austrians met an onslaught of Russian armies, which invaded Galicia, captured Tarnopol, Halicz, and Lemberg, the capital, (Aug. 27-Sept. 3,) and forced the Austrians to retreat to Cracow, Przemysl, and Jaroslav. So crippling were these defeats to the Austrians that the Serbians were able to defeat the weak Austrian forces that could be spared for use against them, and Serbian territory was kept intact.

On the western front in France and Belgium intrenching tactics changed the whole character of the war. All through the Fall of 1914 and into the Winter there were bloody battles which had no real military effect except to cause great losses on both sides. The one tactical result achieved at this time was the German conquest of the Belgian coast, which the Germans have retained to the present date. This tactical gain was not appreciated at the time, in view of the failure of the Germans to reach Calais; but it has given the Germans a base for submarines and aircraft, which has been of increasing tactical value.

On the eastern fronts the Russian successes continued. In the north repeated German offensives against Warsaw were beaten off, and Russian offensives followed which kept up a continued pressure on the Germans. In Galicia the Russians swept forward. Jaroslav was captured, (Sept. 20, 1914,) Przemysl was besieged, (surrendered March 22, 1915,) and on the Carpathian front the Russians had broken into Austria-Hungary.

Early British Naval Errors

In the meantime Great Britain's navy had proved to be the great factor on the sea, as anticipated by military critics. The concentration of the British fleet in the North Sea dominated the German fleet at once, but in the other areas her naval resources were not so well used.

TERRITORY HELD BY CENTRAL POWERS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1915. BLACK LINES INDICATE THE BATTLE FRONTS, DOTTED LINES NEUTRAL BOUNDARIES

TERRITORY HELD BY CENTRAL POWERS AT END OF THREE YEARS OF WAR. BLACK LINES INDICATE BATTLE FRONTS, DOTTED LINES NEUTRAL BOUNDARIES

Allowing the Goeben and Breslau to get into Constantinople had a serious effect on the Turkish situation, out of all proportion to the value of the ships themselves.

There seems to have been no reason for leaving the squadron in the Pacific without reinforcement, to be destroyed by a concentration of outlying German cruisers (Coronel, Nov. 1, 1914)—neither should the light cruisers (Emden, &c.) have been left footloose on the seas. These last errors had no effect on the grand tactics of the war, but Great Britain's mistake in the failure to declare a legal blockade of Germany at the outset has had a serious and increasing tactical effect on the war.

The perfected case of a legal blockade established by the United States in the civil war was at England's service, but, not realizing the possibilities of the submarine, Great Britain trusted to her command of the sea, and, instead of declaring a blockade, in an Admiralty order, (Nov. 2, 1914,) announced military areas in the North Sea. This was most unfortunate, as it gave Germany the chance to adopt the "war zone" policy, which has been one of the evils of the war.

The harm of this was not apparent early in 1915. Submarines had not developed any alarming efficiency. Great Britain controlled the sea, and, in spite of German occupation of French and Belgian territory, the military situation was then apparently in favor of the Entente Allies. On the western front the plan of the German General Staff had been defeated, and the great German armies of invasion had been brought to a halt. On the eastern front there was a strong pressure on the Teutonic Allies, especially on Austria. In fact, a study of the map will show that the Teutonic Allies were practically besieged in the early Spring of 1915. They were even cut off from their new ally, Turkey. (Turkey at war Oct. 30, 1914.)

Allied Offensives of 1915

The three great nations of the Entente Allies had intrusted their preparations for the coming campaigns of 1915 to three military dictators—for such had General Joffre become in France after his victory of the Marne. Lord Kitchener and the Grand Duke Nicholas, each the typical soldier of his nation, had absolute control in Great Britain and Russia. Herein lay the failure of the Allies, for each of these leaders believed that the height of military efficiency had been reached in the past campaigns. The great development of barrier fire and the excellence of the French "75s" had brought about the misguided belief in the "established superiority in artillery," which lulled the Entente Allies into false confidence.

In reality at this time the Teutonic Allies were making the colossal preparations of artillery and munitions which were destined to change the year of 1915 into a tragedy for the Entente Allies.

The first allied offensive in 1915 was Great Britain's ill-starred attempt on the Dardanelles, which was undertaken with her fleet alone. In spite of all the recriminations of those responsible, it is evident that at the time there was great confidence in the ability of the guns of the fleet to reduce the land defenses. The new 15-inch guns of the Queen Elizabeth class were particularly relied upon.

All the naval bombardments were without tactical result—and several ships were lost, (February-March, 1915.) It was decided to use a landing force, which Great Britain had available in Egypt. This army was brought to the strait in March, but the transports were found to be "improperly loaded."* The troops were then returned, reshipped, and, after a delay of more than another month, a landing was made on the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula, (April 25-26,) with fearful losses. Although the great fleet was at hand, there was no serious bombardment of the point of landing; and the Turks, who had received so much warning in advance, took full advantage of the situation.

The battered army was retained on the peninsula for months of desultory, useless fighting. In August there was another landing, which was as costly as the first, and the expedition was withdrawn

*General Ian Hamilton.

in the Winter. From first to last it was a blunder, costly in losses, and most costly in its effects upon the war, especially in its influence on the hesitating nations, Bulgaria and Greece.

In the Spring of 1915 this disaster had not yet developed, and there were great hopes of the allied offensives, but on the western front these hopes were soon disappointed. The failures at Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, &c., showed conclusively that the preparations of the Allies for carrying the formidable German intrenchments had been inadequate. Not only did the Allies' best efforts fail to make any real impression on their enemies, but their assaults were not dangerous enough to divert Teuton troops from the eastern front, where a fearful change had taken place in the military situation.

Hindenburg's Drive in Galicia

In these regions, where the position of the Entente Allies was apparently so favorable in the Spring of 1915, with Galicia overrun and the Russians breaking through the Carpathians, Hindenburg, who had been given the command in the East because of his victory at Tannenberg, had been making preparations for a campaign unprecedented in history. The Austrian and German forces had been amalgamated, and the new huge artillery had been massed for an assault on the overconfident Russians —for the Grand Duke and his Generals did not seem to have any suspicion of the impending danger.

Suddenly (April 28, 1915) the storm broke. General von Mackensen, who commanded in Galicia, blasted out the Russian lines with artillery attacks such as had never been seen in war, and in a few days the whole Russian front was in retreat before massed assaults that did not allow the Russians to make a successful stand for months.

May 14 the Russians were driven over the San. Przemysl fell June 2, Lemberg June 22. In the north Libau was taken in May, and Courland was overrun. Then came the irresistible drive on Warsaw, which was taken Aug. 5. Kovno, Novo Georgievsk, Ossowietz, Brest-Litovsk, and Grodno all fell within a month—and all the time the Russian losses in men and guns had been enormous. It was not until Fall that the Russians were able to hold the line from Riga to Eastern Galicia, where they have remained so long with little change.

At the time there was so much daily comment on the "masterly retreat" of the Grand Duke Nicholas that most of our people do not now realize the great military results of this most disastrous campaign in all history. The Russian losses are estimated to have been: Killed and wounded, 1,200,000; prisoners, 900-000. Some 65,000 square miles of territory were lost.

These Russian reverses in 1915, and the failure at the Dardanelles brought Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Teutonic Allies, (October, 1915.) There was a simultaneous invasion of Serbia by Austro-Germans and Bulgarians, and all Serbia was conquered before the Allies could give any help. An Anglo-French army was landed near Saloniki, but its only usefulness was to insure the neutrality of the Greeks, which was very uncertain at the time. By the end of November, 1915, the last of the Serbian troops had been driven into Albania. In January, 1916, Montenegro was also conquered, and Scutari, the capital of Albania, was captured, (Jan. 23, 1916.)

In May, 1915, Italy had declared war on Austria alone, and at once frankly began to fight "nostra guerra" in an attempt to win the Trentino and Trieste. Consequently the tactical value of the Italians to the Entente Allies and their effect on the results of the great war in 1915 must be measured by the number of Austrians they diverted from the Russian campaign. Owing to the difficulties of the country, which made defense easy for Austria, it is probable that no great numbers of Austrian troops were needed until after the fall of Warsaw. Consequently, the effect of the entrance of Italy was not great—and Italy's own campaign of conquest was barren of military results in 1915.

On the western front, after the allied failures in the Spring of 1915, there was only desultory fighting through the Summer. In September the British and

French undertook another offensive in the region of Loos and in the Champagne, but again the Allies failed to win any military results; neither did they succeed in making a diversion that would take away troops from the eastern front and help Russia and Serbia.

Development of Submarines

On the sea in 1915 Germany was shut in so far as concerned any use of her fleet. There had been some raiding, but nothing that had any effect on the war. Throughout the year Germany was developing a tactical use of submarines, and, taking advantage of the pernicious war zone areas, was breaking away from international law with the U-boats; but at the end of 1915, although there had been much ruthless destruction of life, it cannot be said that the submarines had become a factor in the grand tactics of the war.

A comparison on the map will show that the military situation at the beginning of 1916 was much less favorable for the Entente Allies than early in 1915. On the western front the intrenched lines faced one another as before, but in the East all was changed. On their northern front the Russians had been driven out of Russian Poland and far back into Russia. In the south they had been swept back in Galicia until they only held a narrow strip on the eastern frontier.

The entrance of Bulgaria and the conquest of Serbia had given the Teutonic Allies a strip of territory which connected them with Turkey—and gave them the control of the "bridge" to the East. The Teutons were no longer hemmed in; they had raised the siege.

At the beginning of 1916 the disappointment of the Allies in their military hopes and the realization that their preparations in the first Winter had been inadequate, had brought changes in the administration of the Allies. The three military dictators were no longer in control. Joffre was not paramount in France, though still Commander in Chief. In England, Lloyd George had become Minister of Munitions, Lord Derby had charge of the recruiting, and Sir William Robertson was Chief of Staff. The Russian Grand Duke Nicholas had been sent to command in the Caucasus.

The Attack at Verdun

At this time in England and France powerful artillery and vast amounts of munitions were being hurried to completion for use in the campaigns of 1916—but before these were ready in sufficient quantities France received a costly lesson as to the need of heavy guns to cope with the German artillery. Suddenly in February, 1916, north of Verdun, on a sector over ten miles long, the French were blasted out of their trenches by a concentration of heavy artillery, just as the Russians had been in the Spring of 1915. Although it was known that there was some movement on foot, the French Staff had been unable to tell where an attack was to be made.* That the Germans were able to make this concentration of hundreds of thousands of men and hundreds of guns without being observed by the airplanes is a blow to faith in scouting from the air, but such is the fact.

For three weeks after the first assault (Feb. 21, 1916) there was a fearful sacrifice of the best blood of France. Verdun itself, as has been explained, was no longer a fortress, but a system of trenches, and of no more real value than any other system of trenches. But the name Verdun meant the prestige of France in all Europe, and it was decided to hold the place at any cost.

Enormous losses were heroically endured. Every available gun was rushed to this region, and at last, by using naval guns, many of them actually taken from the warships, an equality in artillery was secured. In the latter part of March it became an even battle, and later the advantage was with the French. It is evident from the official accounts that in the first stages the French losses greatly exceeded those of the Germans, as the German gains were made by artillery, and then consolidated; but in the later phases the German losses were probably greater. This battle was a fearful drain on the man-power of France, but the

*Official, March 18, 1916.

German prolongation of the action for months without result caused great dissatisfaction in Germany, and brought about the appointment of Hindenburg to supreme command of the German armies.

Spring and Summer of 1916

On the eastern fronts in the Spring of 1916 there was naturally no early allied offensive of any moment. The Russian armies had great losses to repair, and the allied army at Saloniki was held inactive by the attitude of Greece. In Asia Minor, however, the Grand Duke Nicholas's campaign was winning important results. Erzerum was taken Feb. 14, Trebizond April 18. On the Tigris the totally inadequate British force which had been sent from India against Bagdad was compelled to surrender, (Kut-el-Amara, April 28, 1916,) but this was unimportant except as it affected British prestige in the East. In the Spring of 1916, on the Italian front, the Austrians, relieved from the pressure of the Russians, invaded northern Italy and were steadily making progress, when a renewed Russian offensive (June, 1916) made it necessary to recall Austrian troops, and this saved the situation for the Italians.

The Russians had recuperated in an astonishing degree, and in June, 1916, under General Brusiloff, took the offensive, quickly overran Bukowina, and became dangerous in Galicia, again threatening Lemberg. So strong was the pressure on Austria-Hungary through the Summer of 1916 that the Rumanians, who had been waiting with a mobilized army for a chance to win spoil in the war, thought that Austria was sufficiently weakened to enable the Rumanian Army to seize Transylvania. In this belief Rumania declared war, Aug. 27, 1916, and at once invaded the coveted province, without making any attempt to act in unison with the Entente Allies.

Never was there a more complete failure. Hindenburg had made unsuspected preparations for just such action on the part of Rumania. Two armies under Mackensen and Falkenhayn were ready—they swept the Rumanians out of Transylvania, invaded Dobrudja, and, united under Mackensen, conquered Rumania without a check. (Bucharest captured, Dec. 6, 1916.) The Teutons had gained rich wheat fields and oil lands at small cost, and only Moldavia was left in the hands of the Rumanians.

Battle of the Somme

On the western front the Entente Allies had begun their great offensive of the year on July 1, 1916. This is known as the battle of the Somme, and it lasted intermittently until November. As has been said, the Allies had much strengthened their artillery. At first there was great encouragement at the gains made, but after a time it became evident that, while they were taking a certain number of trenches, these trenches were being yielded only at a prohibitive price in losses. For months the British losses alone were far above 100,000 a month, and the battle gradually slowed down to raiding tactics. As was the case in 1915, the pressure of the allied assaults had not been sufficient to affect the situation in the east and prevent the conquest of Rumania.

The Italians, relieved by the withdrawals of Austrian troops to Galicia in June, 1916, won their one victory of the war by the capture of Gorizia, Aug. 9, 1916, but they have been unable to make any progress in the difficult mountainous country from that time to the present date. However, there is an Italian army of perhaps 200,000 men in Albania, which helps the allied situation in the Balkans, although it has aroused the jealousy of Greece. In this region, in spite of the fact that King Constantine has abdicated and Greece is nominally pro-ally, the Greek situation has been so uncertain that General Sarrail's Balkan army has remained inactive.

Battle of Jutland

On the sea in 1916 the German High Sea Fleet came out and fought the British Grand Fleet, so timing its battle that the German fleet first struck Vice Admiral Beatty's advance force, which was out of touch with Admiral Jellicoe's main fleet. After badly damaging this detached force, the German fleet managed to engage the superior British fleet under conditions of mist and falling darkness,

with threatened torpedo attacks, which caused the British fleet to draw off from the battlefield—to return to it the next morning. In consequence, the German fleet was enabled to return to port with the prestige of having inflicted heavier losses on the British, and of having remained on the battlefield. This great naval battle (Jutland, May 31, 1916) had no effect on England's control of the sea, but it had a great moral effect in Germany.

Throughout 1916 Germany developed increased tactical use of the submarines, and Feb. 1, 1917, began unrestricted submarine warfare in the greatly enlarged war zones, which included all the waters about her enemies. Since then large numbers of Teuton U-boats have caused a serious loss of shipping, and this successful tactical result has made the submarine campaign as much a part of the grand tactics of the war as any movements of the armies. In fact, the submarine is now the most dangerous weapon possessed by the Teutonic Allies.

Dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war in 1916, especially with the Somme offensive, had brought about a political change in England, and the energetic Lloyd George was made head of the new War Council, (Dec. 6, 1916.) Increased preparations in great guns and munitions were made by Great Britain and France, and Russia was equipped as never before.

Events of 1917 Summarized

In the beginning of 1917 an adequate British expedition was approaching Bagdad, (taken March 11, 1917,) and Russian forces were moving to co-operate in Asia Minor and Persia. There appeared to be hope of cutting through the Teuton "bridge" to the east, but suddenly the Russian revolution broke out (Czar abdicated March 15, 1917) and all the Russian armies were paralyzed for any offensive value.

For four months the Russian armies did practically nothing but debate. In July, 1917, there was a feverish offensive, urged on by the Russian democratic leader, Kerensky, and the Russians made gains in Galicia, probably helped by the surprise and by withdrawals of Teutonic troops. But when Austro-German forces were brought up against them, the Russian troops again became demoralized, and many of them refused to fight, marching away in Galacia without firing a shot. This is the situation at the time of writing. However, there is one favorable element in this Russian situation which must be kept in mind: Evidently the Teutonic allies are still compelled to keep large forces on the Russian fronts.

On the western front, in the Spring of 1917, a great allied offensive, using the new strength of artillery, was launched against the Arras salient, which extended from north of Arras beyond Soissons. Here an extraordinary situation developed. Hindenburg had anticipated the attack of the Allies on this sector, and he had withdrawn to more favorable positions behind the exposed salient, (March, 1917.)

Leaving small detachments in his trenches to keep up appearances, Hindenburg had moved back his men, his guns, and all his material safely to his new positions. That he was able to do this on a front of over fifty miles, unsuspected and unmolested, with the air full of allied airplanes, is comment enough on the limitations of scouting from the air. An attack in force by the Allies while this movement was going on would have been dangerous for the Germans.

At first this withdrawal was not understood, but in the battle of Arras (April 9-May) which followed, it was found that Hindenburg had improved his own positions and given the Allies a devastated and shell-scarred terrain to fight over. There were gains for the Allies at first, but, as before, the battle waned into raids, and there has been no aggressive fighting in this region for weeks. Again the only tactical result of great effort has been the number of Germans who have been put out of action.

A terrific blast of over 1,000,000 pounds of high explosives which had been placed in mines under a salient at Messines, south of Ypres, wrecked everything in the German trenches (June 7, 1917) and gave the British possession; but no

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM R. ROBERTSON

Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, who directs the organisation and operations of the army

GENERAL L. G. KORNILOFF

Commander of the Russian Army which, after beginning a brilliant offensive, has been forced to retreat. Korniloff is the son of a Siberian Cossack and is described as one of the most scholarly and daring of modern Generals

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

tactical gain has followed, and this is cited merely to show the proportions to which mining operations have grown. Since then north of Ypres the Germans, by a concentration of artillery unnoticed by the airplanes, destroyed British forces across the Yser Canal and captured their position. This British loss was of some tactical importance, as it strengthened the German hold on the Belgian coast, which is now realized to be a dangerous German base. At the time of writing, a new British offensive has begun in Flanders.

In spite of all the resources devoted to them in the three years of warfare, aircraft have not become a part of the grand tactics of the war. The Zeppelins have not been of any military value, and airplanes have not yet been devised that can carry their fuel and sufficient weight of explosives for serious bombardments. Even for the short flights over the Channel the raids have been mere haphazard dropping of bombs, and have not won any military results; and for scouting and direction of artillery the present airplanes have great limitations.

True Military Situation

From the foregoing, it is evident that the advantage would be with the Teutonic allies if it were possible to weigh the military results of this war in the usual scales. But such standards of other days do not apply to this epoch-making cataclysm. Entirely different estimates must be made to arrive at the true military situation. To military critics the one outstanding fact is that this war is being fought with enormous losses in men and material out of all proportion to the military results attained.

Changes to intrenching tactics have greatly increased the tasks of the armies and multiplied their losses. The giant proportions of the artillery and of material of all kinds in these campaigns have become a fearful drain, such as has never before been imagined. Simply to consider the tons of costly munitions thrown away in an everyday bombardment is astonishing, and expenditure on the same enormous scale must be made in all the other material. The constant appalling losses of men* and the incalculable wastage of material have become the dominant factor in the grand tactics of the war, and all other military results are dwarfed in comparison.

In all the wars in the past, the military results have been self-evident in victories and in gain of territory. In this war, to judge from any such evidence would be to arrive at a false estimate of the actual military situation, which is not contained in any list of victories or in any advantages that can be seen on the map. The real military results have gone far beyond all this, and the only true estimate of the present tactical situation is to realize that the real results of the grand tactics of three years of war are two groups of haggard nations, equally depleted in men and resources—and equally war weary!

* A conservative estimate of those killed in three years is 7,000,000.

Estimates of War Casualties

OFFICIAL statistics of the killed, wounded, and missing are not regularly published by any one of the nations, though compilations made from official lists as published each month by some of the belligerents convey a fairly accurate idea of the losses. These lists, however, do not specify the particular periods covered.

The German official casualty lists, reported during June, 1917, are as follows:

Killed and died of wounds	28,819
Died of sickness	3,215
Prisoners	1,835
Missing	36,772
Severely wounded	21,315
Wounded	5,354
Slightly wounded	56,160
Wounded remaining with units	13,077
Total	166,547

The above casualties, added to those

reported in previous months, (including the corrections reported in June, 1917,) bring the totals reported in the German official lists since the beginning of the war to:

Killed and died of wounds	1,032,800
Died of sickness	72,960
Prisoners	316,506
Missing	275,460
Severely wounded	590,883
Wounded	315,239
Slightly wounded	1,655,685
Wounded remaining with units	263,774
Total	4,523,307

The above figures include all German nationalities — Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Württembergers. They do not include naval casualties or casualties of colonial troops.

Since these figures were put into type the German casualty totals for July, 1917, have been published, adding an aggregate of 89,863 to the total in the foregoing table.

The British casualties, as officially reported for July, 1917, prove the extreme severity of the fighting in the series of offensives launched by Field Marshal Haig. In that month alone the casualties totaled 71,348, of whom 2,490 were officers and 68,858 men; killed, died of wounds, and missing were 723 officers and 16,276 men; only 2 officers were made prisoners of war, and only 96 men. The ghastly figures for the five months of March, April, May, June, and July, 1917, tell a tale of ferocious fighting, and are as follows, respectively:

	Officers.	Men.
March	1,765	28,709
April	4,381	31,619
May	5,991	107,075
June	3,601	84,667
July	2,490	68,858
Total	18,228	252,928

This makes a grand total of 271,256 British casualties for the five months.

In July, 1915, estimates by the Red Cross were as follows for the first year of the war:

	First 6 Mos.	First 12 Mos.
Dead	482,000	1,000,000
Severely wounded	97,000	200,000
Slightly wounded	760,000	1,500,000
Prisoners	233,000	485,000

In March, 1917, the official compilations at Washington placed the number of German dead at 893,000, wounded at 450,000, captured and missing at 245,000.

The untrustworthiness of all present estimates is clear from the above. The number of German prisoners and missing estimated in the first year is put at 485,000, whereas near the end of the third year the number officially reported by Germany is 591,966.

On Dec. 6, 1915, the following tables were compiled, showing the losses during the first fifteen months of the war:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners and Missing.
Great Britain	115,000	351,000	710,000
France	270,000	840,000	180,000
Russia	450,000	1,400,000	375,000
Italy	72,000	224,000	48,000
Belgium	27,000	84,000	18,000
Serbia	27,000	84,000	18,000
Montenegro	4,500	14,000	3,000
Germany	485,370	1,510,040	323,580
Austria	319,140	992,880	265,950
Turkey	45,000	140,000	30,000
Bulgaria	36,000	112,000	24,000

In March, 1917, compilations made at Washington were tabulated as follows, covering the period from the beginning of the war to February, 1917:

	Dead.	Wounded.	Prisoners and Missing.
Russia	1,500,000	784,200	800,000
France	870,000	540,800	400,000
Great Britain	205,400	102,500	107,500
Rumania	100,000	150,000	250,000
Italy	105,000	49,000	56,000
Belgium	50,000	22,000	40,000
Serbia	60,000	28,000	.....
Germany	893,200	450,000	245,000
Austria	523,000	355,000	591,000
Turkey	127,000	110,000	70,000
Bulgaria	7,500	7,000	6,000

Estimates at the end of the third year, published July 28, 1917, are tabulated as follows:

	Killed.	Seriously Wounded.	Capt'd or Missing.	Total.
England	*298,988	177,224	182,452	659,664
France	1,580,000	921,328	696,548	3,197,876
Russia	2,062,064	1,223,476	1,243,096	4,528,636
Italy	130,356	60,840	68,292	259,488
Belgium	62,064	27,324	149,644	239,032
Serbia	74,484	34,776	.....	109,260
Totals	4,263,956	2,444,968	2,341,032	9,049,956

*Includes Canadian and Australian but not Indian troops.

	Killed.	Seriously Wounded.	Capt'd or Missing.	Total.
Germany	1,908,800	958,612	704,128	3,571,540
Austria	849,368	540,673	833,644	481,096
Turkey	157,644	236,548	86,904	481,096
Bulgaria	9,324	8,676	7,452	25,452
Total	2,925,136	1,744,509	1,632,128	6,301,776
Grand tls.	7,188,092	4,189,477	3,973,169	15,351,732

Eighty per cent. of the Entente allied wounded return to the armies; Germany claims that 85 per cent. of her wounded return as combatants.

According to an Associated Press estimate made May 15, 1917, the Central Powers held the following prisoners at that time:

Held by Germany	1,690,731	(17,474 officers)
By Austria	1,092,055	
By Bulgaria	67,582	
By Turkey	23,903	
Total	2,874,271	(27,620 officers)

This total is made up as follows:

	Total.	In Germany.
Russian prisoners	2,080,699	1,212,007
French	368,607	367,124
Serbian	154,630	25,879
Italian	98,017	.....
Rumanian	79,033	10,157
British	45,241	33,129
Belgian	42,437	42,435
Montenegrin	5,607	.....

The total number of prisoners taken by the Allies up to May, 1917, was estimated at 1,284,050, divided as follows:

	In England.	In France.	In Russia.	In Italy.
German prisoners	85,000	259,050	250,000	.....
Austrian	....	....	550,000	80,000

In addition, 40,000 Austrians and Bulgarians captured by Serbia are now in Italy, and 20,000 Turkish prisoners are in Egypt.

Arrival of the Japanese Mission

Other Visiting Envoys

A JAPANESE Commission, headed by Viscount K. Ishii, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, arrived at a Pacific port on Aug. 13, 1917, where its members were met by an official delegation from Washington consisting of Breckenridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, and Gavin McNab, an attorney, with representatives of the army and navy. A United States battleship circled the Japanese vessel during its approach to the port, and masses of troops at "present arms" lined the streets through which the mission passed, while the Japanese anthem was played. A reception in the City Hall began a series of entertainments lasting three days, during which every appropriate honor and courtesy was vouchsafed the visitors.

At a dinner given to the mission in the evening of Aug. 14 Viscount Ishii said:

We are here to say that in this tremendous struggle for those rights and liberties America and Japan are bound together; that when the victory of the allied forces is secure, America and Japan should so live that your sons and our sons will have a certainty of good neighborhood; so live that no word or deed of either can be looked upon with suspicion; that venomous gossip, hired slander, sinister intrigue and influence, of which we have both been the victims, can in future only serve to bring us closer together for mutual protection and for the common welfare.

The importance of this co-operation was brought home to us particularly as we voyaged safely and pleasantly across the Pacific Ocean. We must indeed have assurance of good order in our neighborhood. We cannot, either of us, take risks. It becomes the first duty of Japan and America to guard the Pacific and to insure safe, continuous intercourse between Asia and the United States, to see to it that the ships of the ferocious pirates whose crimes upon the high seas can never be palliated find no shelter in the waters of our seas.

It is for us together to continue to enforce respect for law and humanity upon the Pacific, from which the German menace was removed at the commencement of the war. Had this not been so, had the barbarian of Europe not been rooted from his Oriental bases, the shuddering horrors of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean would today be a grim reality on the Pacific. In the protection of our sea-going merchandise and men,

in safeguarding the pleasures of intercourse, you may count on us as we must count on you.

In the dawning of this new day of stress and strain let us forget the little molehills that have been exaggerated into mountains to bar our good relations. Let us see together with a clearer vision the pitfalls dug by a cunning enemy in our path, let us together fix our eyes upon the star of principle which shall lead us together most surely to a participation in the triumph of the right, to a certain victory in the greatest and, let us hope, the last great war in human history.

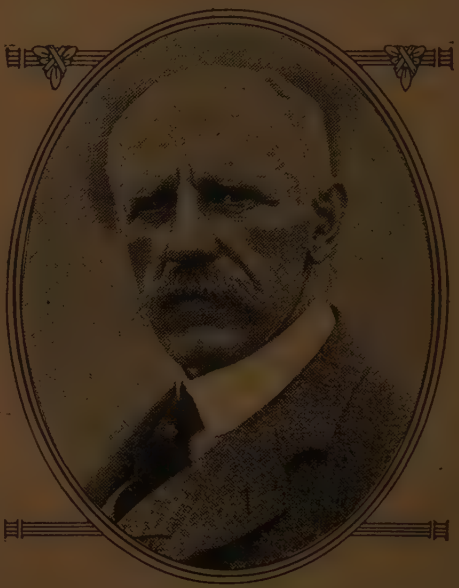
The cordiality of the Pacific Coast's reception of the mission impressed the visitors deeply. "Your action," said their spokesman, when departing for Washington, "clears away many a doubt and misunderstanding on the part of the people of both countries as to our mutual aims and aspirations. Your generous attitude makes it possible for every fair-minded man to believe that there are no pending questions between America and Japan which, approached in this spirit, are not susceptible of honorable and fair adjustment."

Nansen's Norwegian Mission

All the neutral nations of Europe were greatly perturbed by President Wilson's declaration of July 9, placing under Government control the volume of foodstuffs and other wartime material which may be sent to other countries. As put into operation, this order has resulted in a virtual embargo on foods, forage, and fats bound for neutral lands adjoining Germany. At the present writing more than eighty Dutch vessels laden with such cargoes have been waiting for a month in New York Harbor and adjoining waters for a ruling that would give them clearance papers.

Norway was among the first of the European neutrals to send missions to this country to negotiate for a relaxation of the embargo, which, they declared, threatened them with starvation. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the arctic explorer, headed the Norwegian Mission, which reached Washington at the beginning of August, and held a long conference with the State Department on Aug. 8.

To press representatives Dr. Nansen stated that at the beginning of the war Norway had 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping, and that one-third of it had fallen victim to Germany's submarines. Most of the ships so lost, he said, were



DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN

serving the Allies when destroyed. Dr. Nansen stated his case as follows:

The fact that our imports from the United States have increased during the war does not mean that our total imports have increased. Exportation of fats, grain, and sugar is wholly prohibited; no licenses are issued for them. What we want first of all are foodstuffs, because Norway does not produce enough to live on. Our chief needs are carbohydrates, which are found in wheat, sugar, and fats; if they are cut off it will mean starvation. We had an instance of that one hundred years ago, during the Napoleonic wars, and we don't want to experience it again.

Our exports to Germany now consist of fish, principally. We wish to remain neutral, and it would be unneutral to cut off all supplies to one side and permit them to continue to go to the other side. Meats, fats, milk, butter, everything in the way of Norwegian foodstuffs, except fish, has been cut off from Germany, and fish is exported to Germany in accordance with an agreement with Great Britain. We have maintained that we could not cut off fish to Germany because that would mean war with Germany; whatever is now exported to Germany is really with the consent of the British Government. My hope is to come to some agreement with the United States on the lines we have with Great Britain.

A Swedish mission for the same purpose, headed by Hermann Lagerkrantz, former Swedish Minister to the United States, visited Washington in July. A similar mission from Switzerland, consisting of National Counselor John Suz, Colonel Staenpfi, and Professor William Rappard, arrived on Aug. 15, in company with Dr. Hans Sulzer, the new Swiss Minister to the United States to succeed Dr. Paul Ritter. At the same time an official mission of the same nature was sailing from Holland. Its chief spokesman, Joost von Vollenhoven, declared: "If we fail to persuade the American Government to permit a continuance of the supply of grain it will mean misery and economic ruin for Holland."

Serbia's Plan of Reorganization

Following is a summary of an official statement issued in July, 1917, by the Serbian Press Bureau on the Island of Corfu:

AT a conference of members of the former Coalition Cabinet, the present Cabinet, and the representatives of the Jugoslav Committee, views were exchanged with the co-operation of the President of the Skupshtina on all questions relating to the life of the Serbians, Croats, and Slovaks in their future united state. Complete unanimity on every question that arose prevailed. Divided among several States our country is cut up in Austria-Hungary alone into eleven provincial adminstrations with thirteen legislative bodies. The war forced by German militarism upon Russia, France, and Great Britain has been transformed into a fight for the liberty of the world and for the triumph of right over force. To noble France, which proclaimed the liberty of nations, and to Great Britain, the home of liberty, there has been joined the great American Republic and the new, free, and democratic Russia in proclaiming as the principal object of the war the triumph of liberty and democracy, and, as the basis of a new international system, the freedom of nations to govern themselves.

The authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes declare that the desire of our people is to free itself from all foreign oppression and to constitute itself into a free, national, and independent State, based on the principle that every people is free to govern itself, and are agreed in considering that this State should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the names of Southern Slavs and Jugoslavs, will be a free and independent monarchy, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and Parliamentary monarchy, with the Karageorgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will at its head.

2. The name of this State will be the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the title of the sovereign will be King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

3. This State will only have one coat of arms, one flag, and one crown.

4. The four different flags of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will have equal rights, and may be hoisted freely on all occasions. The same will obtain for the four different coats of arms.

5. The three national denominations, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are equal before the law in all the territory of the kingdom, and each may freely use it on all occasions in public life and before all authorities.

6. The two Cyrillic and Latin alphabets also have the same rights, and every one may freely use them in all the territory of the kingdom. The royal and local self-governing authorities have the right and ought to employ the two alphabets according to the desire of the citizens.

7. All religions are recognized, and may be free and publicly practiced. The Orthodox Roman Catholic and Mussulman religions, which are most professed in our country, will be equal, and will enjoy the same rights in relation to the State. In view of these principles, the Legislature will be careful to preserve the religious peace in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our entire nation.

8. The Gregorian calendar will be adopted as soon as possible.

9. The territory of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will comprise all the territory where our nation lives in compact masses and without discontinuity, and where it could not be mutilated without injuring the vital interests of the community. Our nation does not ask

for anything which belongs to others, and only claims that which belongs to it. It desires to free itself and establish its unity. That is why it conscientiously and firmly rejects every partial solution of the problem of its freedom from the Austro-Hungarian domination.

10. The Adriatic Sea, in the interests of liberty and equal rights of all nations, is to be free and open to all and each.

11. All citizens throughout the territory of the kingdom are equal and enjoy the same rights in regard to the State and the law.

12. The election of Deputies to the national representation will take place under universal suffrage, which is to be equal, direct, and secret. The same will apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative institutions. A vote will be taken in each commune.

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King.

Thus the united nation of Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes will form a State of twelve million inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Signed at Corfu, July 20, 1917, by the President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Nikola Pashitch, and the President of the Jugoslav Committee, Dr. Anto Trumbic.

O Valiant Hearts

By JOHN S. ARKWRIGHT

[A new hymn sung at the intercession service in Westminster Abbey, London, on the third anniversary of the war.]

O valiant Hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle-flame;
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,
Your memory hallowed in the Land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank to war,
As who had heard God's message from afar;
All you had hoped for, all you had, you gave
To save Mankind—yourselves you scorned to save.

Splendid you passed, the great surrender made,
Into the light that nevermore shall fade;
Deep your contentment in that blest abode,
Who wait the last clear trumpet-call of God.

Long years ago, as earth lay dark and still,
Rose a loud cry upon a lonely hill,
While in the frailty of our human clay
Christ, our Redeemer, passed the self-same way.

Still stands His Cross from that dread hour to this
Like some bright star above the dark abyss;
Still, through the veil, the Victor's pitying eyes
Look down to bless our lesser Calvaries.

Russia Passes Through Deep Waters

Kerensky's New Leadership

THE Russian revolution encountered its most perilous period toward the end of July, 1917, and for a time conservative judgment in the United States and England entertained grave fears of civil war or anarchy; but there was remarkable restraint on the part of the masses when affairs seemed at their worst, and out of the depths of the national spirit there arose a new revolution to save the situation and maintain order. Within a fortnight after the crisis the forces of law and order were firmly in the ascendency and the revolution seemed more strongly intrenched by the middle of August than at any previous time.

When matters were at their worst late in July, the country everywhere the scene of riotous disturbances, the army in a state of demoralization, anarchists, radicals, and monarchists seeming to be working hand in hand to precipitate a reign of terror, the real Russian conservatives who accomplished the original revolution practically without bloodshed, again took control and effected a complete reorganization of the Provisional Government.

Kerensky Saves the Situation

On July 20 it was announced that the Premier, Prince Lvoff, had resigned, and that Alexander F. Kerensky had been appointed Premier, but would also temporarily retain his portfolio as Minister of War and Munitions. A new Government was quickly formed. Kerensky was made practical dictator, and his Government received the complete indorsement of the Joint Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and of the All-Russia Council of Peasant Delegates, conferring upon the new Premier and his Cabinet unlimited authority.

The effect was electrical. Orders were given to fire on deserters and runaways at the front, and warrants were issued for the arrest of revolutionary agitators wherever they might be. Rear Admiral Verdervski, commander of the Baltic fleet, was seized for communicating a secret Government telegram to sailors' committees. Lieutenant Dashkevitch and another executive committeeman of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council also were arrested, the former on the charge of inciting the Peterhof troops to remove the Provisional Government.

The decision of the councils to resort to the extreme measure of conferring supreme and unrestricted power on the Government was reached after a session that lasted throughout the night of July 22, and was embodied in the following resolution, which was passed by 252 to 57:

> Recognizing that the country is menaced by a military débâcle on the front and by anarchy at home, it is resolved:
>
> First—That the country and the revolution are endangered;
>
> Second—That the Provisional Government is proclaimed the Government of National Safety;
>
> Third—That unlimited powers are accorded the Government for re-establishing the organization and discipline of the army for a fight to the finish against the enemies of public order and for the realization of the whole program embodied in the Governmental program just announced.

A Ringing Proclamation

The Executive Councils of the All-Russia Workmen's and Soldiers' and Peasants' organizations issued the following proclamation on the 23d:

> Fellow-soldiers: One of our armies has wavered, its regiments have fled before the enemy. Part of our front has been broken. Emperor William's hordes, which have moved forward, are bringing with them death and destruction.
>
> Who is responsible for this humiliation? The responsibility rests with those who have spread discord in the army and shaken its discipline, with those who at a time of danger disobeyed the military commands and wasted time in fruitless discussions and disputes.
>
> Many of those who left the line and sought safety in running away paid with their lives for having disobeyed orders. The enemy's fire mowed them down. If

this costly lesson has taught you nothing, then there will be no salvation for Russia.

Enough of words. The time has come to act without hesitation. We have acknowledged the Provisional Government. With the Government lies the salvation of the revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law. All those who disobey the commands of the Provisional Government in battle will be regarded as traitors. Toward traitors and cowards no mercy will be shown.

Fellow-soldiers: You want a durable peace. You want your land, your freedom. Then you must know that only by a stubborn struggle will you win peace for Russia and all nations. Yielding before the troops of the German Emperor, you lost both your land and your freedom. The conquering, imperialistic Germans will force you again and again to fight for your interests.

Fellow-soldiers at the front: Let there be no traitors or cowards among you. Let not one of you retreat a single step before the foe. Only one way is open for you—the way forward.

Fellow-soldiers in the rear: Be ready to advance to the front for the support of your brothers, abandoned and betrayed, fleeing from their positions in the regiments. Gather all your strength for the struggle for a durable peace, for your land and your freedom. Without wavering, without fear, without disastrous discussions, carry out all military commands. At the time of battle disobedience and wavering are worse than treachery. Your ruin lies in them, the ruin of Russia.

Fellow-soldiers: You are being watched by those who work for Russia and by the whole world. The ruin of the Russian revolution spells ruin for all. Summon up all your manhood, your perseverance and sense of discipline and save the fatherland.

Provisional Government's Action

The Provisional Government also issued a proclamation on July 22 charging that the disorders were precipitated to bring about a counter revolution by the enemies of the country. Proceeding, the proclamation said:

The Government firmly believes that the crisis will lead to recovery, not death. Strong in that belief, the Government is ready to act with the energy and resolution the exceptional circumstances demand. The Government regards as its first and capital task the application of its whole strength to the struggle against the foreign foe and to the defense of the new Governmental régime against every anarchical and counter-revolutionary attempt, without hesitating to take the most rigorous measures in its power. At the same time the Government reiterates that not a drop of blood of a Russian soldier shall be shed for any foreign end, as already proclaimed to the whole world. * * *

The Government considers it indispensable immediately to proceed with a series of measures putting the principles announced on May 19 into operation, and adheres to the steps already taken to convene a constituent assembly on Sept. 30. The speediest introduction of autonomy for municipalities and Zemstvos, based on direct, equal, secret, universal suffrage, and the extension of this principle to the entire country is the Government's chief problem in internal policy.

Military Disaster

The political crisis produced deeper demoralization in the army, which disregarded discipline and refused to recognize military rule. A general retreat followed. The Germans and Austrians steadily advanced through Galicia and crossed the frontier before the Russian armies could be forced to make a stand. The death penalty for treason or mutiny was restored in the army on July 25, when Kerensky threatened to resign unless this was done. The Government on July 25 authorized the Minister of the Interior to suspend the publication of periodicals that incite to insubordination or disobedience to orders given by the military authorities.

On the 25th the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Peasants' Congress issued another proclamation, declaring:

Lack of discipline and open treachery at the front are facilitating Field Marshal von Hindenburg's new offensive. The serious defeats inflicted on our army are opening the way to the enemy for increasing the general panic and preparing the soil in which the poisonous seeds of counter-revolution may come into full bloom. Already an attack is being organized by the strong bourgeoisie; already the jackals and hyenas of the old régime are howling. * * *

We turn to you, our representatives, with a passionate appeal. * * * Support the revolutionary authority; try to secure the full submission of workingmen, soldiers, and peasants to all the decisions of democracy's majority. Inspire them; awaken enthusiasm in them. Exert your entire will, your entire energy. Rally round our All-Russian centres and we will show the country and

the world that the nation which created the greatest revolution in the world can not and shall not perish.

By July 28 the situation had become more hopeful. On that day General Nicholas Ruszky, formerly Commander in Chief of the northern armies of Russia, and General Gurko, ex-commander on the Russian southwestern front, were summoned to Petrograd. The retirement of General Ruszky from command of the armies of the north and of General Gurko from a group in the south had involved the same principle, but from different points of view—interference with the Provisional Government by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Pro-German Agitators Censured

As further exidence of the return of reason the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted by an overwhelming majority (300 to 11) a resolution censuring Lenine and his associate, Zinovieff, and demanding that the Radical leaders be tried. The resolution contains the following recommendations:

First—The whole revolutionary democracy desires that the group of Maximalists accused of having organized disorders or incited revolts or of having received money from German sources should be tried publicly. In consequence, the Executive Committee considers it absolutely inadmissible that Lenine and Zinovieff should escape justice, and demands that the Maximalist faction immediately and categorically express its censure of the conduct of its leaders.

Second—In view of the exceptional situation, the committees of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates demand from all their members and from all factions of which they are composed, as well as from all members of local councils, the putting into absolute practice of all decisions adopted by the majority of the central organizations.

It was disclosed on July 31 that the crisis in Russia earlier in the month had been the work of radicals like Lenine working under German direction and financed by Germans. A whole day before the news of the crisis in Petrograd reached the army Lenine's agents were acquainted with it through traitors in the wireless service. They spread a report among the troops that the Maximalists were in control of the Government and that the war was at an end, hence the army became demoralized and the German advance was practically unopposed.

On Aug. 2 it was announced that General Alexis A. Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, had resigned. General L. G. Korniloff, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies on the southwestern front, was appointed Generalissimo. General Tcheremissoff, commander of the Eighth Army, was appointed to succeed General Korniloff on the southwestern front.

Cabinet Reorganization

The Cabinet was disrupted on Aug. 3 by charges made against M. Tchernoff, the Socialist Minister of Agriculture, whose resignation was demanded by Kerensky and his fellow-Ministers. Kerensky then undertook the difficult task of organizing a coalition Cabinet, and was at length successful. The new Cabinet was announced Aug. 7. Only three of the original Ministers survived: Kerensky, who was originally Minister of Justice; Terestchenko, Minister of Finance, and Nekrasoff, First Minister of Communications. In addition these four Ministers were included from the first Kerensky Cabinet of July 24: Tchernoff resumed his portfolio of Agriculture; Pieschehonoff, that of Supplies; Yefremoff, that of Justice, and Skobeleff, that of Labor.

Four of the most prominent Parliamentary Socialists—Kerensky, Skobeleff, Tchernoff, and Pieschehonoff—were retained, while extreme radicals, whether Socialists or not, were dropped. Tseretelli, who was the famous obstructionist leader of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, gave way to M. Nikitine, a Social Democrat.

A feature of the new Cabinet was the appearance of representatives of the "bourgeoisie" class, who so long held aloof and who appeared as Constitutional Democrats—M. Oldenburg of the Academy of Sciences, M. Astroff, Mayor of Moscow; M. Kartasheff, who succeeded Nicholas Lvoff as Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, and Golovine, who succeeded Godneff as Controller of State.

There were four Parliamentary Socialists and one Social Democrat facing four representatives of the new Constitutional Democracy, which also had the support of the non-Socialists who came over from the late Cabinet—Terestchenko, Nekrasoff, Yefremoff, and Prekopovitch—who swing the balance of power.

Conditions began to show improvement from this time forth. On Aug. 11 the Government showed confidence by announcing that commissions would be appointed in connection with the establishment of iron discipline in the army. The Government also prohibited the further holding of all meetings or congresses which they regard as dangerous from a military viewpoint or as menacing the security of the State.

Colonel Kolotkoff's Report

Causes of the military collapse were set forth Aug. 10, in a report by Colonel Kolotkoff to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, who placed the responsibility on the former policemen, gendarmes, and spies of Emperor Nicholas at the front.

Until the end of June, says Colonel Kolotkoff, the army on the west front was in excellent fighting trim technically, and was beyond criticism as regards supplies. There was an admirable plan to advance, which would probably have led to the reconquest of Vilna, but the police, gendarmes, and spies of the autocracy started a counter-revolutionary campaign, the first aim of which was the dissolution of the army.

Large numbers managed to get elected to company committees, and started a propaganda against war, inciting soldiers against officers and the Provisional Government's commissaries. Later they distilled vodka, and on the advance dosed soldiers therewith. Criminal convicts, who were sent to the army as were deserters, demoralized the soldiers by their example.

The Germans took advantage of these conditions and flooded the Russian trenches with spies in Russian uniforms, finding this easy because many Russian soldiers at the front do not carry documents of identity. Many of these Germans spoke Russian so well that they sat at the officers' mess without exciting suspicion. The spies organized fraternization. Soldiers born in provinces occupied by the enemy were allowed to visit their homes, and after a short absence returned to the trenches completely Germanized in sentiment.

The result was that as the attempt was started to recover Vilna many soldiers refused to participate in the attack. How good was Russia's chance, says Colonel Kolotkoff, is proved by the fact that weakened Germans often ran away, and the strange spectacle of Russians flying from fleeing Germans was sometimes seen. The Germans realized the situation first, and having an iron discipline were able to turn the Russian collapse to advantage.

Return of the Root Mission

The Root Mission returned from Russia early in August, and reported to Washington Aug. 12. On that day, at a public reception given by the citizens of New York, Senator Root, head of the mission, expressed supreme confidence in the stability of the revolution. He spoke as follows:

> The extraordinary ease with which the Czar's Government was removed was due not merely to the fact that it was an autocracy, but also to the fact that it did not govern efficiently; it was not up to the job; it had allowed Russia to drift into a position where there was vast confusion and they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and the Government had become, practically, merely a Government of suppression, a Government of negatives that ceased to lead the people, so that the Czar and the bureaucracy were slipped off as easily as a crab sheds its hard shell when the proper time comes.
>
> Now, into that state of affairs there came intervention by that malevolent power which is intermeddling with the affairs of every nation upon earth, stirring up discord, stimulating, feeding, financing all the forces of evil—doing it here among us now—that power that finds its account in alliance with all evil passions, all the sordid impulses of humanity in every nation in the world, entered into Russia. Thousands of agents poured over the border immediately upon the revolution.
>
> Notwithstanding all this, in a country with no Central Government that had power to enforce its decrees, in a country with no police, a country in which the sanction and moral obligation of the

laws had disappeared with the disappearance of the Czar, there reigned order to a higher degree than has existed in the United States of America during this period.

People's Wonderful Stability

In the first enthusiasm for freedom in the liberation of political prisoners a great many ordinary criminal prisoners were also released, and they went about and committed some depredations, which, of course, all found their way into the newspapers, but even with that the general average of peace and order, of respect for property and life in Russia was higher than could reasonably be expected from any 180,000,000 people in the world under any Government.

Now, that extraordinary phenomenon called for a study, a careful study, not merely from the newspapers or from talking with Government officials, but by countless serious interviews and conversations with men of all grades and stripes and callings and conditions of life, and those studies satisfied all the members of this mission that the Russian people possessed to a very high degree qualities that are necessary for successful self-government. They have self-control equaled in few countries of the world. They have persistency of purpose; they have a most kindly and ingrained respect—not only respect, regard for the rights of others. They will not willingly do an injustice to any one, and that sense of justice carries with it a broad character. They have a noble idealism which is developed and exhibited in the minds that are enlarged by education, and they have a strong sense of the mission of liberty in the world, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action.

If their character is unequal to the task, all the aid of all the great countries in the world cannot give them their freedom. Freedom must find its foundation, its sure foundation, within the people themselves, and we think the Russians have that sure foundation. * * *

No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost 7,000,000 of her sons, every village in mourning, every family bereaved, Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and the suffering of war in order that she might continue free.

Former Emperor Nicholas and his family were removed Aug. 15 from the palace at Tsarskoe Selo to Tobolsk, Siberia. The official announcement, not issued until the 19th, was as follows:

> Owing to reasons of State, the Government decided to transfer to a new residence the ex-Emperor and ex-Empress, who are detained under guard. The place selected was Tobolsk, where they were taken after requisite measures to insure their safety. With them went of their own free will their children and certain of their entourage.

Former Czar an Exile

Nicholas was very depressed in appearance, but the former Empress, Alexandra, who was seen walking for the first time in months, seemed pleased at the prospect of a change in surroundings.

An hour after the train arrived Nicholas appeared on the steps of the palace, dressed in a Colonel's uniform, with a khaki blouse and with no decorations. Without lifting his eyes from the ground he entered an automobile, accompanied by Prince Dolgoroukoff and Count Benckendorff, former Court Marshal, who thus far have shared the captivity of the fallen ruler. They were followed by the former Empress Alexandra, who was accompanied by Countess Naryshken, her close friend and former Lady of the Court; all the four Grand Duchesses, with their maids of honor, and finally by Alexis, the former heir to the throne, at whose side was the gigantic sailor, "Derevenko," the protector of Alexis since his birth, and his constant companion and playmate.

Tobolsk is a remote town of 20,000 inLabitants in Western Siberia, far from the railroad, and visited only by steamers which ply the Irtish River. In former times it was an administrative centre for exiles banished to Siberia by the Russian rulers. The climate is extremely severe in Winter. Tobolsk recently achieved a dubious publicity in revolutionary Russia as the birthplace of Gregory Rasputin, the mystic monk, who wielded a remarkable influence over the ex-Emperor's family up to the time of the priest's assassination in Petrograd last December.

The Finnish Diet, under the influence of Swedish members, on July 19 adopted a bill refusing longer to recognize any rights of Russia in Finnish affairs. The

Provisional Government of Russia on July 25 refused to acknowledge the validity of this measure. On Aug. 4 the Finnish Senate by a vote of 7 to 6 adopted a resolution declaring the action in proclaiming independence a mistake, and asserting that the Provisional Government was the legitimate organ of control. This action, however, was not approved by the Deputies of the Landtag, and serious disorders arose, resulting in clashes between the Russian authorities and the independents, in which a number of Finns were killed and wounded.

The Ukraine National Assembly, which has declared for autonomy, includes in the request the following States to be incorporated into the new Government: Kiev, Poltava, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernikov, Khargov, Ekaterinaslav, Kherson, Taurida, and Bessarabia.

The Russian Government is disposed to grant autonomy to all these districts except Bessarabia, where the Ukraine population is only 19 per cent., and a plébiscite will be held in that territory to determine the will of the majority.

Paris Conference on Balkan Affairs

A CONFERENCE of allied diplomats and military leaders held at Paris to examine into the situation in the Balkan Peninsula adjourned its last sitting on July 26, 1917. Before separating, the members unanimously passed the following resolution:

> The allied powers, more closely allied and more closely united than ever before in defense of the rights of nations, especially those of the Balkan Peninsula, are determined only to lay down arms when they have reached the goal which in their eyes is more important than all others, that is, to render impossible any return in the future of acts of criminal aggression such as those for which the autocracy of the Central Empires has been responsible.

The conference reached an agreement concerning the Greek territories at present in military occupation. Great Britain, France, and Italy agreed to cease simultaneously, as soon as possible, the military occupation they were obliged to undertake of territory in Old Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus. The occupation of the triangle formed by the Santi Quaranta road, the frontier, and Epirus will be continued provisionally, in view of the maintenance of order, pending an arrangement between Italy and Greece regarding the re-establishment of civil administration under the authority of a Greek Commissioner.

Great Britain, France, and Italy will retain for the period of the war the naval and military base at Corfu, which will remain under Greek sovereignty.

Representatives of all the allied countries had been invited to this conference. The decisions adopted were unanimously confirmed, and a conference of the Ministers of Departments concerned met shortly afterward in London to arrange measures for their execution.

The Socialists in the War

Their Pacifist Activities

DURING the last month the Socialists of various countries have caused a great deal of discussion on account of their attempt to hold an international conference at which terms of peace were to be formulated. As the Socialists include active pacifist elements in all countries and have become a focus of whatever strength there is in any general movement for peace, it is important to review their activities since the beginning of the war, and to grasp their point of view. Although the action of the British, French, Italian, and American Governments in refusing passports to delegates has virtually broken up the proposed Stockholm Conference, certain elements of socialism continue their agitation for such a conference, and are profiting by whatever discontent and weariness the war is producing.

Before the outbreak of the war at the beginning of August, 1914, the European Socialists had organized a revived "International," which borrowed the name and principles of an organization several decades earlier, and the purpose of which was to make war impossible by organizing general strikes in the different countries of Europe. It is of historic interest that this scheme of universal strikes was largely developed by Aristide Briand, France's great war Premier, in his earlier Socialist days.

When the war began the Parliamentary strength of the Socialists in Europe was as follows: In the German Reichstag there were about 100 Socialist members, of a total of 397; but the Socialists represented 4,250,399 votes out of 12,260,731 who actually voted; that is, considerably more than one-third, while they had only about a fourth of the Reichstag membership. But as under the German Constitution the Reichstag has no voice in the question of war or peace, these Socialist members had no opportunity at all to declare themselves on the question of the invasion of Belgium and France.

In the French Chamber of Deputies, of a total of 602 members there were, at the beginning of the war, 102 organized Socialists and 30 independent Socialists. In the Russian Duma, elected in 1912, with a total of 383 members, there were 12 Social Democrats and 11 Labor members, but the Socialist Party was strong in the manufacturing centres. In the Italian Chamber of Deputies, elected in 1913, with 508 members, there were 80 Socialists. There were also a few Socialists in the British House of Commons.

When German armies invaded France the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies frankly deserted the International and supported the Ministry, of which M. René Viviani, who afterward visited the United States, was then the head. Socialist Ministers like M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions, were among the ablest members of the successive French War Ministries under Viviani, Briand, and Ribot.

Views of Various Leaders

In Germany Dr. Karl Liebknecht, at one time leader of the powerful Socialist Party, was the only member of the Socialist faction to vote against the war credits demanded by the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Bethmann Hollweg. In the Tagwacht, published at Berne, in German Switzerland, Dr. Liebknecht wrote: "It is painful to write at a time when "the radiant hope of former days, the "Social International, lies smashed amid "its thousand expectations; when even "many Socialists of the belligerent coun-"tries of this most rapacious war will-"ingly put on the yoke of imperialism." Dr. Liebknecht was severely rebuked by the German Socialist Party for violating the policies of their Reichstag caucus. He aroused the enmity of the Imperial Government by declaring that "this war was

begun by a lie and is carried on by lies"; and he was finally prosecuted, condemned, and sentenced to a long prison term on a charge of treason.

The Russian Socialist organ, Sovremenny Mir (the Contemporary World,) declared that "the present war is caused "by the vital interests of capitalist na- "tions; it is the inevitable way of solv- "ing international conflicts in a bour- "geois society. Russia's participation "in this war is necessitated by the vital "interests of the country, the impera- "tive demands of its capitalistic develop- "ment, and its social economic prog- "ress."

An International Congress of Socialists was planned to meet at The Hague, Holland, in July, 1915; but M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, refused pointblank to take part in it, as this would have involved meeting German Socialists. The French Socialists also refused to attend.

On July 27, 1916, the National Committee of the American Socialist Party began the preparation of a party platform, to be adopted by a mail referendum vote, and containing the following among other planks:

> That all laws for the increase of the army and navy be repealed.
>
> That power be taken from the President to lead the nation into war * * * that no war be declared or waged without a referendum vote of the people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion.
>
> That the Monroe Doctrine be abandoned.

On July 31, 1916, an International Socialist Conference of six neutral nations —the United States, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Argentina, Holland—was held, at which the Dutch Socialist leader, Pieter Jelles Troelstra, presided. Resolutions were passed demanding the re-establishment of the independence of Belgium and Poland and a democratic federal union of the Balkan States; an economic war after the war was condemned, and protests were recorded against the sentences of Dr. Liebknecht and others.

On Aug. 7, 1916, the National Council of French Socialists, assembled at Paris, voted by 1,824 to 1,075 votes to sever international relations with the German Socialists.

Socialist Split in Germany

On Jan. 13, 1916, the German Socialist caucus censured Dr. Liebknecht for his opposition to the war policy of the Imperial German Government. On March 24, 1916, eighteen of the Socialist members of the Reichstag broke away from their comrades and founded an independent Socialist group, with the title of the Social Democratic Labor Union. Under the leadership of Philip Scheidemann, eighty-nine Socialist members of the Reichstag continued to support the Imperial war policy and to vote war credits.

On Oct. 11, 1916, speaking in the Reichstag, Scheidemann said: "We de- "clare openly and clearly that the na- "tion wants peace. * * *" Hugo Haase, leader of the dissenting minority of eighteen Socialists, said: "Millions "are looking to the Reichstag for a "glimmer of peace. * * * Our dream "of domination in this war will never "be realized. An agreement must be "sought without hesitation in order to "save the people from the worst. * * *"

These speeches were followed by Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg's "peace gestures" on Nov. 9 and Nov. 30, 1916.

On March 1, 1917, the British Socialists, refusing an invitation to a Socialist conference, voted that "the weakness "of the German Social Democratic Party, "whose leaders, despite pledges made in "Paris and Brussels, vigorously support- "ed the Junker and capitalist army of "aggressive militarism, destroyed at a "blow all the mutual international con- "fidence between the Socialists of all "nations."

The Russian Revolution

On March 15, 1917, Nicholas II. signed an act of abdication for himself and his son, the Grand Duke Alexis, and named his brother Michael as his successor. The Grand Duke Michael refused to accept this nomination until it should be evident that such was the will of the Russian people.

A Provisional Government, under the Presidency of Prince George E. Lvoff, was then formed of leaders of the Lib-

eral and Socialist Parties in the Duma, Paul Milukoff, Michael Rodzianko, Alexander Gutchkoff and Alexander Kerensky being the most prominent.

The Provisional Government, however, found itself opposed at every step by the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, with Nicholas Tscheidze, a native of Georgia in the Caucasus, at its head. This council claimed to represent revolutionary Russia and, as such, to dictate all policies of the Provisional Government. It issued two orders to the army, calling on each unit (company, battalion, regiment, brigade, division and corps) to form a deliberative council to decide all questions and to answer for the discipline of that unit. Army units were also invited to elect their own officers, but it was later said that this should apply only to the regiments in Petrograd and Moscow that had helped to bring about the revolution. Gutchkoff, the Minister of War, accepted the measure thus dictated by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, embodied it in a Ministerial order and distributed it to all sections of the Russian Army.

This order at once destroyed the authority of the officers and dislocated the discipline of the Russian armies. It caused an immediate and forceful protest from the highest and best-known Generals, with General Brusiloff at their head, with the result that Gutchkoff was forced to resign, Alexander Kerensky taking his place as War Minister and declaring that he intended to introduce iron discipline once more into the army.

The continual pressure of the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, with violent demonstrations organized by Socialists in the streets of Petrograd, made the work of the Provisional Government almost impossible, with the result that first Paul Milukoff, and later Prince Lvoff, Rodzianko, and all the Duma leaders were forced out of the Provisional Government, which became almost completely Socialistic.

Immediately after the revolution the Provisional Government issued orders liberating all political exiles in Siberia and inviting all those who had left Russia for political reasons under the imperial rule to return. Bands of exiles at once began to stream toward Petrograd from Siberia, from the United States, and from Switzerland. The Imperial German Government did everything to facilitate the return of certain of these Russian exiles who had been living at Berne and elsewhere in German Switzerland, providing them with passports, and expediting their passage through Germany, although they were citizens of a country then at war with Germany. Two conspicuous members of this German-Swiss group were Nikolai Lenin and Chernoff, later a member of the Ministry.

The arrival of certain of these Russian Socialists, whose return had thus been facilitated by Germany, was the signal for violent disturbances and anarchistic outbreaks at Petrograd and elsewhere. The garrison of Schluesselburg, and later the garrison of the great naval base at Kronstadt, in the Neva River below Petrograd, declared themselves indpendent republics and refused, for some time, to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government.

Nikolai Lenin organized demonstrations of armed anarchists and Socialists in the streets of Petrograd, denounced the Provisional Government, threatened, and even attempted, to kidnap members of the Ministry, and did everything that was possible to bring Russia to ruin and confusion.

When he was at the height of his power, he delivered before the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates a violent address, urging Russia to conclude a separate peace with Germany, "without annexation or indemnity." This was on June 22. When this harangue was concluded, M. Veirensky—according to a special cable from Ambassador Francis, representative of the United States at Petrograd—announced that he would repeat Lenin's speech, and proceeded to read a document almost identical with it. When M. Veirensky had concluded, he announced that he had been reading an intercepted radiogram from Germany, signed by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, German commander on the Russian front. A few days later Gen-

eral Brusiloff announced, through an officer of his staff, that he had conclusive evidence that Lenin was the agent in Russia of the German General Staff. Other members of the Socialist group who returned through Germany were implicated; it was announced that one of them had to his credit a sum of 2,000,000 rubles, to be used as a German corruption fund. It was further said that large sums of gold had been withdrawn from the German Reichsbank, to be used for corruption work in Russia. There were further anarchist and Socialist extremist plots in Petrograd, leading to street fighting, during which Lenin disappeared, fleeing, it was said, to Finland and thence, through Sweden, back to Germany.

Disastrous Military Results

On July 1 the Russian Army began an offensive in Galicia, under the personal leadership of General Korniloff. At first he carried everything before him, capturing Halicz and sweeping forward close to Dolina in the Carpathian foothills. Then, under very slight Austro-German pressure, the Russian armies immediately to the north and south of Korniloff's army broke and ran. This action, which was directly traced to the orders subversive of discipline, emanating from the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, began a disastrous retreat which, by the first week in August, had practically lost the whole of Galicia, threatened Moldavia, and gravely menaced Russian Bessarabia and even the great seaport of Odessa.

The Socialist Council had already driven every conspicuous member of the Duma Provisional Government to resign. It had further undertaken to bring pressure on all the Entente Powers to revise their war aims in conformity with the Socialist formula, "peace without annexation or indemnity," which had been indorsed by the German commander, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and which had been cordially indorsed by Field Marshal Hindenburg in another radiogram to the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.*

* See THE NEW YORK TIMES, June 8, 1917.

The Stockholm Conference

The German majority Socialists in the Reichstag, 89 in number, under the leadership of Philip Scheidemann, had, as we saw, accepted the imperial war program of the Chancellor, which was attacked by the minority group under the leadership of Hugo Haase. Shortly after the split, which took place nine days after the abdication of Nicholas II., it was openly said that Scheidemann was cordially co-operating with the Chancellor in his effort to bring about the peace which was desired by Germany, the peace supported by the Chancellor in his Reichstag speeches of Nov. 9 and Nov. 30, 1916.

A plan for an International Conference of Socialists, to meet at Stockholm, to discuss the basis of peace, came to the front in the following months, and was warmly accepted by the Petrograd Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The proposed Stockholm Conference at once became an international storm centre. On the one hand, it was said by Socialists that to refuse to take part in this conference would be to offend the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd and, perhaps, might drive the Council and the new Russia into the arms of Germany. On the other hand, it was said that this conference, at which the German Government would be represented by Philip Scheidemann, was nothing but a German stratagem to bring about "a German peace."

The Stockholm Conference was several times postponed. English Socialists and Labor groups elected delegates, but the British Seamen's Union absolutely refused to navigate any ship that carried them, so that they were unable to sail.

Opinion in France was divided. There was a decided unwillingness to meet German Socialists at Stockholm; but there was an almost equal reluctance to allow the Russian Socialists to meet their German "comrades" with no Entente Socialists present to counsel and safeguard them.

The State Department of the United States more than once refused to issue

passports to delegates chosen by the Socialist Party of the United States.

American Socialist Party

Meeting at St. Louis on April 14, delegates of the Socialist Party of the United States addressed this open letter to "the Socialists of the Belligerent Countries":

Comrades: Now that the people of the United States have been forced by their ruling class into this world cataclysm, as you have been heretofore by your own rulers, we, the Socialists of the United States, feel it our right and duty to address you on this most momentous subject.

We wish to say at the outset that the workers of this country have no enmity toward the workers of Germany, and that we, the Socialists of the United States, feel that the great affliction now shared in common by the workers of the United States and Germany should, and we hope that it will, strengthen that consciousness of a common brotherhood between them which will ultimately bring about peace between these two countries, and a general world peace with it.

We also wish to convey to you our firm determination, and we pledge ourselves to do our duty and make the sacrifice which may be necessary, to force our masters to conclude a speedy peace, and we hope and expect that, whatever may have been the policies which some of you may have followed in the past, you will henceforth adopt rigorous measures to force your masters to the same course of action.

We therefore call upon you to join hands with us so that all of us may use all the means at our disposal in a common effort to bring about a general peace which will be just and lasting, without indemnities, and without any forcible annexations of territory by any of the belligerents, whether avowed or sought to be hidden by some less offensive term that may be invented for the purpose; so that no nation may be deprived of any part of its liberty or made in any way dependent, politically or economically, upon any other nation; and that no change of territory shall take place without the consent of its inhabitants, freely and unmistakably expressed.

Down with war! Down with misery and hunger and mass murder, must be the war cry of the proletariat. Long live peace! Long live the brotherhood of nations and the solidarity of the proletariat!

British Labor and Stockholm

On Aug. 11 a conference of the British Labor Party was held at Westminster, to vote on the question of sending delegates to the postponed Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

James Ramsay Macdonald, Socialist Member of Parliament, made a vigorous plea to the delegates to "bury the past, "go to Stockholm, lay your case before "the conference, hear the other side dis- "cuss matters generally, and return with "the basis of peace in your pockets."

Arthur Henderson, Minister without portfolio, urged the sending of delegates to Stockholm for consultation, but not to discuss peace terms.

G. N. Barnes, Minister of Pensions, spoke against attending a conference at which delegates from enemy countries would be present, saying that the United States, Belgium, France, and Italy were not sending delegates. George Henry Roberts, Labor Member of Parliament, made a strong fighting speech against delegates going to Stockholm. When a vote was taken, it was found that votes representing 1,046,000 members had been cast in favor of sending delegates to Stockholm, to a consultative conference, with 550,000 votes against this.

On Aug. 11 it was also announced that Alexander Kerensky, Premier of Russia, had declared that the sending of Russian delegates to the Stockholm Conference was against the best interests of Russia. Arthur Henderson was strongly criticised for concealing this fact from the members of the Labor Conference, which had voted to send delegates to Stockholm largely because this was believed to be the desire of Russia. Arthur Henderson's resignation from the British War Cabinet was demanded.

On Aug. 13 Andrew Bonar Law, the Government spokesman in the House of Commons, announced that the Government had decided not to grant permission to the British delegates to go to the Stockholm Conference. He added that the same decision had been made by the United States, France, and Italy.

American Federation of Labor

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, on Aug. 3 cabled as follows to W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and M. Jouhaux, Secretary of the French Fédération Générale du

Travail, in answer to their inquiry as to whether American labor intended to be represented at the Stockholm Conference:

Jouhaux having asked my opinion upon a conference of labor representatives of all countries, I am replying as follows:

In responding to your request for my opinion of an invitation to a conference of labor organizations of all countries, without hesitation I answer that such a conference cannot at this time or in the near future be productive of good, and as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned it will not send representatives. New and more favorable results must develop before a conference of labor of all countries can advantageously be held.

Mr. Gompers on Aug. 13 attacked the Workmen's Council, a branch of the People's Council of America, which declared it represented American labor in an effort to foster a peace movement. He wrote:

It has been the constant claim of the People's Council that it represented labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is true that there are some few local unions affiliated with the People's Council, but when it is considered that there are about 15,000 local unions in America it will be seen that even a half hundred that may be affiliated with the People's Council is an insignificant number.

The American labor movement as a body is loyal to America and steadfast in its determination to help secure victory for this country and the cause of democracy. In pursuing this course it must be recognized that it is necessary for the labor movement to take steps from time to time to preserve working standards. This, as a matter of fact, is necessary to the most effective conduct of the war. It has nothing to do with those anti-American, pro-Kaiserist activities of which the People's Council is the promoter, and is, in fact, exactly in opposition to them.

It is our purpose to try, by educational methods, to bring about a more American spirit in the labor movement, so that what is now the clear expression of the vast majority may become the conviction of all. Where we find ignorance, we shall educate; where we find something worse, we shall have to deal as the situation demands. But we are going to leave no stone unturned to put a stop to anti-American activities among workers.

The American Federation of Labor is the organized labor movement of America. There is no other. Its position is clear. It is loyal. It was so expressed in the manifesto issued at the Washington Conference of March 12, and there has been no change since. No other organization can express the wishes of the American labor movement, and the pretenses of the so-called People's Council in that direction are nothing short of ridiculous.

The People's Council is an organization that is for the most part evidently alien in membership—so far as it has membership—led by men who have never been known as labor men, though some of them have made frantic claims to having been labor men for various reasons. Money evidently is plentiful, and the work of undoing America proceeds merrily. American labor must denounce any such movement, and any such foreign propaganda. I suggest that the methods of the organization are entirely German in character and that undoubtedly the Kaiser is greatly cheered by the reports he gets of the People's Council activities. We shall do our best to put an end to operations of that kind.

The French Socialists

The French Socialist Party decided on Aug. 12 to send delegates to Stockholm. Two days later it was announced that the French Government would refuse to issue passports to such delegates. The official declaration of the party, in announcing its action, was as follows:

The (Socialist) party does not go to Stockholm in search of a peace of compromise which would leave the fate of the peoples in suspense and at the mercy of fresh wars. It goes to declare that respect for the peoples' right, respect for treaties, and an engagement henceforth to submit every possible conflict to the justice of nations, can alone constitute an acceptable peace.

It goes to ask Socialists—all Socialists—whether they condemn the Governments responsible for violations committed at the outbreak of the war, and if, after pronouncing such condemnations, the Socialists—all Socialists—will take action against the Governments in order to shorten the war by saving the honor and lives of the people.

It goes to demand that the Governments which still refuse should be obliged by Socialist action to make known their war aims and whether they are prepared to make reparations in accordance with the rights of the peoples, and to declare publicly if they still intend using the war map as a means of reaching peace.

It goes to demand whether the Socialists who persist in giving moral and material aid to the guilty Governments can still remain members of the Internationale, and whether the Internationale will not recognize as its own only those who, by denouncing those responsible, show thereby that they are resolute to accomplish acts which will give life to the Internationale,

while at the same time they will conduct the peoples toward a beneficent peace.

The Stockholm Conference, which had been called for Aug. 15, could no longer claim international representation when the leading Entente Governments refused passports to the delegates, and thenceforth ceased to occupy public attention.

Peace Program of Belgian Socialists

M. Vandervelde's Manifesto

The attempts of the International Socialists to hold a peace convention at Stockholm in the early Summer of 1917 proved abortive, though the movement at length received the sanction of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which issued a call embodying the catch-phrase, "No indemnities, no annexations." The one noteworthy result of this action—up to the middle of August—is found in the striking document issued July 5 by the Belgian delegates, M. Vandervelde and M. de Brouckère, through the medium of the Dutch-Scandianavian Committee at Stockholm. It is a manifesto addressed primarily to the Russian leaders, and tells exactly what Belgian Socialists think on the subject of "No indemnities, no annexations." It is here placed on record in a condensed English translation as one of the historic utterances of the war.

THE war appears to us to be less a war between peoples than a struggle, probably decisive, between two political principles. It is in this sense that it has been justly called civil war within the society of nations. The Russian revolution and the entry of the United States have had the effect of ranging on one side all the free nations, that is to say, those who have already effected their democratic revolution, and, on the other hand—almost entirely isolated—the last three semi-feudal, semi-absolute powers—namely, the Empire of the German Emperor, that of the Sovereign of Austria-Hungary, and that of the Grand Turk.

In the deliberate execution of a long-cherished project, these powers have let loose war on the most villainous pretexts and for the most wretched of causes. Imperialism has been able to carry out its plan, thanks to a popular passivity which would have been inconceivable in any other country. Attack and invasion have placed upon us the burden of the most crushing of tyrannies—the German military tyranny, whose object, as defined by Bismarck, is to leave a people only their eyes with which to weep.

Belgian socialism has not for one moment believed that it ought to bow before external oppression when our villages were burned, our women insulted, and our dearly acquired liberties brutally oppressed. It has not admitted that it was "a simple bourgeois quarrel, which ought to leave the proletariat indifferent." If it had abandoned the struggle under the pretense that the soldiers of William II. were too numerous and his guns too powerful, it would have been dishonored in its own eyes. It has never reckoned cowardice among revolutionary virtues.

Defense against aggressive imperialism implies for us something more than the mere repulse of the invader. The destruction of German imperialism might have been the business of the Germans alone, if their imperialism had stayed at home. But it crossed our frontiers, and we want to break the power of our tyrant. Our desire is as legitimate as that of the Russians, who have broken the power of their tyrant; and the fact that our tyrant is enthroned at Berlin is not sufficient reason for changing our opinion.

We cannot conceive any possible lasting peace if Hohenzollern and Hapsburg retain their powers. The greatest present danger is that of seeing free countries accept a precarious peace. We could not lend ourselves to this without betraying our deepest convictions as Socialists.

We adhere to the Petrograd formula of "no annexations and no indemnities." But refusal of "annexations" does not imply maintenance of the territorial status quo. If, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, Alsace-Lor-

raine were restored to France we should not consider it an "annexation," but a "disannexation." In the same way the unification of Poland and the completion of Italian and Serbian unity, as desired by the peoples concerned, would not be "annexations." Near Stavelot there are Walloon villages which appear to desire once more to become Belgian. The peace treaty might accept their aspirations. This, too, would apply to Luxemburg, with its 200,000 inhabitants, if it should consider that a return to Belgium, from whom it was separated in 1839, would be to its advantage.

While we repudiate the exaction of "indemnities" such as Bismarck in 1871 levied on France and such as Germany is continually imposing on occupied Belgium, we could not recognize a peace that sanctioned the exactions of the invader. For Belgium this question is vital.

The Germans have by menaces, compulsion, and violence exacted from our towns many millions of pounds in cash. Since the occupation they have levied monthly for the needs of the army a contribution of $10,000,000, and for some time past have raised the sum to $12,000,000. They have levied several hundred millions in foodstuffs, in kind, and in raw materials and machinery. In the interest of military operations they have done countless deeds of destruction, and, in many cases, simply in order to terrorize the population and to gain future economic advantage by suppressing an embarrassing competitor.

The Belgian Nation will have to indemnify the victims of these acts of violence, and this charge upon it must be added to all those we have just enumerated. Would it not be the height of iniquity to make the victim bear this burden at the risk of seeing him succumb under the weight of peace? Does not justice demand reparation from those guilty of outrage in so far as the outrage may be reparable?

On Aug. 4, 1914, the German Chancellor acknowledged in the Reichstag that Germany was violating the rights of Belgium and owed her reparation. We are firmly convinced that the Russian democracy will not be less solicitous than was the representative of the Kaiser of the clear rights of an oppressed nation.

As for the "right of nations to dispose of their own destinies," it would be as tyrannous to keep by force in Austria-Hungary populations like those of Bohemia, Transylvania, or Bosnia, which aspire to other national destinies, as it would be to attach Belgium by force to the German Empire. Indeed, we could hardly describe Germany as free, in this sense, so long as the semi-absolutism of the Hohenzollerns endures. We consider that a democratic Constitution for Germany is not only a right to which the Germans are entitled, but that it is also a condition upon the fulfillment of which other nations are entitled to make their adhesion to a general peace depend. A treaty guaranteed only by an Emperor who is accustomed to hold his word cheap would be merely another scrap of paper.

We do not, of course, refuse to meet the Germans; but what we decline is to associate ourselves with German Socialist supporters of the imperialism of the Emperor William and of the Emperor Charles. We should not object to concerted action with those in the Central Empires who oppose a policy of aggression and of conquest, and who in effect pursue the same end as we ourselves. We should not decline to meet the German majority Socialists if they renounced the error of their present ways, and took an open and manly part against their Emperors. But, pending such action on their part, we should regard a meeting with them as not only useless but dangerous to the international democratic cause —dangerous, since it would tend to accredit the illusion that a just and lasting peace is possible before aggressive imperialism has been destroyed; and because the maintenance of false hopes of an impending equitable solution relaxes effort and strengthens the current that is carrying the weak-willed toward a peace at any price.

This is why, following the example of the French and British representatives, we urged that admission to the proposed conference should be conditional upon frank adhesion to an anti-imperialist program.

German Socialism and World War

By Richard Dobson

GERMAN Social Democracy began with Ferdinand Lassalle, who, in 1844, went to Paris, and there came under the influence of French socialism. In 1848 he worked on the staff of Karl Marx's Neue Rhenische Zeitung. He took an active part in revolutionary social agitation, and during the reactionary period devoted his time and tenacity to scientific social research.

German socialism in the middle of the nineteenth century was an academic theory, which appealed largely to college-bred, middle-class people, with quite a large sprinkling of workingmen. Lassalle converted this academic theory of socialism into practical social democracy. His brilliancy as an orator, coupled with his acumen and learning, enabled him to make a series of propagandic tours that proved to be personal as well as national triumphs.

Lassalle organized the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein, or General Labor Union of Germany, of which he was the first President. The aims of the union were to secure manhood suffrage for the election of members of the popular branch of the Federal Parliament. Seven years later Lassallener and Eisenacher, social warring factions, came to a common peace, and thus became the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The Socialists of France, of Russia, of Italy, and of Great Britain ascribe to the Social Democracy of Germany much of the blame for the war that is now devastating Europe and paralyzing the world. They were astonished and bewildered at the action of Germany's great democratic party in that ominous month of August, 1914. Only eight days before the war broke out the German Socialists denounced Austria as a world disturber when she sent her impossible ultimatum to Serbia. And then this same German Socialist Party, after eight days had passed, voted unanimously in favor of the German war credit through its 110 members in the Reichstag! The reason given by these Deputies was that they were supporting the defense of Germany against a conspiracy of the nations of Europe, instigated and abetted by Great Britain. There was not a word of complaint from the German Social Democracy when the Imperial Chancellor, at the same Reichstag sitting, announced that the German Army had already invaded Belgium, a somewhat singular beginning for a country on the defensive and fighting for its existence.

In a secret conference of the German Social Democrats held the day before the regular sitting of the Reichstag, fourteen members had voted against supporting the war credit. Herr Haase, one of the fourteen, had actually been chosen to be their spokesman before the assembled Reichstag. Later Herr Haase confessed that party discipline forced him to betray his conscience.

Split on War Credit

On Dec. 2, 1914, the Socialist members opposed to the second war credit had increased from fourteen to seventeen. On this occasion Dr. Liebknecht voted against the war credit. In March, 1915, thirty-two Socialist members of the Reichstag voted against the so-called War of Defense. In the Neue Zeit, Karl Kautzky was busy expounding the right of the minority to independent action. The following declaration was made by Herr Geyer in the Reichstag on Dec. 21, 1915:

> For myself, and in behalf of nineteen colleagues, I have to declare that the military dictatorship which ruthlessly suppresses all endeavors for peace and seeks to sacrifice every free expression of opinion makes it impossible for us to discuss our attitude on the war credit outside of this House. Just as we oppose the conquest plans of other Governments, so we are determined to oppose the ominous scheme of our own annexation politicians, who are also a hindrance to the opening of peace negotiations. The Imperial Chancellor was requested by the Social Democratic Party to make a peace offer,

as the Central Powers were in a most favorable military situation and could have taken the first steps toward peace. The Chancellor, however, bluntly refused, and this horrible war goes on. Every day brings new and unutterable sorrow. A policy which does not exert all its powers to end this nameless misery, a policy which in its entire activity is utterly opposed to the interests of the masses, cannot command our support any longer. Our desire to give the evident longing for peace in all countries a mighty impulse, our own will for peace and our antagonism to all plans of conquest, do not permit us to vote for the war credit. We vote against it.

On the very day that Herr Geyer made this declaration of the Socialist minority, the Socialist Party as a whole condemned the separate action, and on Jan. 8, 1916, the party in a full council passed a vote of censure on the dissidents.

The Socialist press, comprising seventy-seven daily newspapers, besides a number of monthly and fortnightly publications, was divided into two camps. One supported the policy of the majority Socialists, and the other favored the minority, which demanded a return to the prewar policy: "Diesem System Keinen Mann und Keinen Groschen"—"We will not vote a man or a farthing for this system." The Socialist majority, however, whose aims and ideas practically agreed with the German Government, enjoyed a considerable advantage over their minority brethren.

Radical Utterances

In the early months of 1916, anonymous pamphlets were circulated throughout the empire under such titles as "End the Winter Campaign," "Europe's Proletarians," "Annexation Madness," "The Policy of Dogs." A passage from the latter reads as follows:

David Landsberg and socialism have surpassed the public prosecutor and put the Police President to shame. Woe to us Socialists if these fellows had administered Bismarck's anti-Socialist law. They would have sent the Socialist members of the Reichstag and the editors of the newspapers to penal servitude. They would have hanged August Bebel and Liebknecht the elder on the public gallows.

He is a dog who licks the boots which have kicked him for several decades. He is a dog who wags his tail with the muzzle of military law over his face. He is a dog who abjures the entire past of his party and everything which has been sacred to it for a generation, and spits upon it all, at the order of the Government. Therefore, David Landsberg and their set are dogs, and when the day of reckoning comes, the German working classes will give them the kick they deserve.

On March 24, 1916, a crisis came in the history of Social Democracy in the Reichstag. A vote was asked for by the Imperial Chancellor to cover the Government war expenditures in April, May, and June. The vote was supported by the Socialist majority and negatived by the minority. In special session the majority Socialists voted to exclude the minority from any further common action with the party. The resolution passed by a vote of 58 to 33.

Liebknecht's Daring Speech

Dr. Liebknecht's exclusion from the party was a separate matter. In fact, he and Herr Ruhle had acted as independents since December, 1914. On April 8, 1916, Dr. Liebknecht succeeded in getting the floor of the Reichstag, and this is the substance of what he said:

Gentlemen, the principal work of the State Secretary, whose salary we are asked to vote, was his activity for the war loan during the last year. I intend to devote a little criticism to these activities. The new loan has brought 1,400,000,000 marks less than the preceding one, but still a grand total of 10,000,000,000. What methods were employed to obtain this success? Gentlemen, last Autumn the Imperial Exchequer issued some propaganda pamphlets which placed the methods by which the English Government was financing the war in a very unfavorable light. Any one who read these pamphlets critically saw at once that the charges made against the English Government covered exactly the same methods employed by the German Government, a fact which, of course, was not allowed to be stated in public or in the press. [Excitement in the Reichstag.]

In regard to our loans, it has been said that our system is one of inbreeding—that the practice of obtaining loans on a former loan in order to invest the capital thus obtained in another new war loan is a sort of "perpetuum-mobile." In a certain sense the loans may be compared to a merry-go-round. To a large extent it means simply the centralization of public wealth in the Exchequer. [Great disturbance, followed by cries of "Treason!"]

I have the right to criticise. The truth must be spoken and you shall not hinder me. [Long continued uproar. The President of the Reichstag intervened, and Dr. Liebknecht continued:] Gentlemen, you represent capital. I am a Socialist-Democrat and repre-

sent International Proletarians. [Great uproar and pandemonium.]

During the uproar Dr. Müller of Meiningen went to the tribune and snatched Dr. Liebknecht's notes from his hands and threw them on the floor. Dr. Liebknecht undertook to pick up his notes, and when he returned to the tribune to continue his speech the President ruled him out of order because he had, according to German procedure, forfeited his rights to continue by leaving the tribune.

Shortly after this exciting affair Dr. Liebknecht was sentenced to prison for four years and one month on various charges, including high treason and resistance to authorities. Later Herr Konrad Hanische, in his work, "German Social Democracy In and After the World War," said: "It is utterly impossible to obtain a clear picture of the Social Democratic Party on account of the strangling influence of martial law, and, further, a large number of the members are with the colors." According to Herr Hanische, the Social Democratic minority faction finds its greatest support in Berlin, on the lower Rhine, in Northern Bavaria, Thuringia, and Saxony. The majority faction finds its chief strength in Hanover, Westphalia, and Hamburg.

Majority's War Creed

At a private session held in Berlin by the Social Democracy in September, 1916, the following resolutions were carried by a vote of 251 to 5, the Social Democratic minority not voting or taking any part in the procedure:

First—It is a duty to defend one's country. The present war is a war of defense.

Second—The Socialists are determined to continue the struggle till the enemy is prepared to make a peace which guarantees Germany's political independence, territorial integrity, and free economic development.

Third—We condemn unreservedly the action of those who say the war is one of German aggression. Such persons only strengthen the hands of the enemy.

Fourth—The ideal of a permanent world peace is still the guiding star of our policy.

Fifth—We shall work for the revival of the International Socialist League after the war.

Since that action nothing occurred to reconcile the two socialistic factions until the beginning of 1917. Herr Scheidemann and Herr Ebert in December, 1916, visited the Dutch Socialists, and it was suspected by the minority faction of the German Social Democratic Party that they were in collusion with the Imperial Chancellor. The German peace proposition submitted to President Wilson, and through him to the Entente Allies, increased that suspicion.

The Pan German Deutsche Tageszeitung stated that Herr Scheidemann pleaded in a speech at Hamburg for a world peace based on the status quo ante, each nation paying its own costs. The German minority Socialists criticised Germany's peace note on the ground that no terms were stated, and another Socialist Party organ declared the whole German peace note proposition to be an unmitigated swindle. On Dec. 22, 1916, four mass meetings arranged by Social Democrats in Leipsic were suppressed by the police.

Herr Scheidemann's Defense

In defending the action of the majority faction and its support of the Government's war policy, Herr Scheidemann says:

The German Reichstag has not the constitutional right to vote for or against a war. The decision for peace or war is in the hands of the Kaiser. By refusing to vote the war credit we could not have undone the declaration of war or hindered the progress of military events. * * * The war is a struggle for the world's feeding grounds. Three of the leading factors in the war have been: First, the future of Constantinople and the Near East; second, England's despotism of the world's markets, and, third, the severance from European markets of Serbia by Austria. * * * We knew what a Russian victory would mean for the German people, and especially for the German workingmen's movement. It was our sacred duty to prevent it by all means in our power, and coming generations will appreciate these services to world history by the German Nation. If we could not prevent the war, then it was our duty to do everything to prevent defeat.

Dr. Lensch, referring to the Socialist Party declaration at the outbreak of the world war, says: "We have always said we would not leave the Fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger. German Social Democrats will remember

that for forty years they have constantly voted against every credit for military purposes, excepting the special taxes imposed on the richer classes in 1913 for the increase of the German Army." Dr. Lensch admits that the German Social Democratic Party's action in supporting the war was illogical in view of its history, but morally right in all other respects.

August Bebel, a Socialist leader in the Reichstag, at the beginning of the war said:

> The Social Democrats recognize that, under present conditions, the nation cannot be left helpless; therefore they demand that every man capable of bearing arms shall have the right to carry a weapon, and in case the Fatherland is attacked it shall be his duty to defend it. The party demands that all males from the age of ten shall receive military training. No Social Democrat doubts that the German, irrespective of rank, shall do his full duty in war.
>
> The majority Socialists, in defense of their attitude to the war and military service, claim that their opposition to militarism before the war was mostly intended as a criticism of the existing system. They, the German Democratic Socialists, are in favor of every man being a soldier, but they oppose Germany's army system, the ill-treatment of the common soldier, and the methods of taxation by which the army expenditure is met.

The Minority's Attitude

The minority Socialists, on the other hand, consider the pre-war opposition to militarism as a genuine, whole-hearted rejection of war and everything connected with it. One of the minority Socialists says:

> The German military State is to me nothing but a State which oppresses its subjects from the cradle to the grave. Our sons are sworn at and maltreated in the gay uniform, and on the slightest show of resentment condemned to imprisonment; in a word, slowly tortured to death. In fact, we often saw that our soldiers were unworthily treated, and that the iron discipline and the popinjay trappings of the army made militarism unpopular.
>
> This all lies in the nature of the thing, and cannot be rooted out; but many soldiers learned in the army the discipline and orderliness which were missing from their home life.

Concerning international socialism and its relation to German socialism, Dr. Lensch thus queries: "What did the International Socialists in other lands do in 1914 to prevent their own countries from going to war with Germany?" Dr. Lensch charges the French Socialists with believing false reports of German atrocities, especially as perpetrated in Belgium, and as reported by Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat. He is still more incensed against the English Socialists, of whom he says: "They are worse than the French, for they identified themselves with the ruling classes in England and took over to themselves their catchphrases in order to hammer them into the heads of the masses; they carried on a regular agitation in favor of the war, conducting it with the intensity of an election campaign. * * * Any slander, any stupidity was good enough for the English Socialists with which to besmirch the German Government."

Nearly all the German socialistic writers of the minority or Liebknecht faction are in favor of an individual nationalism giving every other section of the human family the right to develop its own national idea. Dr. E. David, however, in "Social Democracy in the World War," says: "The existence of a nation cannot be regarded as an end in itself. There are aims beyond its limits which every nation must have and serve." Another member of the majority camp says: "In this war we have become conscious of the fact that the German 'State' idea has justified itself, from both the organizing and military point of view, in spite of its beauty spots and its political infirmities. We have become aware of the enormous forces embodied in the State. Because its activities often displease us we had become accustomed to look upon the State, together with the whole of its social institutions, as being inwardly decayed and rotten. The war has thoroughly cured us of the error."

Collectivism in Germany

Dr. Lensch, one of the leading apostles of German socialism, declares that Germany stands for collectivism, while England stands for individualism, adding:

> All German Socialists plump their line by the former. While great leaders of armies have come to the front, no towering political leader has as yet appeared on either side. It is as if the spirit of history wished to make evident that this is the end of individualism.

At a time when armies are counted by millions, and whole nations wage war; when the battle is fought not only by the man in uniform, but by the wives and children at home, the importance of the individual diminishes before the totality and its organization.

It is along the lines of mass warfare that the German revolution is developing in the present world war, thus distinguishing itself from the French revolution and the great English rebellion. The fundamental idea of both of the latter movements was individualism, and it was no mere chance that striking individualities stood in the forefront, Napoleon in the one and Oliver Cromwell in the other. At the head of the German revolution stands Bethmann Hollweg, and it is only necessary to name these three names in a breath to realize the changed conditions. Yet, although Napoleon failed to shake England's world supremacy, Bethmann Hollweg has accomplished that end. Wherein lies the difference? The French Emperor was not in a position to fight England from the plane of a higher social system. France's system was at that time of the same type as England's, that is, based on individualism. Modern Germany, on the other hand, represents a higher and more progressive principle; that of social organization, and although the system is still in its infancy, it has proved itself so vastly superior to obsolete individualism that England's war power has been shaken to its foundations.

The importance of the individual is diminishing, in proportion as that of social organization increases. The individual principle attained its highest ideal in England and France, where, in fact, it broke up the community into so many atoms. Now, it is the historical task of the working classes to change the trend of history in the opposite direction, for the atomized system threatens them with economic misery and political helplessness.

It is fitting, too, that this change should become most apparent in Germany, the misery of whose economic past had crippled the country, prohibiting the complete victory of individualism as in England. Our State was compelled by toil and trouble to make good the blessings which England enjoyed through the mere force of circumstances. But it was exactly that economic poverty which developed in Germany the principle which supplies it now with vitalizing powers capable of waging a world war against the greatest land and sea powers which our planet has ever seen—that is, the principle of organization. What was looked upon as a curse has become our greatest blessing. The social system based upon the individual stands today on its last legs. A new epoch, and with it a new social ideal, has dawned. Germany is the herald of the new day.

In the above is revealed the real force which has united all Germany in the present war, making patrician and plebeian as one. The super-German idea and the super-German temper, even among Socialists, have lent themselves to the Pan German leaders' scheme of conquest.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—At the time when the Reichstag granted the latest German war credit both wings of the Socialist Party voted against the bill, indicating growing dissatisfaction with the Government's war policy.

[German Cartoon]

—*From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

Another "hospital ship" that will have to be torpedoed.

The Appalling Waste of the War

By Hall Caine

(Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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WHEN the war began, the great soldier who took the death of a sailor in the stormy waters of the northern seas was reported to have said it would last three years. It has already lasted so long, and is still going on. When will it end, and what is to come of it?

"If Adam," said Luther, "could have seen in a vision what horrible instruments his children were to invent to torture and to destroy each other he would have died of grief." Coming four centuries later, we may go further than that. If Adam could have foreseen what we are now seeing he would have prayed for death that he might never propagate his species.

Three years ago today (July 28) one of the oldest and feeblest of men, being crowned in the name of God and exercising the vicarship of Christ in his country, signed with his trembling hand the proclamation which plunged the world into this war. History will concern itself with the cause of his act, but the motive assigned for it was that a member of his family, a worthy but quite commonplace Austrian gentleman, as I have reason to know and say, had been foully done to death. For that crime millions have since died, millions been wounded, and millions on millions have been brought down to the depths. One wonders what mad game the world has been playing.

Bloodshed is indeed the staple of history, and history is the story of how often and with what merciless brutality the children of men have slain each other. But if we could detach ourselves from all thought of the impulses with which we are prosecuting this war, all questions of the righteousness of our cause, and conceive of God walking not in the garden but in the desert of this war-worn world to make a reckoning of the good and bad in the doings of the last three years, what audit it would seem to be, what lesson such as history never before supplied for people who have been saying that war has a nobility and grandeur of its own, that it is productive of more than evil, and is a beneficial influence in the betterment of mankind!

The Loss to Civilization

Think first of the injury the war has inflicted on the ordinary conditions of civilized existence. During forty-odd years preceding Aug. 2, 1914, the chief activities of Europe in science, law, legislation, literature, art, and general industry were directed toward protecting and purifying human life, making it more clean and sweet and secure. There never has been a great war that has not lowered the standard of existence, but during the last three years, by the new necessities of modern warfare, from five to twenty-five millions of human creatures have been living a great part of their lives in holes in the ground, exposed to uncleanness and disease that belong to the condition of savage man.

Think next of the loss the war has inflicted on the world's wealth—not wealth that is represented by title deeds or pass books or gold and silver coins in the strong-rooms of banks, but only the wealth that is necessary to the well-being of the race, the natural wealth that comes from the soil at the call of the sun and rain and changing seasons and the plow in the hands of man. There has never been a great war that has not diminished the sum of this natural wealth, but the present war, by the very number of nations engaged in it, has probably come nearer than any previous one to starving a large part of the human family. Will the world recover from this three years' loss of its natural wealth? Nature works no overtime, the

thousand sunrises since August, 1914, can never come again.

Fruits of Labor Destroyed

Then think of the loss to the world in human labor. Every great war has, in some measure, paralyzed industrial enterprise, but the necessities of modern warfare have gone near to killing it by submerging nearly all industrial enterprise in one sole work of producing these munitions of war which have now to be supplied in illimitable quantities. The ordinary progress of civilization in Europe has for the last three years been brought well-nigh to a standstill. This, too, is a loss that is irretrievable. It has yet to be seen if the energies of the world can ever make up for it. But the waste of human labor is the least part of the world's injury.

If the output of all the munition factories in the world since August, 1914, had been sunk to the bottom of the sea that would have been waste enough; but think of the uses their products have been put to. As man does not live by bread alone, his first duty after the necessities of food and clothing have been satisfied is to surround himself with those things of beauty and sanctity which link his life with the past and carry it on to the future. But the business of war is to batter down and burn up all such sacred and historic monuments, and never before has it done its work so ruthlessly. Peace builds cities; war destroys them. The big guns and high explosives of modern warfare, thundering and pounding on the habitations of man, have left vast tracts of Europe more bare and barren than the fiery desert. Large parts of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, and Galicia, lately so full of life and fruitfulness, now look as if the rake of hell had gone over them. Where there were homes and inns and churches in which people lived and loved and laughed from generation to generation, there is only a wilderness of empty space whereon no stone stands upon another. Nothing like this has happened before in all the mad history of war; neither earthquake nor eruption ever wrought such ruin. It is irreparable; no indemnity can restore what has been wrecked. Northern Europe may be rebuilt, but then it will be another Europe. The past that was alive in it is dead.

The Misery of the War

Then think of the misery which scenes like these involve. Misery is the camp follower of all wars. There never has been a great war without its train of suffering. But the suffering of the last three years seems to have had no parallel in the human story. Whole nations have been plunged into it, and the greatest suffering has been that of the small and the powerless.

Man that is born of woman must needs feel the ties of blood and brotherhood. Hence he gathers his children together into groups that have the same faith and the same customs and speak the same dear tongue. That in the mysterious workings of Providence is the origin of national spirit and love of motherland. It is totally undisturbed by any thought of whether she is big or little, strong or weak. My country is my mother, and, therefore, I love her and think her the fairest spot the sun shines upon. But when war comes in the armor of great nations, it has usually no use for such emotions. Faith, custom, language, and kindred count for nothing against momentary military advantage or even the lust of a little earth. That was what happened three years ago when Austria marched over Serbia and Germany over Belgium, driving the native-born people with their women and little children from their smoking homes and scattering them over the world. For this, too, there can be no possible reparation. Misery cannot be paid for. Belgium will regain her sovereignty and material amends will be made to her, but when peace is proclaimed the Belgians will go back, not to a country, but to a cemetery. Every step of their homeward way will be, as the Prime Minister finely said, a station of the cross to the scene of Calvary, and if their resurrection is to come, as God grant it may, it will be peace, not war, that will bring it.

Then think of the injury the world has sustained during the last three years from loss of population. For the propa-

gation of the race and the happiness and general well-being of the human family nature wants her youngest, strongest, bravest, and most resourceful. But these are precisely what war demands for its work of bloodshed and destruction, despoiling the world of the flower of its manhood. It condemns some to enforced celibacy, some to lifelong injury, and many to death. Every great war has committed this mad crime against the world and its Creator, but surely no war before the present one has done it so deliberately, so self-consciously, so shamelessly, and on so great a scale. For this, too, no reparation is possible. Gold and silver cannot pay for the loss of flesh and blood; no accession of territory can atone to us for the lives of our dead that lie under their wooden crosses along the sea in Flanders. The everlasting surf of proud if scorching tears that washes that consecrated coast will not be stayed by indemnities and annexations. When peace comes after all this sacrifice of life she must bring more than the conquering sword in her hand, or the victory will be in vain.

Then think of the wrong this war has done to the moral sense of mankind. Every war, whatever its necessity or justification, is an outrage on humanity, but war in our time as never before in man's history is crime. In the past ages there has been much to excuse it. Differences of language, conflicts of faith and divisions of space, not to speak of more sinister evils, have been sufficient to create an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion in which wars have been bred, but modern education, travel, commerce, literature, and, above all, science, with its mysterious and angelic power, as in the telegraph, of bringing people in a moment into the same place, ought to have broken down the barriers that separated the nations by showing them that they were members one of another, with the same joys and sorrows, the same weakness in the presence of man's relentless enemy, the elements, and the same dependence on the Merciful Father who is over all. They have not done so. War has come with its insensate brutalities and in a day all the barbed wire fences of ignorance and prejudice have been set up afresh, charged with redoubled currents of hatred and malice and lust of blood.

Had one-tenth of all the lives destroyed by this three years' war been swallowed up by flood or earthquake, by another and more frightful Messina, Galveston, or San Francisco, what a wave of human brotherhood would have swept over the nations, making the whole world kin! But man, not nature, has been the author of this tragedy. So the people in Germany rejoice over the sinking of the Lusitania and illuminate the streets of Berlin after the slaughter of little children in London. What a moral catastrophe! Can humanity ever recover from it after the bitterness of the last three years? Is any reconciliation of peoples possible? If not, is real peace conceivable? When the end comes, will it only be a cessation of activities?

Shall we of the allied countries ever be able to take the hand of a German again? In looking to the future of the civilized nations must we always think and feel as if one hundred millions of our fellow-creatures did not exist? Some of us who are not visionaries used to dream of a day when humanity would step out of darkness and put on the armor of light. Is that to be another of our dead joys and buried hopes on the road of life?

A Glimpse at the Future

And then think finally of the wrong this three years' war has done to religion. For two thousand years faith has been working for the Christianization of the world. It has been a long and almost hopeless labor in the past with so many temporalities to contend against, so many pagan impulses to overcome. If there is one thing certain about Jesus Christ it is that chief among his purposes was that of bringing war to an end, of substituting for the force of arms the force of righteousness. Painfully through the ages has religion toiled after that great ideal, although again and again it has been compelled to see the vicars of Christ girding themselves with the sword in spite of the rebuke of Gethsemane.

But in these later days we were tell-

ing ourselves that in spite of all the machinations of military despotism the gospel of peace was sweeping through the world. We held conferences to celebrate its victorious advance, and great German theologians like Harnack came to England to preach the doctrine of universal pacification. Down to the first days of August, 1914, we were praying in our churches with a fervor and conviction never felt before that God would give us peace in our time, that He would grant to all nations a spirit of unity and concord, that He would save us from violent and untimely deaths, and above all that His Kingdom might come on earth, even as it is in heaven.

And then—what then? At the first blast of war the gospel of peace was gone, nations were hardening their hearts, clergy, under holy orders from the Prince of Peace, were shouldering rifles and going out to kill. The Harnacks of Germany, with a blasphemy never known before in written or spoken words, were calling on God to strengthen their arms that they might kill more and more Englishmen. And then there came three years of rapine, murder, slaughter, rape, and every horror known to hell. What a shock if the dead were to awake after their long dream of heaven that was to right the wrongs and heal the wounds of their lives on earth to find there was no heaven and no healing. Could the shock be greater? Were our dreams a delusion? The law of love which proceeded from the Cross, was it inconsistent with the laws of life? Did it fail us at the last moment? Is the Christianization of the world further off than ever? Are there two Christianities—one for the individual man and the other for the State? Will God's Kingdom ever come? Is it useless and foolish to hope for the commonwealth of humanity, the League of Nations, for the protection of the world's peace?

Is peace impossible, and will the war last as long as man?

Thank God, there is reason to think that the darkest hour is the hour before dawn, and out of the very blackness of the present I see hope for the future, such a hope as the world has never known before. Man's days are as a span, yet I think some of us will live to see not only peace but the end of war.

Secretary Lansing on Our War Aims

The United States, for the Sake of Its Own Liberty, Must Fight Until German Autocracy Is Broken

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, delivered a noteworthy address to 1,600 *candidates for commissions as reserve officers at Madison Barracks, Sacket Harbor, N. Y., on July* 29, 1917. *After a few introductory sentences, he plunged into his theme, saying:*

WE are living in the most momentous time in all history, in a time when the lives and destinies of nations are in the balance, when the civilization which has taken centuries to build may crumble before the terrible storm which is sweeping over Europe. We are not only living in this critical period, but we, as a nation, have become a participant in the struggle. Having cast our lot on the side of the powers allied against the Imperial German Government, we will put behind our decision the full power and the resources of the Republic. We intend to win in this mighty conflict, and we will win because our cause is the cause of justice and of right and of humanity.

I wonder how many of us comprehend what the outcome of this war means to mankind, or, to bring it nearer to each one of us, what it means to our country. I sometimes think that there prevail very erroneous impressions as to the reasons why we entered the war, not the immediate reasons, but the deep underlying reasons which affect the life and future

of the United States and of all other liberty-loving nations throughout the world.

Of course, the immediate cause of our war against Germany was the announced purpose of the German Government to break its promises as to indiscriminate submarine warfare and the subsequent renewal of that ruthless method of destruction with increased vigor and brutality.

While this cause was in itself sufficient to force us to enter the war if we would preserve our self-respect, the German Government's deliberate breach of faith and its utter disregard of right and life had a far deeper meaning, a meaning which had been growing more evident as the war had progressed and which needed but this act of perfidy to bring it home to all thinking Americans. The evil character of the German Government is laid bare before the world. We know now that that Government is inspired with ambitions which menace human liberty and that to gain its end it does not hesitate to break faith, to violate the most sacred rights, or to perpetrate intolerable acts of inhumanity.

Proof of German Perfidy

It needed but the words reported to have been uttered by the German Chancellor to complete the picture of the character of his Government when he announced that the only reason why the intensified submarine campaign was delayed until February last was that sufficient submarines could not be built before that time to make the attacks on commerce efficient. Do you realize that this means, if it means anything, that the promises to refrain from brutal submarine warfare which Germany had made to the United States were never intended to be kept, that they were only made in order to gain time in which to build more submarines, and that when the time came to act the German promises were unhesitatingly torn to pieces like other "scraps of paper"?

It is this disclosure of the character of the Imperial German Government which is the underlying cause of our entry into the war. We had doubted, or at least many Americans had doubted, the evil purposes of the rulers of Germany. Doubt remained no longer. In the light of events we could read the past and see that for a quarter of a century the absorbing ambition of the military oligarchy, which was the master of the German Empire, was for world dominion. Every agency in the fields of commerce, industry, science, and diplomacy had been directed by the German Government to this supreme end. Philosophers and preachers taught that the destiny of Germany was to rule the world, thus preparing the mind of the German people for the time when the mighty engine which the German Government had constructed should crush all opposition and the German Emperor should rule supreme.

For nearly three years we have watched the conduct of the Imperial Government, and we have learned more and more of the character of that Government and of its aims. We came very slowly to a realizing sense that not only was the freedom of the European nations at stake but that liberty throughout the world was threatened by the powerful autocracy which was seeking to gratify its vast ambition.

Not impulsively, but with deliberation, the American people reached the only decision which was possible from the standpoint of their own national safety. Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial Government of Germany, and this country united with the other liberal nations of the earth to crush the power which sought to erect on the ruins of democracy a world empire greater than that of Greece or Rome or the Caliphs.

Quotes President's Slogan

The President has said, with the wonderful ability which he has to express aptly a great thought in a single phrase, that "the world must be made safe for democracy." In that thought there is more than the establishment of liberty and self-government for all nations; there is in it the hope of an enduring peace.

I do not know in the annals of history an instance where a people, with truly

democratic institutions, have permitted their Government to wage a war of aggression, a war of conquest. Faithful to their treaties, sympathetic with others seeking self-development, real democracies, whether monarchical or republican in their forms of government, desire peace with their neighbors and with all mankind.

Were every people on earth able to express their will there would be no wars of aggression, and, if there were no wars of aggression, then there would be no wars, and lasting peace would come to this earth. The only way that a people can express their will is through democratic institutions. Therefore, when the world is made safe for democracy, when that great principle prevails, universal peace will be an accomplished fact.

No nation or people will benefit more than the United States when that time comes. But it has not yet come. A great people, ruled in thought and word as well as in deed by the most sinister Government of modern times, are straining every nerve to supplant democracy by the autocracy which they have been taught to worship.

When will the German people awaken to the truth? When will they arise in their might and cast off the yoke and become their own masters? I fear that it will not be until the physical might of the united democracies of the world has destroyed forever the evil ambitions of the military rulers of Germany and liberty triumphs over its arch enemy.

And yet, in spite of these truths which have been brought to light in these last three years, I wonder how many Americans feel that our democracy is in peril; that our liberty needs protection; that the United States is in real danger from the malignant forces which are seeking to impose their will upon the world, as they have upon Germany and her deceived allies.

Let us understand once for all that this is no war to establish an abstract principle of right. It is a war in which the future of the United States is at stake. If any one among you has the idea that we are fighting others' battles and not our own, the sooner he gets away from that idea the better it will be for him, the better it will be for all of us.

Germany Menaces America

Imagine Germany victor in Europe because the United States remained neutral. Who, then, think you, would be the next victim of those who are seeking to be masters of the whole earth? Would not this country, with its enormous wealth, arouse the cupidity of an impoverished, though triumphant, Germany? Would not this democracy be the only obstacle between the autocratic rulers of Germany and their supreme ambition? Do you think that they would withhold their hand from so rich a prize?

Let me, then, ask you, would it be easier or wiser for this country single-handed to resist a German Empire flushed with victory and with great armies and navies at its command than to unite with the brave enemies of that empire in ending now and for all time this menace to our future?

Primarily, then, every man who crosses the ocean to fight on foreign soil against the armies of the German Emperor goes forth to fight for his country and for the preservation of those things for which our forefathers were willing to die. To those who thus offer themselves we owe the same debt that we owe to those men who in the past fought on American soil in the cause of liberty. No, not the same debt, but a greater one. It calls for more patriotism, more self-denial, and a truer vision to wage war on distant shores than to repel an invader or defend one's home.

I know that some among you may consider the idea that Germany would attack us if she won this war to be improbable; but let him who doubts remember that the improbable, yes, the impossible, has been happening in this war from the beginning. If you had been told prior to August, 1914, that the German Government would disregard its solemn treaties and send its armies into Belgium, would wantonly burn Louvain, would murder defenseless people, would extort ransoms from conquered cities, would carry away men and women into slavery,

would, like Vandals of old, destroy some of history's most cherished monuments, and would with malicious purpose lay waste the fairest fields of France and Belgium, you would have indignantly denied the possibility. You would have exclaimed that Germans, lovers of art and learning, would never permit such foul deeds. Today you know that the unbelievable has happened, that all these crimes have been committed, not under the impulse of passion, but under official orders.

Atrocities and Iron Crosses

Again, if you had been told before the war that German submarine commanders would sink peaceful vessels of commerce and send to sudden death men, women, and little children, you would have declared such scientific brutality to be impossible. Or, if you had been told that German aviators would fly over thickly populated cities scattering missiles of death and destruction, with no other purpose than to terrorize the innocent inhabitants, you would have denounced the very thought as unworthy of belief and as a calumny upon German honor. Yet, God help us, these things have come to pass, and Iron Crosses have rewarded the perpetrators.

But there is more, far more, which might be added to this record of unbelievable things which the German Government has done. I only need to mention the attempt of the Foreign Office at Berlin to bribe Mexico to make war upon us by promising her American territory. It was only one of many intrigues which the German Government was carrying on in many lands. Spies and conspirators were sent throughout the world. Civil discord was encouraged to weaken the potential strength of nations which might be obstacles to the lust of Germany's rulers for world mastery. Those of German blood who owed allegiance to other countries were appealed to to support the Fatherland, which beloved name masked the military clique at Berlin.

Some day I hope that the whole tale may be told. It will be an astounding tale, indeed. But enough has been told so that there no longer remains the shadow of a doubt as to the character of Germany's rulers, of their amazing ambition for world empire and of their intense hatred for democracy.

The day has gone by when we can measure possibilities by past experiences or when we believe that any physical obstacle is so great or any moral influence is so potent as to cause the German autocracy to abandon its mad purpose of world conquest.

It was the policy of those who plotted and made ready for the time to accomplish the desire of the German rulers to lull into false security the great nations which they intended to subdue, so that when the storm broke they would be unprepared. How well they succeeded you know. But democracy no longer sleeps. It is fully awake to the menace which threatens it. The American people, trustful and friendly, were reluctant to believe that imperialism again threatened the peace and liberty of the world. Conviction came to them at last, and with it prompt action. The American Nation arrayed itself with the other great democracies of the earth against the genius of evil which broods over the destinies of Central Europe.

America's High Resolve

No thought of material gain and no thought of material loss impelled this action. Inspired by the highest motives, American manhood prepared to risk all for the right. I am proud of my country. I am proud of my countrymen. I am proud of our national character. With lofty purpose, with patriotic fervor, with intense earnestness, the American democracy has drawn the sword, which it will not sheathe until the baneful forces of absolutism go down defeated and broken.

Who can longer doubt—and there have been many who have doubted in these critical days—the power of that eternal spirit of freedom which lives in every true American heart?

My friends, I am firmly convinced that the independence of no nation is sure, that the liberty of no individual is sure, until the military despotism, which holds the German people in the hollow of its

KING GEORGE AND HIS FIGHTING ADMIRAL

A photograph taken of King George and Admiral Sir David Beatty, Commander-in-Chief of the British battle fleet, during the King's visit to the fleet in June, 1917

(Photo International Film Service)

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ERIC GEDDES

The new First Lord of the British Admiralty, in succession to Sir Edward Carson. Sir Eric Geddes was previously Controller of the Navy. As a Minister he has had to be elected to Parliament

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

hand, has been made impotent and harmless forever. Appeals to justice, to moral obligation, to honor, no longer avail with such a power. There is but one way to restore peace to the world, and that is by overcoming the physical might of German imperialism by force of arms.

For its own safety, as well as for the cause of human liberty, this great Republic is marshaling its armies and preparing with all its vigor to aid in ridding Germany, as well as the world, of the most ambitious and most unprincipled autocracy which has arisen to stay the wheels of progress and imperil Christian civilization.

It is to this great cause you, who are present here tonight, like thousands of other loyal Americans, have dedicated yourselves. Upon each one of you much depends. You are going forth into foreign lands, not only as guardians of the flag of your country and of the liberties of your countrymen, but as guardians of the national honor of the United States. American character will be judged by your conduct, American spirit by your deeds. As you maintain yourselves courageously and honorably, so will you bring glory to the flag which we all love as the emblem of our national unity and independence.

Reward of the Soldier

It is in the toil and danger of so great an adventure as you are soon to experience that a man's true character will become manifest. He will be brought face to face with the realities. The little things which once engrossed his thought and called forth his energies will be forgotten in the stern events of his new life. The sternness of it all will not deprive him of the satisfaction which comes from doing his best. As he found gratification and joy in the peaceful pursuits of the old life, so will he find a deeper gratification and a greater joy in serving his country loyally and doing his part in molding the future.

And when your task is completed, when the grim days of battle are over, and you return once more to the quiet life of your profession or occupation, which you have so generously abandoned at your country's call, you will find in the gratitude of your countrymen an ample reward for the great sacrifice which you have made.

If enthusiasm and ardor can make success sure, then we, Americans, have no cause for anxiety, no reason to doubt the outcome of the conflict. But enthusiasm and ardor are not all; they must be founded on a profound conviction of the righteousness of your cause and on an implicit faith that the God of Battles will strengthen the arm of him who fights for the right.

In the time of stress and peril, when a man stands face to face with death in its most terrible forms, God will not desert him who puts his trust in Him. It is at such a time that the eternal verities will be disclosed. It is then, when you realize that existence is more than this life and that over our destinies watches an all-powerful and compassionate God, you will stand amidst the storm of battle unflinching and unafraid.

There is no higher praise that can be bestowed upon a soldier of the Republic than to say that he served his country faithfully and trusted in his God. Such I earnestly hope will be the praise to which each of you will be entitled when peace returns to this suffering earth and mankind rejoices that the world is made safe for democracy.

War for American Honor and Lives

Senator Borah on Our War Aims

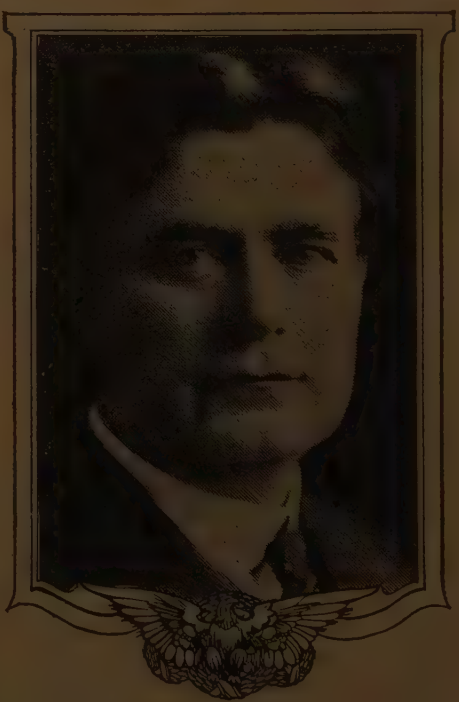
Senator Borah of Idaho delivered a remarkable speech in the Senate on July 26, 1917, during the debate on river and harbor appropriations, in which he warned Congress and the nation against useless expenditures, at the same time stating just what were the issues for which Americans were about to offer their blood and treasure on the battlefields of Europe. All the essential parts of the speech are given below.

The debate having brought Mr. Borah to the point where he warned the Senate that the millions of waste in the River and Harbor bill might be a cause of disaster, he continued:

ENGLAND has up to the present time issued war bonds to the amount of $18,740,000,000. France has issued $10,532,000,000 of bonds, Germany has issued $13,400,000,000 of bonds, Russia has issued $7,896,000,000 of bonds, Italy has issued $2,520,000,000 of bonds, Austria has issued $3,659,000,000 of bonds, and the United States will add to it this year in the way of bonds in all probability to the amount of at least $10,000,000,000. You have, Mr. President, the stupendous, almost incomprehensible burden of $66,747,000,000 in the way of bonded indebtedness upon the countries named that are engaged in this war. Calculate the annual interest on this and you get some conception of this burden. * * *

In view of the fact that the countries with which we are now allied are raising apparently every dollar that they can, but must necessarily vote these large issues of bonds, and in view of the fact that we have already incurred obligations or provided for expenditures approaching $17,000,000,000, as a matter of patriotism, in the simple discharge of the most simple duty which devolves upon us we ought to insist that every item of appropriations which passes through this body shall have stamped upon it "necessity"; that no item which cannot be said to be absolutely necessary to the successful carrying on of the war ought to pass, and that to pass it would be an act in disregard of the imminent urgency which confronts this country.

Mr. President, there never has been a time in this struggle, from the first day of August, 1914, until this present hour, when the outlook was so serious and menacing to the Allies as it is at this time. There has never been an instant



WILLIAM E. BORAH
SENATOR FROM IDAHO

so calculated to call forth patriotic effort, to enlist the unselfish zeal of those who have to do with the guiding of their country's affairs as this present time. Russia has for all practical purposes at this hour, for the present at least, passed out of the conflict. Her internal difficulties have made it practically impossible for her to be of effect upon the fighting line. That vast body of people, upon whom all interested in this war upon the side of the Allies depended so

much and from whom they expected so much has by reason of the situation at home practically left the battle front.

New Crisis Due to Russia

What does that mean to the people of the United States? Could a more serious message come over the wires at any time, one involving more nearly the lives of millions of our boys, than the fact that Russia is breaking down? If there is efficacy in prayer in such things as these, the American people may well offer up a silent prayer at this hour for the guidance and the preservation and the success of Kerensky. If this gallant leader, standing now at the head of his disorganized forces, meets either the assassin's bullet or failure in other ways, it means a leaven which will disorganize and demoralize the situation beyond any power that language can portray. It means, Mr. President, that in all probability a million American boys in addition will find graves upon European soil.

No more serious situation, Sir, could confront warring nations than that which confronts the Allies at this hour. In the minds of some it may not be considered wise to say so, but the situation is here, and I am one of those who believe that we should speak truthfully and plainly to those who must pay our taxes and fight our battles. The hour of sacrifice has arrived, and, being here, will the Senate of the United States linger and parley, Sir, over money to go into Fish Creek, Tombigbee Creek, or some other inconsequential and worthless waterways? Will the American Senate delay for a single hour to cut away all unnecessary and idle things which impede progress or add unnecessary burdens and meet this situation as it is necessary for us to meet it in order to solve the problem? Shall we rise to the invitations of this solemn and awful hour or shall we still trifle with selfish and immaterial matters as the storm comes on?

But that is not all, Mr. President. Not only has Russia for the present time passed out of this war, but the submarine problem, which, it was hoped a few weeks ago, might by this time be well upon its way to a successful solution, instead of being favorable to the Allies is distinctly favorable to the Teuton powers. I read in the reliable papers this morning that, instead of the amount of tonnage sunk decreasing, it is increasing day by day, and thus, while the Russian forces are breaking away from the fighting line, the submarines of the Teuton powers are spreading havoc upon the seas, and France is being fought almost to her knees, though displaying again and again courage and heroism such as have never been excelled in the history of the world.

[Here Mr. Borah reviewed the work of German submarines, estimating the sinkings at 9,000,000 tons a year, and continued]:

America's Peace Terms

This is not a propitious time, generally speaking, to discuss peace or to propose peace if we intend to have that peace which is permanent and which endures. With an enemy that is apparently marching on to victory, we shall hardly be listened to upon their part; we cannot discuss peace with them; * * * but I think this much ought to be said, lest I be misunderstood: I am not so sure but that the time has come when the American people should have presented to them more definitely and specifically the terms and conditions upon which we are fighting the war and the terms and conditions upon which we would cease to fight it. I believe that there ought to be laid before our people a more specific program as to what we propose to attain, as to what we propose to accomplish, and as to the terms and conditions upon which the war, so far as America is concerned, can end. I think we ought to say in as clear terms as possible just what America demands as a prerequisite of peace.

I say this, not, Sir, with the view of dealing with Germany or with the expectation that she would accept from us at this time any proposal which we might submit, but I say it in behalf of our own people and of permitting them to know definitely and specifically the things for which they are expected to fight and the things which shall constitute the end of their task. We cannot carry on this war,

in my judgment, without a thoroughly aroused and sustained public opinion in favor of the war, which does not at this time exist; and one of the reasons, in my opinion, why it does not exist is because of the nebulous and uncertain terms and conditions upon which we are supposed to be in the war, and the utter want of knowledge as to what conditions will take us out of the war. No one seems to know what will constitute the end. America ought to hold the reins of peace every hour and at all times.

The Real American Issue

Mr. President, Viviani, in that remarkable address bidding farewell to the American people, told us that the great mistake the German Government made was in not knowing the French and English people; that they sent their Ambassadors to France and England to study government and to practice the arts of diplomacy, but they misunderstood or did not read at all the noble qualities of the masses. Let us not as a Government make that same fatal mistake with reference to our own people. Let us keep in mind that the ways of Government and the paths of diplomacy overshadowed by no sacrifice are often far from the sad and dusty lanes down which the people march to war. Government and diplomacy may be interested in the future of Constantinople and the Bagdad Railway, but out yonder in the open, where every move toward war means sorrow and sacrifice, where families are to be separated and broken, where husband and brother and son are to be offered upon the altar, that altar must be our country—you must speak to them of things of home and of the flag, you must give them an American issue for which to die.

After we have declared war and taken the steps upon the part of the Government which necessarily follow, we come then to deal with another world entirely. We leave the field of form and formality and find ourselves in the world of the concrete, of the real, where hearts throb and grieve and men are preparing to suffer and die. From this forward you must deal with the man on the street, in the field, and in the factory; the man of simple and fixed but noble national instincts; the man, bless God! in whose moral and intellectual fibre are ingrained the teachings and traditions and aspirations of a century of national life—a national life separate, distinct, exceptional, and sublime.

Fighting for Our Own Rights

You will not change these things over night. The American citizen must live his character; you cannot transplant in a few weeks the habits and ideas, the methods and ways, of other people. We have our allies, and with them a common purpose; but America is still America, with her own institutions, her individuality, the moral and intellectual conceptions of her own people; she is still a sun and not a satellite.

Sir, if our own institutions are not at stake, if the security of our own country is not involved, if we as a people and as a nation are not fighting for our own rights and the honor and lives of our own people, our declaration of war was a bold and impudent betrayal of a whole people, and its further continuance a conspiracy against every home in the land. * * *

A few weeks ago Russia made a declaration in favor of peace based upon no indemnities and no annexations. It found no response from any one of her allies. In my humble judgment, the United States could not have taken a more important and effective step than to have indorsed the proposition which Russia at that time put out to the world. Some noted exceptions, some of which, I have no doubt, Russia herself would have accepted, could have been noted, but the principle maintained. It is my opinion that if the United States had taken a bold stand at that time in favor of that principle Russia would be in 100 per cent. better condition as a fighting force today than she is. But the impression immediately obtained that certain influences prevented the United States from defining its position, waiting upon other powers which were directing the course of this war. And there is abroad in this land now the belief that we must fight

on and on until captured colonies and certain territory are adjusted. Sir, I warn you now, do not let that idea become fastened in the minds of our people.

Because Americans Were Murdered

Mr. President, I can only speak for myself and for myself alone. But speaking for myself, I did not vote for war out of sympathy for France, much as I sympathize with and greatly as I admire that brave and chivalrous people. I voted for war because our own rights had been trampled under foot, because our own people had been murdered, and because we were warned that the slaughter was to be renewed. I could see nothing under those conditions in the future but continued wrongs, dishonor, and complete national degradation. I did not vote for war that we might spread democracy over Europe, though, in common with all my countrymen, I presume, I would be glad to see every King and every Emperor and every Prince exiled from among men and the last vestige of dynastic power swept into the refuse of history.

I voted for war to preserve and make safe our own blessed Republic, to give honor and dignity and security to this democracy of ours, and to keep it if we could as our fathers transmitted it, whole and triumphant. I felt that self-respect was the very breath of life of a democracy, that while other Governments might continue on in humiliation, and even in degradation, without self-respect a democracy could not long endure. I felt that a free Republic living alone and existing only in the affection and the devotion of the citizen could not long survive the day when that Republic should refuse to defend the rights and protect the lives of its citizens. So I voted for war because the most vital thing in our national life was and is involved, and for no other reason on earth would I have cast that vote and aided in plunging our nation into the midst of this world conflict.

As I view it, from that hour this was no longer a European war to settle and adjust European affairs, to rehabilitate European nations, but an American war, to be carried on, prolonged, or ended according to American interests, and to be adjusted upon American principles, and to settle, once and we hope for all time, that while slow to wrath we are swift to avenge those wrongs which challenge national honor and imperil the security of our own people.

"America Will Make No Difference"

Dr. Kahl, a Professor of Law at the University of Berlin, delivered a lecture in July on "The Turning Point of the World War." He was reported as saying:

> The turning point of the war has arrived—that is to say, the climax is passed, and the scales are fixed in our favor. We can say deliberately that the German victory is waving to us. Our enemies are many. Our latest enemies have been forced to come in as economic satellites of our main enemies. It is only the old enemies that seriously count in calculations about the result and end of the compaign; among them is Wilson, who was always playing false. Such a nature as his is repulsive to the German character. At the turning point of the world war, however, the fact that we are at war with America will make no difference—not even if the much-trumpeted 200,000 men come over the sea. With just conviction and hope we can cry to the peace hypocrite on the warpath, "Too late!"

The Battle of the Chancelleries

British Premier's Attack on New German Chancellor's First Speech Opens a Many-Sided Debate

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, speaking at a patriotic demonstration in Queen's Hall, London, on Belgium's Independence Day, July 21, 1917, characterized the recent speech of the German Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, as a sham, facing both ways, and declared that he did not wish the Germans to "harbor any delusions that they are going to put Great Britain out of this fight until liberty has been re-established throughout the world." The German speech in question was delivered in the Reichstag on July 19, and its essential portions will be found in the August issue of this magazine. Toward the end of his speech Mr. Lloyd George said that the Germans were making the same mistake in underestimating America's efforts in the war as they had made about Great Britain in the beginning:

They said that we wouldn't fight, and if we would we couldn't. We had no army and we couldn't raise one, and they needn't worry about Britain. I think they have discovered their mistake about us, and now they are just going through the same process with America.

I want to put this to them: If Great Britain, not a very large country, while she is maintaining and equipping and even building up equipment for an army of millions afield and in reserve in full fighting array, while she is maintaining the largest navy in the world, can organize in the third year of an exhausting war to turn out millions of tons of new shipping, is America, with twice the population of this country, with endless natural resources, going to be beaten merely because she puts forth no effort? The man who talks like that knows not America; otherwise he would not say it.

Brighter Days for Belgium

The other essential portions of Mr. Lloyd George's speech are as follows:

Three years—even of agony—are not long in the life of a nation, and the deliverance of Belgium is assuredly coming, and when it comes that deliverance must be complete. France owes it, Britain owes it, Europe owes it, the civilization of the world owes it to Belgium that her deliverance shall be complete.

What have we got in the way? There is a new Chancellor. The Junker has thrown the old Chancellor into the waste-paper basket with his scrap of paper and they are lying there side by side. You will not have to wait long before Junkerdom will follow. What hope is there in his speech of peace—I mean an honorable peace, which is the only possible peace? It is a dexterous speech. A facing-all-ways speech. There are phrases for those who earnestly desire peace—many. But they are phrases which the military powers of Germany will understand—phrases about making the frontier of Germany secure. That is the phrase which annexed Alsace-Lorraine; that is the phrase which has drenched Europe with blood from 1914; that is the phrase which, if they dare, will annex Belgium; and that is the phrase which will once more precipitate Europe into a welter of blood within a generation unless that phrase is wiped out of the statesmanship of Europe.

Herr Michaelis's Phrases

There are phrases for men of democratic mind in that speech—many. He was calling men from the Reichstag to co-operate with the Government; they were even to get office, men of all parties and men of democratic sentiment. But there were phrases to satisfy the Junkers—to other men nothing. There was to be no parting with imperialistic rights. Ah! They will call men from the Reichstag to office, but they will be not Ministers, but clerks. It is the speech of a man waiting on the military situation, and let the Allies—Russia, Britain, France, Italy, all of them—bear that in mind. It is a speech that can be made better by improving the military situation. If the Germans win in the west, if they destroy the Russian Army in the east, if their friends the Turks drive Britain out of Mesopotamia, if the U-boats sink more merchant ships, then that speech, believe me, means annexation all round and military autocracy more firmly established than ever. But, on the other hand, should the German Army be driven back in the west, be beaten in the east, and should their friends the Turks fail in Bagdad, and the submarines be a failure on the high seas, that speech is all right. We must all help to make that a good speech. There are possibilities in it of excellence. Let us help Dr. Michaelis;

let us give our assistance to the new Chancellor to make his first speech a real success. But for the moment it means that the military party has won.

Guarantees of Peace

I want to repeat in another form a statement which I made before. What manner of Government they choose to rule over them is entirely the business of the German people themselves; but what manner of Government we can trust to make peace with is our business. Democracy is in itself a guarantee of peace, and if you cannot get it in Germany then we must secure other guarantees as a substitute. The German Chancellor's speech shows, in my judgment, that those who are in charge of affairs in Germany have for the moment elected for war.

There is no hope for Belgium in that speech. It is not even mentioned. The phraseology is full of menace to Belgium. All that about making their frontiers secure—which took Metz and Strasburg away, and will take Liége and the control over Antwerp again—that is not a phrase of good omen for Belgium. All that about the necessity of seeing that the economic interests of Germany are secure means that, even if they restore Belgium, their restoration will be a sham. The determination of the Allies is this, that Belgium must be restored as a free and an independent people. Belgium must be a people and not a protectorate. We must not have a Belgian scabbard for the Prussian sword. The sceptre must be Belgian, the sword must be Belgian, the scabbard must be Belgian, the soul must be Belgian.

I read that speech, as it was my duty to read it once, twice, thrice, to seek anything in it which would give hope for an end of this bloodshed, and I see a sham independence for Belgium, a sham democracy for Germany, a sham peace for Europe; and I say Europe has not sacrificed millions of her gallant sons to set up on soil consecrated by their blood a mere sanctuary for shams.

Vanishing German Illusions

The German Chancellor tries to stimulate the courage of his people by doping them with illusions. Germany will find that her new hopes are just such illusions as the others that have been dispelled. Paris in six weeks—that is gone. The circumvention of our blockade by opening up the route to Bagdad and to the reserves of the East—that is gone. The Zeppelin raids—where are they? And now it is the Turks and the U-boats, both equally barbarous and good company, the one for the other. The U-boats are to put England out of business. Owing to the submarine attacks, according to the German Chancellor, we cannot last much longer. I am sorry to disillusion him at the outset of his career. But truth compels me to do it. Gradually, but surely, we are increasing our production and decreasing our losses in ships.

We are a slow people; we are not very quick at the outset, but we are difficult to beat when we begin; and certainly I think Germany has underrated our intelligence, our industry, and our determination. * * *

There has been a change, a more significant change than that of the substitution of Dr. Michaelis for Bethmann Hollweg, and that is the change which has been announced just a few hours ago. That brilliant young Russian statesman, the outstanding figure of the Russian revolution, the man whose inspiration has regenerated and revived Russian military forces, has succeeded to the leadership of the Russian democracy. In the great coming struggle in the east and in the west, every German soldier must know in his heart that if he falls he will be dying for military autocracy in fighting against the federation of free peoples. On the other hand every Belgian soldier, every French soldier, every Russian soldier knows that he is risking his life for the freedom and independence of his native land. Every British, every American, every Portuguese soldier knows that he will be fighting side by side with the others for international right and justice throughout the world, and it is that growing conviction more even than the knowledge of vast unexhausted resources which gives them all heart—it gives us heart—to go on fighting to the end, knowing full well that the future of mankind is our trust to maintain and to defend.

Commons Rejects Resolution

The attitude of the British House of Commons toward a peace move initiated by Germany was shown July 26, when by a vote of 148 to 19 it defeated the following resolution, moved by James Ramsay Macdonald, Socialist and Labor Member for Leicester:

That, in view of the resolution passed by the representatives of the German people assembled in the Reichstag, to the effect that, putting aside the thought of acquisition of territory by force, the Reichstag is striving for a peace of understanding and lasting reconciliation of nations; that with such a peace, political, economic, and financial usurpation are incompatible, also that the Reichstag repudiates all plans which aim at the economic isolation and tying down of nations after the war, this House declares that this statement expresses the principles for which this country has stood throughout, and calls upon the Government, in conjunction with the Allies, to restate their peace terms accordingly; and, further, it declares that the Allies should accept the Russian

proposal that the forthcoming allied conference on war aims shall comprise representatives of the peoples and not solely spokesmen of the Governments.

Former Premier Asquith, in discussing the resolution, welcomed the news that a conference would be held early in the Autumn on the invitation of the Russian Government. Nothing but good could come of a plain restatement of the Allies' aims in a good cause. Two new facts of the present year, first, that Russia had ceased forever to be autocratic, and, second, the appearance, with all her moral and material forces, of the United States in the struggle, had a direct and practical bearing upon the opinion of the world as to the sincerity of the Allies' aims. He continued:

> Earnestly as we desire peace, no peace is worth having which would restore, under some thin disguise, the precarious status quo ante bellum and would leave countries like Belgium, Serbia, and Greece at the mercy of dynastic intrigue or under the menace of military coercion. It would be premature and futile to grapple in detail with the geographical problems eventually to be solved.
>
> The principle clearly agreed to by every one of the Allies is that in any rearrangement made the governing principle ought to be the interests and the wishes of the populations affected. But is that principle acceptable to the Central Powers? Is Germany prepared not only to evacuate Belgium but to make reparation for the colossal mischief and damage which accompanied her devastating occupation and the practical enslavement of a large portion of the Belgian people? Is she prepared not only to do that but to restore to Belgium not a pretense of but absolute independence?

Other Official Replies

The speech of Bonar Law dealt largely with the Russian crisis. He said that all the nations engaged were staggering under the blow, but that the resources of the Allies were sufficient to make it absolutely certain that, unless their hearts failed them, they must secure the results for which they had entered the war. The struggle had reached a point where it was a question of staying power, and in this matter he had absolute confidence in the Allies.

Another official reply to Chancellor Michaelis is contained in the latter part of a summary of war events prepared for The Associated Press by Sir Edward Carson, British Minister without portfolio, under date of July 29. After declaring that the Russian revolution and the entry of the United States into the war were the two great events of the year, he said:

> The immediate effect of the Russian revolution, from a military point of view, gives cause for great anxiety and has, up to the present, proved disastrous. But it must be borne in mind that the Government of the late Russian Emperor was hatching positive treachery to the alliance and would have caused much greater disaster to us by concluding separate peace with Germany.
>
> The revolution, even from a military point of view, has been far better than the régime which it displaced. And, from a political and social point of view, we in England welcome it without reserve. We are confident that the inevitable disturbance which accompanies every revolution when the seat of existing authority is overturned will settle into constitutional order based on free democratic institutions and that as soon as this is brought about the ingrained patriotism of the Russian people, combined with their splendid military qualities, proved on a thousand battlefields, once more will bring that great country into line in effective co-operation with her allies in striking at the common enemy of all.
>
> The Russian revolution, moreover, has drawn a clear-cut line between the contending nations, ranging them as the defenders of democracy on one side and as its assailants on the other. This aspect of the struggle, of course, has been most strongly emphasized by the action of America in joining the alliance against the Central Empires and Turkey.

America's Momentous Decision

> The momentous decision of the United States that no alternative remained to her but to take up arms against Germany is one of the greatest events in the history of the world. Previous to taking it she had proved by a long course of patient statesmanship how deeply seated was her abhorrence of war and her idealism in the conduct of international affairs. Nothing but persistent and openly avowed adoption by Germany of a policy of public crime and flagrant violation of neutral rights would have driven America into the war.
>
> The utterances of President Wilson have nobly vindicated the moral basis of the alliance against Germany, and we have full confidence that America's moral support will, in good time, be backed by ma-

terial aid of overwhelming power which will make an end of all doubts as to the completeness of the victory attainable by the Allies.

We feel sure that the American people realize as clearly as we do ourselves that no peace can be lasting which is not the fruit of a complete and unquestionable military victory. The new German Chancellor has shown that neither the German Government nor the German people is yet prepared for any such peace. They still hope to make civilization and democracy surrender to the black flag.

It would be foolish to deny that the submarine menace is an exceedingly grave one; but it will be defeated as every other German expedient has been defeated in the three years of war we now have passed through.

We enter on the fourth year in a spirit of confident determination to see this thing through until we have attained the aims we proclaimed at the beginning, which could not be better summarized than in President Wilson's pregnant phrase to "make the world safe for democracy."

Reply of Dr. Michaelis to Lloyd George

Dr. Georg Michaelis, the German Imperial Chancellor, summoned a large number of newspaper men to his office in Berlin on July 29 and made the following declaration and countercharges:

The speech of David Lloyd George, the British Premier, at Queen's Hall, London, and the recent debate in the British House of Commons again have proved with indisputable clearness that Great Britain does not desire peace by agreement and understanding, but only a conclusion of the war which means the enslavement of Germany to the arbitrary violence of our enemies.

Proof of this may be seen in the fact that Sir Edward Carson recently declared in Dublin that negotiations with Germany could begin only after the retirement of German troops beyond the Rhine. In response to a question put by Commoner Joseph King, A. Bonar Law, the spokesman of the British Government in the House of Commons, modified this declaration by fixing the standpoint of the British Government as being that if Germany wanted peace she first of all must declare herself willing to evacuate the occupied territories.

We possess clear proofs that the enemy gives assent to a declaration going even further than that impudently made by Sir Edward Carson. You all know that detailed information regarding the French plans of conquest, approved by Great Britain and Russia, has been circulated for weeks past in the neutral press and that it has not been denied up to the present.

Says French Seek Conquest

It would be of the greatest importance for the enlightenment of the whole world regarding the true reasons for the continuation of the sanguinary massacre of nations for it to be known that written proofs of our enemies' greed for conquest have since fallen into our hands. I refer to reports of the secret debate on June 2 in the French Chamber of Deputies.

I ask the French Government this question: Does it deny that ex-Premier Briand and Premier Ribot, in the course of that secret sitting, at which were present Deputies Moutet and Cochin, who had just returned from Petrograd, were forced to admit that France, shortly before the Russian revolution, had come to an agreement having in view vain plans of conquest with a Government which Premier Lloyd George described in his last speech as a "corrupt and narrow autocracy"?

I ask if it is true that the French Ambassador at Petrograd, in response to a request sent by him to Paris, received instructions to sign a treaty prepared in advance by M. Doumergue (ex-Premier and Foreign Minister) after negotiations with the Russian Emperor?

Is it true or not that the French President at the instance of General Berthelot, head of the French military mission to Rumania, formally intrusted him with a mandate, and that M. Briand afterward sanctioned this step?

This treaty assured to France her frontiers, but amended on lines of previous wars the conquest of 1870 to include, besides Alsace-Lorraine, Saarbrücken and vast territorial modifications on the left bank of the Rhine.

As desired by France when M. Terestchenko (the Russian Foreign Minister) took office, the Russian Government protested against the French aims of conquest, which also included that of Syria, and declared that new Russia no longer would be willing to take part in the struggle if it learned of these French war aims.

Professes to Quote Briand

Wasn't it the principal object of Albert Thomas (member of the French War Council) on his journey to Russia to overcome this remorse of M. Terestchenko? The French Government will not be able to deny all this, and it will be obliged to confess, although it may do so only tacitly, that M. Briand was the ob-

ject of stormy attacks during the secret session; that Premier Ribot was obliged to produce the secret treaty in response to the demand of M. Renaudel, (leader of the majority Socialists in the French Chamber,) and also that M. Briand, in the course of the excited debate which ensued, declared that revolutionary Russia was obliged to carry out what imperial Russia had promised and that it did not matter to France what was said by the lowest classes in Russia.

It is characteristic that Deputy Moutet, according to his own statement, replied in Russia to the question whether Alsace-Lorraine was the only obstacle to peace by saying he could not answer the question in that form and that Russia ought to take into consideration the fact that the Russian revolution had been purchased by French blood.

The admission of Deputies Cochin and Moutet that the Russian representatives had declared in the course of the negotiation that they attached no importance to Constantinople throws clear light on Russian sentiment. The delegates from the Russian armies also are in agreement with this.

Regardless of this manifest proof of the revulsion of the Russian people against a policy of aggrandizement, Premier Ribot refused in the secret session of the French Chamber to undertake any revision of the French war aims and announced the fact that Italy also had received guarantees of great territorial aggrandizements.

In order to divest their ambitions on the left bank of the Rhine of a character of greed and conquest, he announced the necessity of a buffer State, but the Opposition speakers cried out amid a din of contradictions: "It is disgraceful!"

I would like also to mention that Premier Ribot, after a pacifist speech by Deputy Augagneur, replied that the Russian Generals had declared that the Russian armies never were in better condition or better equipped than then. Here appears in perfect clearness the desire to let the Russian people go on shedding their blood in behalf of the unjust ambitions of France.

This desire has been fulfilled, but not as Premier Ribot anticipated, for we can hardly presume he had such an absolute lack of humanity as that; though foreseeing the failure of the Russian offensive, he yet insisted upon it, thinking it would give another hour's respite pending the entry of America into the war.

The enemy press endeavors to force upon my inaugural speech the interpretation that I only consented to the majority resolution with an ill-concealed reservation of Germany's desires for conquest. I am obliged to deny the imputation as to an object of which there can be no doubt. Besides, the resolution implies—which is quite clear—that the enemy must also renounce any ideas of conquest.

Dr. Michaelis added that it was manifest Germany's enemies were not in the least considering such renunciation and that the French meeting held in secret was fresh proof that her enemies were responsible for the prolongation of the war and were "actuated by lust of conquest."

"The conspicuousness of the justice of our defensive war," the Chancellor concluded, "will steel our strength and determination in the future."

Supported by Count Czernin

Count Ottokar Czernin von Chudenitz, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, gave out a similar statement at Vienna on the same day, declaring that the Dual Monarchy would fight to the last extremity if the Entente Powers refused to accept the suggestion of Dr. Michaelis and enter into negotiations on the basis of a peace by understanding. He also replied to Mr. Lloyd George's speech of July 21 and said that the British Premier was mistaken when he called the Reichstag resolution a "peace bluff." He said:

I must reply to Premier Lloyd George with the question: What are we finally to expect from the Entente? What we desire is quite evident from the well-known declarations made in Vienna and from the demonstrations by the German people showing that a complete agreement exists to the very last detail between Vienna and Berlin.

What the Chancellor and the Reichstag declared is what I described months ago as an honorable peace, which the Vienna Government is ready to accept and whereby it seeks a lasting reconciliation of the nations. But there also exists the complete agreement that we never shall accept a peace which is not honorable for us.

If the Entente does not wish to enter negotiations on the basis which we have clearly indicated, we shall continue the war and fight to the last extremity.

I don't care whether this admission is regarded as a sign of weakness or of strength. To me it seems only a sign of common sense and morality, which revolt against the idea of prolonging the war. I am absolutely convinced the Entente will never succeed in crushing us; and, since in our position of defense we have no intention of crushing the enemy, the war will end sooner or later in a peace by understanding. But, to my way of

thinking, the natural conclusion is that the further sacrifices and suffering imposed on all humanity are useless, and that it is necessary, in the interests of humanity, to reach a peace by understanding as soon as possible.

As we have fought in conjunction with our faithful allies, so we shall make peace in conjunction with them, now or later, and we shall fight in conjunction with them to the last extremity unless the enemy shows a willingness to understand our viewpoint.

I shall not put the question who was responsible for the war, because it is useless to discuss the past in this connection. But I shall speak of the future, and I wish to express the desire that the world may succeed after the conclusion of peace in finding adequate means and expedients to prevent forever the recurrence of such a frightful war.

The democratization of Constitutions is the great demand of the time. Both in Austria and in Hungary the Governments are putting their hands to this great work, but they are against intervention from the outside. We do not intervene in the internal affairs of other States, and we demand complete reciprocity in this matter.

Balfour's Guarded Statement

The following day, July 30, Arthur J. Balfour, British Foreign Minister, took part in a discussion in the House of Commons regarding Lord Robert Cecil's recent statement that "the dismemberment of Austria was not one of Great Britain's war aims." Mr. Balfour said it would not be wise for the Government to declare the details of its policy at this juncture. With respect to the Jugoslav and Austrian question it was impossible to foretell the position in which the world would find itself when that issue came to be decided. "As everybody "knows," he said, "we first entered the "war to defend Belgium and prevent "France from being crushed before our "eyes." If France now asked for Alsace-Lorraine, he saw no reason why Great Britain should not assist her until she got back into the position which existed before the attack engineered against her by Bismarck in 1871, namely, that she "obtain restoration of that of which she "was violently robbed more than forty "years ago." He added: "As long as "France fights for Alsace-Lorraine we "shall support her."

As for the democratization of Germany, Mr. Balfour continued, nobody was foolish enough to suppose that it would be possible to impose upon Germany a Constitution made outside of Germany. He added:

Germany must work out her salvation. You do not mend matters by imposing a Constitution, even if you have the power. Nations must make their scheme of liberty for themselves, according to their own ideas, and based on their history, character, and hopes.

But if it is true that the great power of German imperialism is still depending upon the belief—the belief driven into the German Nation by the wars of 1866 and 1870—that only under the imperial system can Germany be great, powerful, and rich, then if experience shows that the imperialistic system can produce not merely a triumph one time but inevitably lead to corresponding disaster at another, it may well be that those views which found German teachers for more than a generation before the Bismarckian domination will revive with new lustre and new strength, and that Germany, with all her powers of organization and all her inherited cultivation, will be added to those nations which before the war could hardly conceive how a universal war of this sort could be deliberately provoked in order to further the commercial or political interests of any single community.

When Germany has come to the level of the United States and Great Britain in that respect we may hope that one of the great disturbers of the peace will forever be eliminated. I do not know who will venture to say for a moment that, looking at the internal condition of Germany as far as we are allowed to see it at the present time, the ideas of which I have been speaking will really grow in such fashion as to raise legitimate hopes that in our lifetime we shall see that established. But I am sure that if it is not established the security of Europe will not be established either.

The "Potsdam Plot" and Countercharges

The London Times on July 28 published an article from a "well-informed correspondent" tending to show that the die had been cast for war at a secret meeting in Potsdam on July 5, 1914. The Leipziger Volkszeitung had published

eight days earlier a report of Hugo Haase's speech in the Reichstag containing a reference to "the meeting of July 5, 1914," as one of the matters which would have to be explained before the origin of the war could be fully understood. The correspondent of The Times wrote:

This is the first public reference to a date which probably will become the most famous of the fateful month of July, 1914. I have it on authority which it is difficult if not impossible to doubt that the meeting referred to was a meeting held at Potsdam on the date named. There were present the Kaiser, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, Admiral von Tirpitz, General von Falkenhayn, Dr. William von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Archduke Frederick of Austria, Count von Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister; Count Tisza, Premier of Hungary, and General Conrad von Hoetzendorf. It appears that von Jagow and Count Moltke were not present.

The meeting discussed and decided on all the principal points in the Austrian ultimatum which was to be dispatched to Serbia. Eighteen days later it was recognized that Russia would probably refuse to submit to such a direct humiliation, and that war would result. That consequence the meeting definitely decided to accept. It is probable but not certain that the date of mobilization was fixed at the same time.

The Kaiser, as is well known, then left for Norway with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of the French and Russian Governments. Three weeks later, when it became known that England would not remain neutral, Bethmann Hollweg wished to withdraw, but it was too late. The decision of July 5 was irrevocable.

The peculiar way, or rather ways, in which the facts have become known cannot as yet be told, but it is certain that most of Haase's hearers were fully aware of the meaning of his reference to July 5, for the subject appears to have been discussed more fully at a session of the Budget Committee of the Reichstag eight weeks ago, when a Socialist Deputy, Herr Cohn, challenged a certain Minister to deny the facts. To the astonishment of other Deputies, the Minister did not deny the facts, but declined to make any statement. The incident created an immense sensation in the Reichstag.

The Berlin Government, through its semi-official news agency, denied this charge in the following dispatch dated Aug. 1:

The Wolff Bureau is authorized to declare the statements, with all their details, pure inventions. Neither on the day named nor on any other day in July did such a joint conference occur, either with or without the participation of the Emperor. Moreover, we again declare that the German Government abstained from any intervention in drafting the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia and that the German Government was completely ignorant of the contents of the ultimatum before its dispatch. The Times supports its false allegations on statements made by Deputy Cohn in the main committee of the Reichstag. The statement of the Deputy was immediately refuted in committee by the Government as incorrect.

Ribot Answers Countercharge

Dr. Michaelis, as has been seen, came back with the countercharge that France and Russia had made a secret treaty aiming at conquest. Premier Ribot replied to the latter on July 30, in the French Chamber of Deputies, saying:

I wish to reply to the singular speech which Dr. Michaelis thought fit to invite the Berlin journalists to hear. The German Chancellor publicly commanded the French Government to declare whether in a secret sitting June 1 the French Government had not made known to the Chamber of Deputies the terms of a secret treaty made before the Russian revolution whereby the [Russian] Emperor bound himself to support French pretensions to German territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

The Chancellor's version contains gross inaccuracies and absolute lies, notably regarding the rôle he attributes to the President of the Republic in giving an order to sign a treaty unknown to Premier Briand. The Chambers know how things passed. M. Doumergue, (former Premier and Foreign Minister,) after a conversation with the Emperor, demanded and obtained M. Briand's authorization to take note of the Emperor's promise to support our claim to Alsace-Lorraine and to leave us free to seek guarantees against fresh aggression, not by annexing territories on the left bank of the Rhine, but by making an autonomous State of these territories, which would protect us and also Belgium against invasion.

We have never thought to do what Bismarck did in 1871. We are, therefore, entitled to deny the allegation of the Chancellor, who evidently knows of the letters exchanged in February, 1917, at Petrograd, and falsified since as his most illustrious predecessor falsified the Ems dispatch. Whenever the Russian Govern-

ment is willing to publish these letters we have no objection.

The Chancellor refrained from speaking about my declaration March 21, wherein I repudiated in France's name any policy of conquest and annexation by force. He has willfully forgotten my language May 22 in the Chamber, saying we were ready to enter into conversations with Russia as to the object of the war; and if the German people, whose right to live and develop peacefully we do not contest, understood that we wished peace founded on the right of the people, the conclusion of peace would thereby be singularly facilitated.

Finally the Chancellor passed over in silence the resolution unanimously voted after the June secret session. * * * What is the Chancellor seeking? He is trying to hide the embarrassment which he feels in defining Germany's objects of war and conditions whereon she would make peace. He is trying especially to turn aside attention from the terrible responsibility weighing on the conscience of the Kaiser and his councilors.

It is on the morrow of the publication of decisions made July 5, 1914, at a council held at Potsdam, at which all consequences of the ultimatum to be sent to Serbia were discussed, and from which war was bound to spring, that the Chancellor is trying this diversion. There is something shameless, when one has such responsibilities, in demanding our intentions.

Assuredly it is not to Germany that we address ourselves, but to all who are witnesses or actors in the struggle which we have been maintaining for the last three years and who know that there is in the depth of the French people's soul a deep attachment to the principles of justice, respect for people's rights, and, I may add at the risk of not being understood by our enemies, true generosity.

The Russian Foreign Minister, M. Terestchenko, also denied absolutely the declarations attributed to him by Dr. Michaelis. He issued a statement on Aug. 1, saying:

> The Russian Foreign Minister drew up no protest nor made any special declarations to the French Government beyond a general declaration by the Provisional Government respecting war aims, which was generally made known May 18. This declaration, which was sympathetically received, will be thoroughly examined by the inter-allied conference to be held shortly.

Cambon on Potsdam Council

Jules Cambon, who was the French Ambassador to Germany when the war broke out, and who is now General Secretary of the French Foreign Office, confirmed M. Ribot's statements. To an Associated Press representative on Aug. 2 he said, in reference to the revelations regarding the Potsdam Crown Council of July 5, 1914:

> I have reason to believe that these revelations, which place at this date the responsibility and initiative of the war, conform to the truth, and I am not surprised that the German Government attempts to divert the discussion by accusing us of seeking annexations which are absolutely contrary to the feelings of all reasonable Frenchmen.
>
> The purpose of Herr Michaelis was to mislead the anti-annexationist elements of Russia and the United States in attributing to France a desire to annex what had never belonged to her. No Frenchman, myself among them, who keeps the memory of the sad wound of 1870 would have dreamed of precipitating Europe into a war to avenge this injury; but, since war has been imposed upon us, it is natural and just that we should profit by it to retake what had been unjustly torn from us.
>
> In the region of the Sarre, to which allusion has been made, are towns which have been French for centuries and which the treaty of 1814 recognized as ours. Sarre Louis, for example, is the birthplace of Marshal Ney, who in 1814 refused before a court-martial to avail himself of the argument of his lawyer, who would have made him innocent of the crime of treason by the fact that his birthplace was no longer in France. Ney preferred to be shot rather than to renounce his French citizenship by judicial subtlety.

Washington dispatches on Aug. 2 stated, apparently with authority, that the United States Government had for some time been in possession of proof that the German Emperor and his advisers had a copy of the Serbian ultimatum in their hands fourteen hours before it was sent to Serbia. This charge, which fits in with the story of the meeting of July 5, 1914, has been denied by the German Government, but is said to have been admitted by Dr. Zimmermann under pressure in the Reichstag. Dr. Zimmermann was Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the date in question.

Kaiser Disclaims Conquest

Emperor William on Aug. 1 took a hand in the war aims debate of the Chancelleries by issuing a proclamation to the German people, as follows:

To the German People: Three years of hard fighting are behind us. With grief we remember our dead, with pride our soldiers now fighting, with confidence all our workers, and with a heavy heart those who are languishing in captivity; but, above all, our thoughts stand resolute in the determination to prosecute this righteous war of defense to a successful termination.

The enemy is stretching out his hands toward German territory, but he shall never have it. New nations continue to enter the war against us, but that does not frighten us. We know our strength, and we are determined to make use of it. They wish to see us weak and powerless at their feet, but they shall not prevail.

They received disdainfully our words of peace; they did not know how Germany could fight. Throughout the world they have slandered the German name, but they cannot extinguish the glory of German deeds.

Thus we stand erect at the close of this year, immovable, victorious, and intrepid. Trials may still await us, but we shall meet them with a grave mien and full of faith. Throughout the three years' achievement the mighty German people has become firm in its resistance against all that the power of the enemy can conceive. If the enemy wishes to prolong the sufferings of war, they will weigh more heavily upon him than upon us.

For that which has been accomplished on the front let us at home show our gratitude by tireless toil. We must continue to fight and to furnish arms for it. But our people may rest assured that German blood and German zeal are not being gambled with for an empty shadow of ambition or schemes of conquest and subjugation, but in defense of a strong, free empire in which our children may live in security.

Let all our actions and all our thoughts be devoted to this fight. Let this be our solemn promise of this day, Aug. 1, 1917.

WILLIAM, I. R.

On the same day the Kaiser issued the following proclamation to the German Army and Navy and to the German colonial forces:

The third year of the war has come to an end. The number of our adversaries has increased, but their prospects of victory have not improved. You crushed Rumania last year. The Russian Empire once more trembles under your strokes. Both countries sacrificed themselves for the interests of others and are now bleeding to death. In Macedonia you forcibly withstood the enemy's assaults. In mighty battles on the western front you remain the masters of the situation. Your lines are firm, protecting your beloved homes against the terrors and devastations of war.

The navy has achieved good results. It has threatened the enemy's command of the sea and his very existence. Far from home, a little German group is defending a German colony against forces many times superior.

Victory in the coming year will again be on our side and on that of our allies. Ours will be the final victory.

With a deeply moved heart I thank you in my own name and in that of the Fatherland for what you have achieved in this last year of the war. With veneration we remember the fallen who gave up their lives for the greatness and safety of the Fatherland.

The war goes on. It is still being forced upon us. We shall fight for our existence in the future with firm resolution and unfailing courage. As our problems multiply, so does our strength increase. We are invincible. We shall be victorious. The Lord God will be with us.

WILLIAM, I. R.

In the Field, Aug. 1.

British Sovereign's Message

King George V., on the occasion of the third anniversary of the war, Aug. 4, sent identical telegrams to the Presidents and sovereigns of the United States, France, Portugal, Italy, Japan, Serbia, and Rumania, expressing "the unwavering determination of the British Empire "to pursue the contest until our joint efforts are crowned with success and our "common aims attained."

His Majesty also expressed confidence in the unwavering will of the allied peoples and the heroism of their forces in achieving a final victory, obtaining the possibility of peaceful progress for humanity. Similar telegrams were sent to the Kings of Belgium and Siam and the President of Cuba.

In his message to King Albert of Belgium King George expressed his unshakable confidence in the ultimate restoration of Belgium to her rightful position among the free countries of Europe, adding: "The unfailing spirit of her people "under the grievous suffering inflicted "upon them by their enemies will con-"tinue to inspire the joint efforts of the "allied countries against the nation "which has trampled them underfoot."

The London newspapers commemorated the conclusion of three years of war by long reviews and statements by members

of the Government and other leaders proclaiming the determination to fight to the end. Some of these statements were epigrammatic. Lord Robert Cecil said: "The path to freedom lies through the "German lines." Sir Edward Carson, Minister without portfolio, said: "The "Germans unsheathed the sword; they "must not be allowed to put it back un-"broken."

The Kaiser's Message to President Wilson

A Historic Cable Sent Aug. 10, 1914

A hitherto unpublished letter cabled by the German Emperor to President Wilson on Aug. 10, 1914, giving the Kaiser's own version of how the world war began, was made public on Aug. 5, 1917, as part of the first installment of former Ambassador Gerard's book, "My Four Years in Germany," which was published serially in The Philadelphia Public Ledger. The original, in the Kaiser's own handwriting, was reproduced. By official request in Berlin, Ambassador Gerard had suppressed the message, which the Kaiser had given him for publication. It is now made public with President Wilson's permission.

The document is one which historians will study word by word for its light on the hidden motives back of Germany's action in the diplomatic crisis at the outbreak of the war. The Kaiser's plain admission that Belgian neutrality "had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds," his apparent belief of the false assertion that France was preparing to invade Belgium, and his statement that King George gave promises which Sir Edward Grey refused to fulfill—these are a few of the many points of interest in it. Here is the text of the letter:

For the President of the
United States Personally:

10/VIII 14.

1. H. R. H. Prince Henry was received by his Majesty King George V. in London, who empowered him to transmit it to me verbally that England would remain neutral if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany and France, Austria and Russia. This message was telegraphed to me by my brother from London after his conversation with H. M. the King, and repeated verbally on the 29th of July.

2. My Ambassador in London transmitted a message from Sir E. Grey to Berlin saying that only in case France was likely to be crushed England would interfere.

3. On the 30th my Ambassador in London reported that Sir Edward Grey in course of a "private" conversation told him that if the conflict remained localized between *Russia*—not Serbia—and *Austria*, England would not move, but if we "mixed" in the fray she would take quick decisions and grave measures; i. e., if I left my ally Austria in the lurch to fight alone England would not touch me.

4. This communication being directly counter to the King's message to me, I telegraphed to H. M. on the 29th or 30th, thanking him for kind messages through my brother and begging him to use all his power to keep France and Russia—his allies—from making any warlike preparations calculated to disturb my work of mediation, stating that I was in constant communication with H. M. the Czar. In the evening the King kindly answered that he had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with his allies to refrain from taking any provocative military measures. At the same time H. M. asked me if I would transmit to Vienna the British proposal that Austria was to take Belgrade and a few other Serbian towns and a strip of country as a "mainmise," to make sure that the Serbian promises on paper should be fulfilled in reality. This proposal was in the same moment telegraphed to me from Vienna for London, quite in conjunction with the British proposal; besides, I had telegraphed to H. M. the Czar the same as an idea of mine, before I received the two communications from Vienna and London, as both were of the same opinion.

5. I immediately transmitted the telegrams vice versa to Vienna and London. I felt that I was able to tide the question over and was happy at the peaceful outlook.

6. While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar the next morning, to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs, I received the telegrams from H. E. the Chancellor, that in the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also meant against Germany; whereas up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

7. In a telegram from London my Ambassador informed me he understood the British Government would guarantee neutrality of France and wished to know whether Germany would refrain from attack. I telegraphed to H. M. the King

personally that mobilization, being already carried out, could not be stopped, but if H. M. could guarantee, with his armed forces the neutrality of France I would refrain from attacking her, leaving her alone, and employ my troops elsewhere. H. M. answered that he thought my offer was based on a misunderstanding; and, as far as I can make out, Sir E. Grey never took my offer into serious consideration. He never answered it. Instead, he declared England had to defend Belgian neutrality, which had to be violated by Germany on strategic grounds, news having been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium, and the King of the Belgians having refused my petition for a free passage under guarantee of his country's freedom.

I am most grateful for the President's message.

WILLIAM, I. R.

The existence of such a letter was promptly denied by the German Government. The semi-official Norddeutsche Allegemeine Zeitung printed an article on Aug. 13 saying: "We are in a position to declare that no such telegram from the Emperor exists." The United States Government responded by publishing, without comment, the text of the cable letter as received in Washington three years ago. It differed in no essential from the version printed above.

Kaiser's Excuse Contradicted

The Kaiser's assertion that Belgian neutrality was violated because "France was already preparing to enter Belgium" has been contradicted by one of Germany's leading military historians, Lieut. Gen. Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, head of the Supplementary General Staff of the German Army. In an article published by official sanction in the German press early in August, 1917, the Baron stated that France was caught unawares by the invading armies, greatly to the German advantage. His narrative of events in August, 1914, contains this passage:

> The French main concentration was originally accomplished between Belfort and the Belgian frontier, and the first indication that we contemplated a German advance through Belgium resulted in a shift to the left. * * * The Entente Allies recognized only on Aug. 17 that strong German forces also were advancing in a wide enveloping movement on the left bank of the River Meuse, where previously they had assumed that only an army of cavalry, strengthened by some infantry, was present.
>
> In consequence of the original erroneous concentration directed toward the east, the French Fifth Army did not succeed in advancing beyond the line of Dinant-Charleroi by Aug. 22, and was forced to content itself with holding the passages of the Rivers Sambre and Meuse.

General von Freytag-Loringhoven declares that the Germans retreated from the Marne because they were too weak to break through the French lines. But he argues that, although final success was missed there, Germany, by seizing the opportunity of a daring advance through Belgium, avoided war on her own territory.

The Kaiser Contradicts Himself

Stephen Lauzanne, editor of the Paris Matin and a member of the French Mission to the United States, wrote the following comment on the Kaiser's letter when it was made public:

In the letter written by Kaiser Wilhelm to President Wilson on Aug. 10, 1914, we find the following passage:

> While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar next morning (July 31) to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs I received the telephone messages from H. E. the Chancellor that, in the night before, the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also made against Germany; whereas, up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

It is not the first time that a similar assertion is made by the German rulers. In an official document issued from Berlin last year we read the following lines:

> History's verdict will not pass over the complete mobilization of Russian forces, which meant war against Germany.

And in his maiden speech at the Reichstag Dr. Michaelis, the new Imperial Chancellor, declared that "the Russian mobilization was the real cause of the war," because that mobilization obliged Germany, for her safety, to take military precautions.

Unfortunately, all these assertions—

M. I. TERESTCHENKO

Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Provisional Government. He was Minister of Finance in the first Russian Cabinet after the Revolution

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

M. PAINLEVE

French Minister of War, photographed during the allied conference in Paris. M. Painlevé was a university professor before entering politics

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

letter of the Kaiser, official communiqués, speech of the Chancellor—are entirely untrue, and constitute one of the most audacious and impudent lies. The Germans, who are masters in the art of falsification, may falsify history and geography; but they will find it more difficult to falsify chronology and to prove that a fact which takes place at 10 o'clock in the morning is posterior to a fact which took place at 6 in the evening.

The truth, the undeniable truth which all historians will be obliged to admit, is that the German mobilization took place before the Russian mobilization, and this is undeniably proved by German documents.

On July 31, 1914, at noon, took place in Germany what is called the "Kriegsgefahrzustand"—that is, the official proclamation of danger of war. It is the first preliminary measure to the complete mobilization of the German forces. It took place at noon; it was placarded at noon all over Berlin, announced by special editions of the papers, and telegraphed through the empire. A few hours later, at 4 P. M., the German Kaiser telegraphed to King George of England, (the telegram has been published in the German White Book,) and this is what he says:

> Many thanks for your kind communication. * * * I have *just* heard from the Chancellor that intelligence has *just* reached him that Nicholas, *this evening*, has ordered the mobilization of his entire army and fleet. He has not even awaited the result of the mediation in which I am engaged, and he has left me completely without information. WILLIAM.

Now this is extremely clear. At noon the Kaiser proclaims the "Kriegsgefahrzustand" and at 4 P. M. he *just* hears that the Chancellor has *just* learned that the Czar has, *in the evening*, ordered the mobilization of the Russian Army. The "Kriegsgefahrzustand" is therefore undoubtedly anterior to the Russian mobilization, and undoubtedly the Kaiser lies when in his letter to President Wilson he writes:

> While I was preparing a note *in the morning* I received the telephone messages from the Chancellor that in the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army.

He lies, because he has himself avowed in his telegram to King George that it was not in the morning, but in the evening, that the news had reached him through the Chancellor that Nicholas had just ordered the mobilization of his army. The Kaiser has indeed telegraphed too much in those tragic hours of 1914, and he has forgotten what he telegraphed, or he has not taken the trouble of comparing his telegrams. To King George he wires that the Russian mobilization has taken place in the evening of July 31. To President Wilson he writes that the Russian mobilization has taken place in the evening of July 30. Historians may compare and choose. But what is the value of the assertions of a man who says one thing in a telegram and another thing in another telegram?

But there is something more. In his telegram to King George the Kaiser complains that the Czar had left him "without information." This is another lie, because before mobilizing his army the ex-Czar sent four telegrams to the Kaiser of Germany. The last one was couched in the following terms:

> Tsarskoe Selo, July 29, 1914.
>
> To H. M. the Kaiser of Germany:
>
> Thanks for your telegram, which is conciliatory and friendly, whereas the official message presented today by your Ambassador to my Minister was conveyed in a very different tone. I beg you to explain this divergency. It would be right to give over the Austro-Serbian problem to The Hague Tribunal. I trust in your wisdom and friendship. NICHOLAS.

Not only did the Kaiser not answer that telegram, but he suppressed it. And in the official German White Book, giving all the documents about the war, the last telegram of the Czar has disappeared. The reason given by the German officials for suppressing the telegram is the following: They say that it was not interesting!

History will decide if the proposal of the Czar to give over the whole Austro-Serbian problem to The Hague Tribunal was or was not interesting. But it is not necessary to wait for history to decide what degree of confidence must be placed in assertions of the German Kaiser.

Russia Renews Pledge to Her Allies

Foreign Minister Terestchenko on Aug. 2 sent the following telegram to Russian diplomatists accredited to the allied powers:

At a moment when new and grave misfortunes are threatening Russia we consider it our duty to give to our allies who have shared with us the burden of trials in the past a firm and definite explanation of our point of view regarding the conduct of the war. The greatness of the task of the Russian revolution corresponds to the magnitude of the change which it caused in the life of the State. Reorganization in the face of the enemy of the entire Governmental system could not be effected without serious disorders. Nevertheless, Russia, convinced there is no other means of safety, has continued in accord with the Allies' common action on the front.

Fully conscious of the difficulties of the task, Russia has taken up the burden of conducting active military operations during reconstitution of the army and the Government. The offensive of our armies, which was necessitated by a strategical situation, encountered insurmountable obstacles on both fronts and in the interior of the country. The criminal propaganda of irresponsible elements was used by enemy agents and provoked a revolution in Petrograd. At the same time part of the troops on the front were seduced by the same propaganda, forgot their duty to the country, and facilitated the enemy's attempt to pierce our front.

The Russian people have been stirred by these events. Through the Government created by the revolution and an unshakable will the revolt was crushed and its originators were brought to justice. All necessary steps have been taken at the front for restoring the combative strength of the armies.

The Government intends bringing to a successful end the task of establishing an administration capable of meeting all dangers and guiding the country in the path of revolutionary regeneration. Russia will not suffer herself to be deterred by any difficulty in carrying out the irrevocable decision to continue the war to a final triumph of the principles proclaimed by the Russian revolution.

In the presence of an enemy menace the country and the army will continue with renewed courage the great work of restoration as well as the preparation on the threshold of the fourth year of the war for the coming campaign. We firmly believe that Russian citizens will combine all efforts to fulfill the sacred task of defending their beloved country and that the enthusiasm which lighted in their breasts a flame of faith in the triumph of liberty will direct the whole invincible force of revolution against the enemy who threatens the country.

Italy's Position Defined by Baron Sonnino

Baron Sonnino, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered an important address at the reopening of Parliament on June 20, defining Italy's position on the Balkan issues and other war questions. He began with a tribute to America's entry into the war, saying: "The "justice of our cause could not have re- "ceived a more solemn, a more manifest, "sanction than this given by a nation "which, within the limits of national "dignity, tried everything to avoid war." Concerning the problems and aims directly affecting Italy he said:

Last March the Italian Government, together with the other Allies, formally recognized the Provisional Russian Government. The Italian Nation and the Parliament follow with intense interest the course of events of their great ally in its new life of liberty. We must trust that the noble Russian people will find in the principles of democracy the strength necessary to overcome all the difficulties inherent in its racial and constitutional transformation, and that the sure instinct of the people will be on its guard against all enemy tricks which aim not only to make their own political and military interests prevail but also to undo the free organization of Russia. Russia, however, will find her best protection in a vigorous prosecution of the war and in her complete accord with her allies. The sad case of Rumania had a profound echo among us, who have with her common ideals and aspirations. Rumania, however, not unmindful of her traditions and conscious of the justice of her cause, will find the power necessary to overcome the difficulties of her present situation.

No peace will be agreeable to us which does not assure the restoration of three unhappy nations that have seen their territory invaded and devastated, but who live with full confidence in the future—Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. Also

the restoration of the independence of Poland is an essential clause of our peace terms. The rights of nationality must be protected. It is in moments of danger that the bonds between nations become stronger.

The recent proclamation of the independence of Albania has publicly confirmed the special concern of the Italian Government toward that country, the interests of which, in connection with our direct and safe possession of Valona, are intimately bound to the general problem of the settlement of the Adriatic—a vital question for Italy. We want the independence of Albania in agreement with the general principles on which our alliances are based and which have been recently repeated so eloquently by the United States and by the new Russian Government. Italy, in regard to Albania, has no other aim than that of preventing a possible interference of a third power. Italy guarantees the absolute autonomy of Albania and will protect her interests and aspirations in the conferences of the nations. It will be the province of the peace conference to determine the exact boundaries of Albania. While the war is on it is necessary that the General Staff of the Italian Army have the direction of all affairs, always, however, with due regard to the existing usages and interests of the Albanian people. After the war Albania will decide for herself.

Military necessity has forced the three protecting powers to take in regard to Greece such measures as have resulted in the abdication of King Constantine and the assumption of the throne by his second son, Alexander. Italy, not being in the number of the protecting powers, had no part in all this, although—it is well to say it—the Italian Government in this circumstance, as well as in the general direction of the war, has been in full agreement with its allies. It is to be hoped that Greece has now reached such a condition in its internal affairs as not to endanger any longer the military position of the allied armies in Macedonia. We wish well to the new King, fully convinced that Italy and Greece must proceed together in the development of their political and economic activities toward those glorious ends to which their historical traditions and their ancient civilization call them.

Against Turkey England has recently undertaken a new vigorous military action in Palestine, in which the bravery of the British Army has already been demonstrated. The Italian flag is represented in that expedition—a fact which responds to a high international political and moral interest. The constant care of this Government and of our allies is this—to strengthen our unity of action and harmonize our respective interests.

The Mediterranean interests of Italy are essentially based on the principle of equilibrium and equality among the powers. We have the greatest guarantees that these interests will be equally protected and safeguarded.

Lately many efforts from many sides (from the enemy also) have been made to have all the elements of the future peace inclosed in a short formula. It is worth while to remember the wise words which the President of the United States addressed to Russia a few days ago: "All wrongs must be redressed and their recurrence made impossible." One cannot do this with highly sounding words or pleasing phrases. The general situation is very complicated, because it includes problems of difference of race, civilization, geographical position, traditions, aspirations. A short formula cannot cover the whole ground of so many cases. Complicated problems exclude a priori the simplicism of a formula that covers everything. Thus the formula of "no annexations and no indemnities" is purely negative if it is separated from the positive principles of liberty and independence of all nations. The negative policy of no indemnities and no annexations without a guarantee that peace and international justice will be maintained would amount to the same as to admit that all the iniquities and violences of the past are to be continued forever.

Italy's War Aims Explained

A prominent Admiral of the Italian Navy recently gave to Whitney Warren in Paris the following succinct and illuminating statement of Italy's war aims on both sides of the Adriatic:

In centuries of servitude we learned to suffer, but not to submit. We are fighting to complete our union, and rather than forego it we prefer to die. The Trentino and Trieste are doors to our home whereof the foreigner has taken possession, which prevents us from closing them against robbers. If New York and San Francisco were occupied by the Germans, would Americans have acted differently from the Italians? And what is represented by the Trentino and Trieste on land is represented by the Adriatic on the sea, for the sea frontiers of Italy are greater than her frontiers on land. By sea Italy breathes and lives. The Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic are her two lungs. If you take a lung from a man he may not die immediately; but he will be short of breath. If you take the Adriatic from Italy she will die of suffocation.

It is only necessary to glance at the map to see that without Dalmatia and

the chain of islands along the coast Italy can never be secure on the Adriatic. Dalmatia and those islands belonged to Venice. By their possession she assured herself and Europe against the Turkish pirates in the sea. When Venice fell, and Austria ravished the heritage of Saint Mark, Italy was not yet freed from her long bondage. This heritage in the hands of the usurpers formed an integral and indivisible part of the great Italian motherland too feeble to break the bonds asunder.

Everywhere Austria found traces of Italian culture on the coasts and among the islands. Ancient monuments and modern houses, churches of old and churches of today, language, customs, civilization—all is Latin, all part of the Italian motherland. But little by little Austria by persecution and confiscation replaced the Italians of these regions by Germans or Croatians from the interior. Our houses, our altars, our monuments are now occupied in great measure by foreigners of another tongue and another civilization, who do not realize what they have torn from us, who understand neither the language of our country nor its ruins. They only know they are there because there is the key to the sovereignty of the Adriatic. The Italians left in Dalmatia struggle still to save what remains of their country and invoke her aid, but their voices become more feeble as their numbers decrease. We must strike now, for soon it will be too late, our thousand-year-old Latin civilization will be abolished by these spoilers.

To these reasons must be added another of military order. Our dreadnoughts are shut up in Tarento because we do not possess a harbor large or deep enough on the Adriatic to hold a large squadron, whereas Austria dominates the whole upper Adriatic from Pola, the middle Adriatic from Setenco and Spalato, the lower Adriatic down to Corfu from Cattaro, and every channel, every isle affords excellent shelter for a large and powerful fleet. Thus Austria can overcome the inferiority of her fleet to those of Italy, France, and England. At any moment she can bring out her vessels from any point of the magnificent coast she has stolen from us, and we have no port at all to harbor our big ships.

I have spent all my life on the sea and now I have the honor to command all the mobilized naval forces of my country. I can therefore speak with full knowledge of the subject, as I base my arguments not on theory, but on experience. Whereas the Italian coast from Venice to Otranto is entirely low-lying, without ports, without anchorages, and wholly exposed to the north wind, the Curzolari Islands and Dalmatia offer vast and numerous points of refuge both from the enemy and from bad weather. No matter where the Austrian ship is in the Adriatic, she can always find shelter by steaming a few miles and reaching one of the numerous channels to the interior. But our vessels can only take refuge at Venice or Brindisi, our only natural naval ports. Brindisi and Venice are 800 miles apart and impracticable for great modern warships. So that the enemy can use the islands as a bridge between Dalmatia and Italy and cross it to attack us just as he can choose his own moment and withdraw before we can pursue him, because Brindisi and Venice are too distant for us to arrive in time. Besides, each lofty peak of the Curzolari Island mountains is an excellent signaling station to sweep the whole surrounding ocean. On the Italian side the reverse is the case; our view extends but a few miles.

For these reasons the words Dalmatia and Adriatic evoke the following thought in all Italians today: We cannot use the sea which bathes half of our country because all advantages are on the opposite coast. Austria was for many centuries without the Adriatic, yet she was powerful and prosperous because she was not a seafaring but essentially a contintental nation. We, on the contrary, by our geographical situation, are exclusively a maritime nation. We never have been able to live without the Adriatic, and now that we are threatened to be deprived of it forever we will fight for it to the death.

Italy does not demand territorial conquests; she wants simply to get back what belongs to her, what is necessary for her existence. If we had nourished the idea of conquest would we not have joined our former allies to profit by the advantages they held out? A vast colonial empire, the riches of Corsica, Nice, and Savoy—was not that a tempting bait for our ambition? And remember that at the time Italy entered the war everything pointed to a victory for the Central Powers. But to these promises Italy preferred the Carso, the Trentino, and the Curzolari Islands. We're not waging a war of conquest, but struggling to turn out the intruder in our home, to deliver our own sons, to save Latin civilization.

Germany's Attitude Toward Restoration

Premier Lloyd George spoke on Aug. 4, 1917, at a great patriotic meeting held in Queen's Hall, London, to mark the third anniversary of the war. He asserted that the German ambition for world conquest had been checked, and that before Great Britain entered a peace conference the Germans must learn the full meaning of the word "restoration." Denouncing the peace talk of the German Emperor and of Chancellor Michaelis as a subterfuge for German war lords to gain time, he shouted:

There must be no next time. Don't let us repeat this horror. Let us be a generation that manfully, courageously, and resolutely eliminated war from among the tragedies of human life. Let us make victory, at any rate, so complete that national liberty, whether for great nations or for small nations, can never be challenged.

The nations of the world have been climbing painfully up the steps that lead to national independence and self-respect, and now comes a great power with brute force to thrust the nations back crushed and bleeding into the chasm of servitude. That is what we have been fighting.

They talk glibly of peace, but stammer and stutter when they come to the word "restoration." It has not yet crossed their lips in its entirety. We have challenged them. They cannot say it.

Pointing to the soldiers in the audience, the Premier said they were "gradually curing the Kaiser of his stuttering." He went on:

So far he has not learned the alphabet of peace, not the first letter of that alphabet. "Restoration"—that's the first letter. Then we will talk.

What do they mean? Do they mean peace when they talk it? The truth is, the Prussian war lords have not yet abandoned their ambitions. They are not discussing that. They are only discussing the postponement of those ambitions. * * *

The allied powers at the first moment felt instinctively that a great menace to human liberty had appeared on the horizon, and they accepted the challenge. America saw it and joined us. That is what the Germans have been striving against for three years, and not without success.

War is a ghastly business, but it is not as grim as a bad peace. There is an end to a horrible war, but a bad peace will go on and on, staggering from one war to another.

On all the roads ever confronted there are ups and downs, and no doubt the Russian collapse is rather a deep glen, and I am not sure that we have reached its darkest level, but across the valley I can see the ascent.

The Germans claim to be satisfied with the last battle. All I can say is that Field Marshal Haig has secured all his objectives. We had enough guns to smash lines upon which for three years the Germans had expended willing and forced labor, and if the Germans are pleased with the battle, we will let it continue thus, to our mutual satisfaction.

The course the advance is taking is the British method of saving life, and it is the duty of the nation to stand behind the army, patient, strong, and united. In this way we will win. The nation that turns back or falters before it reaches its purpose can never become a great people.

Angry Retorts from Germany

An extraordinary outburst of anger in the German press followed Mr. Lloyd George's "restoration" speech. The Hamburger Fremdenblatt called the address rubbish, an agitator's speech of the lowest sort, almost hysterical, and full of reckless calumnies and misstatements. The Kölnische Volkszeitung, after calling the British Prime Minister a war fanatic and an agitator, declared that the curses of the whole world would soon "follow "to Hades this man of demoniacal energy "and humdrum, narrow outlook." The Frankfurter Zeitung, usually moderate in its tone, called Lloyd George a circus clown and added that Germany would not have the word restoration dictated to her. "We can reach the exact mean- "ing of that word," it continued, "only "by assuming that restoration at Eng- "land's command means destruction for "us. Nothing in the speech shows the "way to peace. Lloyd George talks of "victory with the Russian defeat and the "failure in Flanders staring him in the "face." The Lokal-Anzeiger of Berlin called him a senseless dictator and said: "We are victors in the East and in the "West. Germany is not concerned about "restoration and is not afraid to con- "tinue the war."

Count zu Reventlow, commenting in the Deutsche Tageszeitung, wrote that

Lloyd George was trying to distract England's attention from the Entente failure in Flanders, adding:

He uses strong words in speaking of weakened German nerves. He wants to teach the Kaiser the pronunciation of the word restitution, of course, in the English sense, which is synonymous with the restitution of English domination over Belgium. The conquest of Belgium by English arms has failed, and that is why the Premier now tries to reconquer it with his mouth. He prefers that as the safer method. But we need not bother about this. We have but one aim—the security of our frontiers—which can only be achieved by victory.

At a reception in the Reichstag building on Aug. 4, the anniversary of the sitting of Aug. 4, 1914, addresses were made by Parliamentary and military leaders, after which Dr. Michaelis, the Imperial Chancellor, said in part:

We all know what we want. We will hand our patrimony intact to the future generations. We will guarantee our children and grandchildren against the misfortune of a war like this. We will preserve our country by a strong and wise peace, in order that the German race may retain sure ground for its healthy and vigorous development. The gentlemen who preceded me showed that our strength is not paralyzed; that our will is as strong as it was in 1914. The heaviest sacrifices deserve the highest reward. Let us swear fidelity to the Emperor and the empire. Long live the Fatherland, the Emperor, and the empire!

A telegram to the Chancellor by Field Marshal von Hindenburg on that occasion said:

Firmly consolidated in the interior and unshaken on all the fronts, Germany braves the exasperating thrusts of her ancient and her new enemies. The German Army is fighting far in the enemies' country and is marching with unbroken strength to new successes. It enters the fourth year of the war supported by confidence as firm as a rock that our home spirit and united perseverance will remain alive, which is a guarantee of victory and of an honorable peace to our nation.

Boasts of Occupied Area

A review of the third year of the war printed in the Berliner Tageblatt called attention to what the writer regarded as Entente weakness and sought proof of German success in figures regarding conquered territory:

The past year has been fruitful of many instructive results. Above all it may be asserted that the Entente no longer has the disposal of unlimited production and supplies of ammunition as was the case during the Somme battle. This cessation of munition reinforcement has had a noticeable effect on the western front. And whereas the material resources of our opponents have not increased and the strength of France has become visibly diminished we still are unimpaired in our strength and more strongly fortified than ever before.

He who is willing to be guided solely by the facts and will not permit himself to be deceived by illusions must admit that the ambition of our foes to crush us is today less justified than at any other period, and because this is so we may be permitted to express the hope that common sense and a sincere desire for peace may finally assert themselves in the ranks of our opponents.

The German people, through its accredited representatives, has plainly announced to the world at large its readiness for peace. We hope this expression will be appreciated in its full importance on the other side.

The following offers an approximate picture of the area of occupied territory which now is held by the military forces of the Central Powers measured in square kilometers.

Belgium, 28,980; France, 19,220; Russia, 280,490; Rumania, 100,000; Serbia, 85,867; Montenegro, 14,180; Albania, 20,000. Total, 548,737.

This total is opposed by 900 square kilometers of land held by the French and the Austro-Hungarian territory in Russian possession, measuring 29,500 square kilometers. The latter figure no longer holds good. It has been diminished by fully 60 per cent., and is likely to fall away entirely in the near future.

Attitude of Socialists

Vorwärts, the organ of the majority Socialists, on the third anniversary of the war, published an article replying to Socialists in other lands who were calling upon the German members to withdraw their support from the Kaiser and his military machine. The paper said in part:

How could they expect us to hail the invasion of a hostile army in our own country and joyously greet our own armies' defeat just to satisfy a real or imaginary sense of justice? It is miserable hypocrisy to ask us to recognize the czarism of the past and the clamor for Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar district at present as the embodiment of ideal justice. Must not foreign conquest be as

repulsive to us as to our enemies? Are we expected to recognize evil only at home and not to see the crimes of others?

If the attitude of the German social democracy is so badly misunderstood in hostile countries it is only a sign of the fearful devastation which this war has caused within the province of the most natural and human sense of justice. No man who has preserved that sense, on whatever side he stands, will ask another people to sacrifice itself. Even their own self-esteem ought to prevent our opponents from asking anything of the sort.

Fighting Forces of France

Statement of André Tardieu

André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, made public on July 30, through a letter to the Secretary of War, many important facts regarding the present strength of France as a fighting unit. After three years of war, he said, France had 3,000,000 men in the battle zone, a million more than at the beginning. She also had one heavy gun for every twenty-six meters of front —that is one for every eighty-five feet on the average. The increase in munitions output is on a similar scale, as revealed in detail in M. Tardieu's letter to Mr. Baker, which follows:

July 30, 1917.

DEAR MR. BAKER: I brought to your knowledge in a recent talk the surprise I felt in reading so often in American newspapers some utterly inaccurate information regarding the military conditions prevailing in Europe, and especially in the French Army. In connection with our conversation, I believe it would be of interest to present to you some figures which, better than any comments, will expose to you the reality; these figures will show you France as she is, vigorous and powerful, in spite of three years of suffering without precedent in history.

I.—STRENGTH IN MEN

The strength in men, now present in the zone of the armies alone, shows the maximum figure reached during the war. This figure, which amounts to a little less than three millions of men, exceeds by over a million the number of men actually in the said zone at the beginning, and one must add to that figure the men in the zone of the interior and in the colonies. We are certain, with the resources of our metropolitan and colonial depots, to be able to maintain that number up to its present level for a long time to come.

Our strength in men, by reason of a better command and of better methods of instruction, has shown since the beginning of the war constantly decreasing definitive casualties, (killed, missing, and those taken prisoner.)

The following figures substantiate this:

	Casualties. P. C.
Battles of Charleroi and of the Marne.	*5.41
First six months of 1915.....	*2.39
Second six months of 1915.....	*1.68
First six months of 1916.....	*1.47
Second six months of 1916.....	*1.28

*In proportion to the total mobilized strength.

II.—FRONT HELD

For measuring the offensive and defensive quality of the troops whose numerical strength I have indicated above, I can do nothing better than to quote some more figures. The western front has an extension of 739 kilometers:

27 kilometers are held by the Belgians.
138 kilometers are held by the English.
574 kilometers are held by the French.

The French Army holds accordingly more than two-thirds of the western front, that is to say, of the front where the enemy has always directed its chief exertion.

The German divisions in line on the western front were, moreover, in June, 1917, distributed as follows:

42 opposite to the English.
81 opposite to the French.

A German division holds an average front of 4 kilometers 700 meters; a French division an average front of 5

kilometers 500 meters—that is to say, one-sixth more.

III.—ARTILLERY

We were amply furnished with "75s" since the beginning of the war. The number of these guns was constantly increased; it is adequate to our needs. As for the heavy artillery, we had in August, 1914, 300 guns grouped in regiments. In June, 1917, we had 6,000 of them, mostly modern. During our present offensive we have, on the average, one heavy gun for 26 meters. If we sum up all the trench, field, and heavy artillery, we have one gun for eight meters in the sector of attack.

Our output in munitions was arranged in August, 1914, for 13,000 shots of "75s" a day. It is now arranged for 250,000 shots of "75s" and 100,000 shots of heavy guns.

To be equal to this enormous production, invaded France did not hesitate, in the midst of war, to create new industries and to bestow on military industries the best of its productive strength.

If you consider, on another side, the weight of the projectiles shot on the German trenches during one of the last offensives, you will find the following figures for one lineal meter:

	Kilos.
Field artillery	407
Trench artillery	203
Heavy artillery	704
High-power artillery	128
Total	1,442

Here below, lastly, come figures on the monthly expenditure in ammunition for the "75s":

July, 1916	6,400,000
September, 1916	7,000,000
October, 1916	5,500,000

During the last offensive the expenditure was 12,000,000 shots in all calibres.

I might also add that we completely re-equipped and re-armed the Belgian, Serbian, and Greek Armies.

I recall, likewise, that the number of heavy guns given by us to the Allies exceeds 800.

IV.—FINANCIAL EFFORT

The financial effort cannot be separated from the military effort. Here, below, are some more figures. France has expended since the beginning of the war the following sums:

	Francs.
1914	8,040,000,000
1915	22,800,000,000
1916	32,640,000,000
1917	19,167,000,000
Total	82,647,000,000

She received from foreign countries from the first of August, 1914, to the first of January, 1917, 6,000,000,000 francs. During the same period she loaned to several allied Governments 4,000,000,000 francs.

If France alone, which has only 38,000,000 inhabitants, and whose richest and most populated provinces are invaded, was by herself capable of such a financial effort, it is because of the strict discipline which she forced upon the employment of her resources; this discipline also is proof of strength.

Such is the situation. Severe was the ordeal; stronger is the national energy. Now it is a question of striking the last blow to the adversary. You will help us. But, at the moment when the American soldiers arrive in France, it is proper to let them know that they will find to receive them a country which, today as well as during the last three years, bears the principal exertion of our dreadful foe; a country which maintains to the maximum of her power, without hesitation and without weakness, her strength, her means, and her will.

Believe me, dear Mr. Secretary, very sincerely yours, ANDRE TARDIEU,

Hon. N. D. Baker, Secretary of War, Washington.

Results of Three Years of War

A Brief Review by Major Gen. Maurice

Major Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, Chief Director of Military Operations at the British War Office, summarized the results of three years of war on July 28, 1917, as follows:

THE first year of the war, broadly speaking, was an attempt by Germany to put into effect elaborate plans which her military strategists had been preparing over the space of many long years. The first phase was a concentrated attack on France and Belgium during a certain allotted period of time, in which the Germans estimated it would be impossible for Russia to disturb them in the east. The attack on France was checked, first on the Marne, later on the Yser and at Ypres, although France and Belgium suffered severely in the process.

Germany then, according to her plan, took the defensive on the western front and turned her offensive effort eastward in an effort to knock out Russia. Here again she failed, although her attack enormously weakened Russia's offensive power.

In the Autumn of 1915 Germany definitely abandoned her old pre-war strategic scheme and started in on a new plan developed since the war began, namely, an effort to upbuild "Mittel-Europa" as a great block composed of four so-called Central Powers which would command the road to the East. The Autumn campaign of 1915 consisted, in essence, of the furtherance of this scheme by conquering Serbia, bringing in Bulgaria, and halting our Dardanelles effort by rushing munitions, supplies, and soldiers to the assistance of the Turks.

By the Winter of 1915 Germany had gone a long way toward realization of her own ambition, and this point represents to my mind the grand climacteric of Germany's offensive power. All this time Great Britain had been building up armies, and with the beginning of 1916 we, for the first time, had a real army in the field.

With the Spring of 1916 Germany had come to realize that the conquest of Russia was impossible—Russia was too massive to kill or crush. So the German staff again turned on France, and the Verdun attack was the result.

With the defeat of Germany at Verdun came a turning of the tide, of which further manifestation was seen in a successful British offensive. Previous British military efforts had been, comparatively speaking, minor operations, or operations undertaken in support of the French. At the Somme we started our new work, and really great, important work it was, although a great deal of the contemporary effect of the Verdun defeat and of the Somme victory was neutralized by Germany's push into Rumania. The Rumanian push, however, viewed in true historical perspective, was merely a flash in the pan. The German military power already was on the decline, and her offensive strength was nothing like what it had been the year before.

The end of 1916 found the situation between the two great groups of contestants about equally balanced, but with the scales leaning slightly in favor of the Entente.

The year 1917 has presented a still rosier picture. During the whole third year of the war Germany and her allies have attempted nothing on land. They everywhere have been on the defensive. The Turks lost Bagdad and the Sinai Peninsula. On Germany's eastern frontier, although the Russian revolution enormously weakened Russia's military power, Germany was incapable of taking advantage of the situation. On the Austrian front the Italians got in powerful blows. In the west the British and French struck repeatedly, and the Germans have been powerless to answer back.

This is the pitiful state to which we have reduced the great power whose whole military gospel was summed up in the phrase, "vigorous offensive." Ger-

many's military helplessness, owing to the long strain on her man power, material, and resources, is such that today she barely is able to hang on, and her only hope is that she may find some way of similarly wearing us down and forcing us out of the war before we get up momentum to drive her back.

At present Germany is banking on the U-boat. She hopes against hope that the U-boat will reduce the people of the Entente Powers to the same state of want, privation, and suffering which she has been enduring for months and years past. She hopes to make the Entente people cry enough and start peace parleys while she still has got the big pawns with which to bargain at a peace conference.

General Robertson on the Situation

General Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, on Aug. 4, 1917, reviewed the past three years of war, and made the following statement of the situation to a London correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

SUPPOSE we must conclude that no army of millions can be broken and crushed. Is the same thing to be supposed of the nation behind the army? Surely we see in this tremendous contest much more than a struggle of armed forces. It is a sifting of nations, a trial of character, a test of racial quality. The workmen and workwomen of each nation are engaged in the conflict, and the forces in the field are only the hands of a vast body in which every muscle is being strained and tried.

Suppose you cannot roll up the flanks of your enemy's army. Cannot you break his heart? Suppose you can only drive him yard by yard, hammering him back to his frontiers month by month? Suppose that is all you can do. Cannot you destroy his civilian confidence and break his political will? If that is the effect of your strategy the decision is a military decision. You have broken his will; you have imposed your will upon him; you have conquered his resistance.

But it is too early yet to say you cannot destroy his defensive in the field while his civilian will is still stubborn; we on our side, at any rate, do not say that.

Why should our people forget the difference betwen 1914 and 1917? They forget that Germany was ready three years ago. We had our backs to the Germans; we were within a few miles of Paris. The French Government had removed to Bordeaux. We were retreating—the French and English together—with the loss of a few guns and with many casualties.

What is the position today? We are far north and facing north. We no longer have our backs to the Germans, and we are millions where before we were thousands. We have driven them before us; we have taken positions that they regarded as matters of life and death, and our guns are hammering them now as they have never been hammered before.

It is too early to say that the defensive in modern warfare is impregnable. Military writers in Germany may say so, but our men in France are not laying down law on that subject. I would say it is too early yet for such dogmatism.

Let us wait a few weeks. The guns are speaking now; let them go on speaking, and let us remember while we wait that, whether or not vast armies can be conquered in the field as they were conquered years ago, the will of nations can be broken by hopelessness and despair. If the army does not crack, the nation behind it may crack.

Some one has got to give way in this conflict on one side or the other. There must be submission; and when you stop to consider the numbers and resources of each side, you may fairly conclude that if the nations of the Allies are steadfast, if the civilian heart is sound, submission must come sooner or later from the Central Powers. The material odds are on our side at last, but quality is going to win this war. Character will decide it.

America brings the hope of an earlier end to all the frightful agony and loss of

this war. Without her we and our allies should go on fighting to the end. We are forced to do so. Our life depends upon it. Europe would not be fit to live in if we submitted it to the war lords of Prussia. That would be the death of international good-will.

But America should hasten the end. That is the crowning mercy of her appearance on the battlefield. She has begun splendidly. She is solemnly earnest, and when she strikes her hardest it will be with the supreme object of saving the world for democracy and Europe from further death. We may be pretty confident that her blows will strike despair into the hearts of the Prussian war lords, troubled now lest their own people should find them out.

Do not let us underrate the Germans, because their cause is bad, because they are guilty of provoking the war, and because their material resources are less than ours. The whole German Nation is as disciplined as an army. It is the army. Germans have discipline in their blood, discipline finely drawn to thinness. Docility is a bad thing in peace, making for slavishness, but it provides a people with certain advantages in war.

Germany is strong because she is undemocratic, and she is undemocratic because she has been drilled in iron discipline. All those millions of people have been forced to take the sword from the hand of a King. Terrible as this discipline is and formidable as it is, there is a discipline more formidable still. I mean the self-imposed, self-accepted discipline of a free people.

What could be more magnificent than the spectacle which America now presents to mankind? She has liberty in her blood. She loathes despotism. She could no more bend her knee to the yoke of autocracy than she could turn her broad rivers into puddles and her great lakes into ponds. But look at her now, submitting herself to the discipline of war freely of her own will for the sake of a moral issue.

It is not for me to prophesy. It is not for me even to pronounce an opinion on America's preparations, but I should say that throughout the world freedom breathes more freely and democracy is more confident for the mere spectacle of that vast nation imposing upon itself the restraints and rigors of discipline. It means now as much to the spirit of this struggle as later its effects will mean in the final grip.

Serbia Plundered by Conquerors

THE American Ambassador in Paris received the following communication on July 24, 1917, from the Serbian Legation there:

Mr. Ambassador: I am instructed by my Government to inclose herewith to your Excellency a memorandum relating to the economic exploitation of the Serbian provinces occupied by the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian authorities.

The economic exploitation which they are practicing by means of the illegal imposition of taxes, by the depreciation of Serbian money, the abolition of the moratorium, the sale of Serbian monopolies, the introduction of fresh monopolies by the violation of the rights of private property, and by forced subscription to the war loan, has but one object in view: the economic ruin of occupied Serbia.

Taking as their justification Articles 23, 43, 44, 46, 48, 52, 53, and 56 of The Hague Regulations, the Royal Government of Serbia protests strongly against these arbitrary measures on the part of the Austrian and Bulgarian authorities, constituting, as they do, flagrant violations of the public international law.

I should be obliged if your Excellency would be so good as to communicate this protest to your Government.

I remain, &c.,

VESNITCK.

The memorandum transmitted with the note gives notice that Serbia reserves the right of claiming at the time of peace negotiations an indemnity corresponding to the damage inflicted, both on the Serbian State and its subjects, by these flagrant violations of international law. It is charged that more than 100,000,000 crowns have been illegally extorted, as well as 6,000,000 crowns in the form of

forced subscriptions to Austrian war loans and the Austrian and Bulgarian Red Cross. Extracts from the memorandum are:

Our law of the 29th July, 1914, with regard to the moratorium, was abolished by decree of the Military Government of the 19th January, 1917. In virtue of this decree, Austrian and German creditors can legally and without hindrance claim payment of all their debts plus 6 per cent. interest, in quick installments, and in either Austrian or Serbian money, (which is accepted at only half its nominal value.) The decree was passed at the instigation of Austrian and German creditors. It has ruined Serbian trade.

The Austrians have pillaged all the houses in Belgrade and in other towns where the owners were absent. According to reports received, such houses have been completely ransacked. Private property has never been so little respected in any war. The royal palace has been plundered.

The Ethnographical Museum and the National Museum have been pillaged, and all valuable objects taken away, contrary to Article 56 of The Hague Regulations, according to which museums are as inviolate as private property.

The Bulgarians, like the Austrians, have plundered all the houses abandoned by their owners. At Monastir, for instance, it was proved upon the entry of our troops that the personal property of all our officials had been carried away to Bulgaria. The Bulgarians designate all lands, factories, buildings, furniture, and other property belonging to those who had emigrated from the occupied provinces as unowned property, putting up such property for sale or letting it on lease for the benefit of their treasury.

The National Library, the University Library of Nish, and the Library of the School of Theology at Prizzen were taken by the Bulgarians as war booty. The books and manuscripts of all these libraries were carried away to Bulgaria.

The Serbian Legation at Sofia was pillaged, and also the private belongings of the Minister and his secretaries.

It must be especially remarked that the Bulgarians have plundered to an extent and with an effrontery unexampled in modern warfare. They have sold as booty silk, calico, linen, glass, furniture, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, and even tombstones.

The Austrians and Bulgarians, without having formally annexed the occupied provinces, behave as veritable sovereigns. Their economic administration has an evident tendency to ruin the population.

The Marching Stars

By AUGUSTE VILLEROY

[Contributed to the Paris Figaro in honor of the first arrivals of United States troops in France.]

Sous la voûte d'un grand arc-en-ciel qui s'éploie,
Dans l'adieu du dernier brouillard qui se dissout,
Belle de certitude et chantante de joie,
L'Amérique là-bas tout entière est debout.

C'est fait! La Liberté sainte, dont la statue
Triomphale brandit un astre en son poing clos,
Comme Jésus, de gloire éclatante vêtue,
S'avance vers l'Europe en marchant sur les flots.

Et nous voyons, du fond de l'espace enfin libre,
Fidèles aú tragique et sacré rendez-vous,
Sur l'azur des drapeaux, où leur lumière vibre,
Des constellations qui s'en viennent vers nous!

A German Version of the Marne

Reviewed by a French Historian

JOSEPH REINACH IN LA REVUE DE PARIS

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

One of the great decisive battles of the world's history was fought three years ago this month. The salvation of France and of democracy throughout the world hung upon the outcome of a great series of engagements in which French and English soldiers, wearied by the long retreat from Mons and Charleroi, stood and fought to the death with the pursuing German armies in the neighborhood of Paris. The action was on so vast a scale and extended through so many days that only when it was all over could its full meaning be grasped as a great French victory—the battle of the Marne. The world could not understand at first why the German armies had swerved to the south and left Paris unharmed, and the details of the cause are only now coming gradually to the light. Even the fact that the battle was a decisive German defeat was denied or carefully concealed at first in Germany. The book discussed by M. Reinach in the following article was the first to admit the truth—indirectly. The narrative of this German eyewitness, with M. Reinach's lucid French comments, and with General Clergerie's supplementary account of how General Gallieni's taxicab army issued out of Paris and surprised and defeated von Kluck, constitutes one of the most valuable chapters yet written on the subject.

THERE appeared at Berlin in the year 1916 a book, "The Battles of the Marne," which made a great stir in Germany. Extracts from it had already been known through the American newspapers. I have been informed that the volume has been since withdrawn by order from circulation. In any case, it is almost impossible to find a copy in neutral countries, even though Germany has deluged them with a war literature as voluminous as it is insipid. The Belgian Minister of War has succeeded in getting a copy, which he has had translated. He has asked me to write a preface for it. M. Hanotaux, on his part, intends to publish a critical edition of it. The Revue Militaire Suisse consecrated a short but substantial article to it in August.

The book is anonymous. The author is manifestly an authority and an eyewitness. Necessarily, he claims to write ad narrandum. In reality, it is to prove that the battle of the Marne "was interrupted for purely strategical motives"; consequently, that it was not "an immense victory" for the armies of France; that General von Moltke's plan is one of the greatest of all time, and that the commander of the First German Army is above all reproach. In all probability, he is an officer of the staff of von Moltke or of von Kluck. I am inclined to believe that he was attached to the latter, because of the very special attention which he pays to the actions of the First Army, and the eulogies which he lavishes on the commander who was beaten at the Ourcq. At times, one would say he writes at von Kluck's dictation. But he is equally attached to General von Moltke, who was at the head of the Grand General Staff from August, 1906, and who was to be forced into retirement before the end of the first year of the war. It is thus easy to understand how the book should be first authorized and then withdrawn. * * *

He explains the plan of the German General Staff with great lucidity; a strict defensive from the Swiss frontier to the Donon; a defensive-offensive, according to Marshal von Moltke's formula, between the Donon and Verdun, where the chief mission of the Fifth Army will be to retain the enemy forces opposed to it; a vigorous offensive of the first four armies which, starting from the base Thionville-Aix-la-Chapelle, are

to penetrate France through Luxemburg and Belgium "in order to endeavor later to extend the right wing more and more toward the sea."

This movement of conversion "full of genius" authorized the greatest hopes. "In the great curve which, through Brussels, Valenciennes, Compiègne, Meaux, passed to the east of Paris, we should throw the French armies back beyond the Aisne, the Marne, and, perhaps, beyond the Seine, in order eventually to outflank them to the south of Fontainebleau, and thus to roll up the whole French battle line." Meanwhile, reserve and Landwehr corps would prevent later debarkation of English troops between Calais and Dunkirk.

"So far as human foresight could tell, this plan could have been carried out at the end of September, 1914." Many army corps would have been liberated, and could have been hurled against Russia. * * *

It will have been observed that our author indicates, as having formed a part of the German plan, the passage "to the east of Paris" after the first successes. So that the German Staff did not hesitate, we are told, on the morrow of the battles of Mons and Charleroi, between pushing straight on to Paris and seeking the French army on the Marne or on the Seine. * * * It can be seen at once what a brilliant exculpation of von Kluck and von Moltke is contained in this affirmation. All Germany was convinced, in August, and, with it, almost the whole world, that her victorious armies had Paris as their objective. "Nach Paris!" shouted all her soldiers, when entering Belgium, and, later, all along our roads, deafening and frightening all those who saw them rushing forward at the rate of forty kilometers a day. But the General Staff and the Emperor himself were already resolved not to attack Paris before having destroyed the French armies "to the south of Fontainebleau."

Is this the truth? I think so. Or is it an invention, after the disillusion, after the failure of the "plan of genius," and the defeat? Evidently, this will not be known for certain until the German archives disclose to us the original plan of the General Staff, as it was before the war or during its first days. * * *

However great is the admiration of the German author for the German plan, he finds one fault with it: "The tasks imposed upon the armies of the centre and, even more, those of the right wing were really excessive." In fact, "not only

GENERAL VON KLUCK

were they to break the resistance of the Belgians and their forts, but they were also, through the stifling heat of August, to execute an altogether extraordinary march, before they could come to grips with the French, who held good positions chosen by themselves, and who had to reckon with no supply problem." * * * There are, as we know, other causes for the German defeat on the Marne—and our author himself will indicate them; but these causes are manifestly accurate. To march, in the hottest part of the Summer, at the rate of forty kilometers a day, and even though inspired by victory and sure of an early triumphal entry into the enemy's capital, would have undermined the offensive vigor of armies of steel and iron and sapped their power of resistance. This was the case of the soldiers of von Kluck and von Bülow, when they arrived at the Ourcq and the Marne. They were weary. Without doubt, our troops and the English had also endured heavy fatigues; but they had not had to pass through all Belgium fighting. Thus the violation of

Belgian neutrality, decided on for reasons of strategy, weighed heavily at this point also on the German armies. Finally, it cannot be denied that the German supply service became more difficult as the invading armies got further from their base. We, on the contrary, were fighting near ours. It was an appreciable advantage.

Wine a Cause of Defeat

Must we add that the German armies drank more as they ate less? The German author is silent as to this, but there are certain and numerous evidences of it. These beer drinkers were not used to our wines. Weary and sweating, they rushed into our cellars. The wine of France had its part in our victory.

The confession of this is found in the notebook of an officer on von Kluck's staff, a prisoner today. On Sept. 2 he notes:

> Our soldiers are worn out. For four days they have been marching forty kilometers a day. The ground is difficult, the roads are torn up, trees felled, the fields pitted by shells like strainers. The soldiers stagger at every step, their faces are plastered with dust, their uniforms are in rags; one might call them living rag-bags. They march with closed eyes, and sing in chorus to keep from falling asleep as they march. The certainty of victory close at hand and of their triumphal entry into Paris sustains them and whips up their enthusiasm. Without this certainty of victory they would fall exhausted. They would lie down where they are, to sleep at last, no matter where, no matter how. Only the delirium of victory keeps our men going. And, to give their bodies a drunkenness like that of their souls, they drink enormously. But this drunkenness also helps to keep them up. Today, after an inspection, the General was furiously angry. He wanted to put a stop to this collective debauch. We have just persuaded him not to give severe orders. It is better not to be too strict, otherwise the army could not go on at all. For this abnormal weariness abnormal stimulants are needed. In Paris we shall remedy all this. We shall forbid the drinking of alcohol there. When our troops are at last able to rest on their laurels, order will be restored.

"They drink enormously." It is a German officer who writes it, before the battle. They kept it up during the battle, on the evenings of the battle, in our villages of the Ile-de-France and Champagne, drinking enormously in our well-filled cellars. One of the cavalry officers who led the pursuit has told me that he found the main street of a village so strewn with wine bottles and broken glasses that he had to make his way through the fields. * * *

German Praise of Joffre

Our author underlines the importance of the nomination of Gallieni, (as Military Governor of Paris:) "One of the best Generals of Republican France, who was absolutely the right man in the right place." * * * But his admiration goes especially to Joffre, the reasoned admiration of a soldier who does not feel the need of diminishing his enemy, thus diminishing himself by a back stroke. It is natural that he calls the victories of the Sambre and the Meuse "prodigious." We do not deny that they were great, and that they filled the world with astonishment and anxiety. Let us quote textually:

> During the last third of August, 1914, the defeats of the French and English, especially on their left wing, had been so prodigious that only a general of very high gifts could have stopped the march of the Germans or obliged the adversary to evacuate a part of the territory occupied. The man who attempted this was General Joffre. Gathering all available reserves, a General with less decision would, perhaps, have tried to stop the enemy at several points. But a partial success gained in this way would have had no influence on the final result. Joffre immediately saw that it would not do to stop at half measures, and he found both the means and the efficient secondary commanders to carry out his ideas.

To begin with, Joffre did not allow himself to be disturbed "by the messages of misfortune which succeeded each other without interruption," during the closing days of August. He immediately recognized "at the first glance" that, on the one hand, "the strongly occupied line between Belfort and Verdun could hold at least for several days or weeks" and "contain the German attack"; and that, on the other hand, the danger to be guarded against was that of the immense enveloping movement—pursued "with a rapidity that had never been reached by armies of that size"—by the moving right wing of the enemy. Sure of his own right, Joffre therefore ordered the

splendid strategic retreat—according to the expression of Marshal French—which was to end in the victory of the Marne. * * *

Difficulties of Germans

An uneasiness begins to show through the following pages, in which the German Army is seen growing weaker as Joffre compels it to follow him still further. We may suppose that the understanding of the famous manoeuvre was reached by the German Staff only after their defeat, and that the homage rendered to Joffre is part of the special pleading for von Moltke and von Kluck. But this supposition is not essential, and we may well believe that such able soldiers perceived the growing peril which they could not avoid. In either case, we can indorse almost all the views of the German narrative.

The further the Germans advanced, and the longer the French and English were able to escape without engaging in a decisive action, the more did the initial advantage of the Germans pass into the hands of their adversaries. The Germans got further and further from their base, and grew more and more exhausted by their forced marches. They were using up their munitions and their food supplies with alarming rapidity, and the least dislocation of the supply service might become fatal to armies so vast as those which the Germans launched, in the month of August, against Belgium and the north of France.

But Joffre, who, it must not be forgotten, was fighting on interior lines, was coming closer and closer to his supply bases. Every day new, fresh troops were arriving behind his lines of battle; day by day the first lines could be provided with food supplies and munitions, and, finally, the French Staff found itself in the agreeable situation of bringing into battle far fewer wornout troops than its adversary, who, for a month, had been marching almost day and night. In addition to this, it was a piece of good fortune for the French that their front, however thin it might be at certain points, had not yet been pierced.

When Joffre had taken the resolution only to accept battle under particularly favorable circumstances, he gave the order to his subordinate commanders to withdraw before the enemy and to march further and further south. If his preparations had not been completed in time, he would eventually have accepted battle to the south of the Seine, and have abandoned Paris. He then took measures to reinforce his threatened left wing and centre, and, before all, to prevent the army which was marching on the (German) extreme right wing from outflanking his battle line.

We are familiar with these measures; it is not doubtful that the German intelligence department was acquainted with them at the time when they were taken, or very soon afterward. They were "the creation of two new armies: the Sixth Army, which, under the command of General Maunoury," should have been formed, according to the initial plan, in the neighborhood of Amiens, and which "because of the rapid German advance, was actually formed to the northeast of Paris and in its vicinity"; the Ninth Army, "which was slipped in between the Fourth and Fifth Armies, and intrusted to General Foch, a very able commander."

These armies were made up of divisions, very accurately enumerated, some of them brought by rail from Alsace and Lorraine, "drawn from Castelnau's large Second Army," from the First Army, commanded by General Dubail, and from the Second Army, under General Sarrail; others were drawn from the Paris garrison and the Moroccan contingents. Another part of these measures was "the submission to Joffre's orders of the troops of the intrenched camp of Paris which were commanded by General Gallieni," the Sixth Army being at the same time "put at the disposition of the Governor of Paris, that is, indirectly intrusted to the Commander in Chief," and this, "because, at all times, unity of command has been one of the principal factors of success." Finally, "in order that nothing might be neglected which could contribute to the success of the great plan, Joffre, who had already replaced Ruffey by Sarrail, put the Fifth Army under the orders of Franchet d'Espérey.

Swerving Aside From Paris

While Joffre's armies withdrew step by step on the Marne, where they were to halt on Sept. 5 and be joined by the English army, "the German armies of the right wing were marching forward into France without a halt. It seemed as though a wall of iron were ceaselessly moving forward. A single thought ani-

mated this colossal gray mass; the annihilation of the French field army, in order to end at a stroke the war on the western front. It was everywhere believed that Paris was the goal of the German Generals, and every day the newspapers announced the diminution of the distance which separated the German advance guard from the French capital. And then suddenly—it was on Sept. 4—the German First Army, leaving Paris on its right, swerved toward the south!"

The exclamation mark stands in the German text, but, without doubt, only to mark the final point. "The point is all." The narrator has explained, as we have seen, at the beginning of his narrative, that "the passage to the east of Paris" had been written beforehand in the plan "full of genius" of Moltke, and not the march upon Paris. This affirmation must suffice as an answer to all the criticisms which have been raised in the sequel against the abandonment, assuredly only for a very brief period, in the thought of the German Staff, but which in fact became final, of the direct attack against the capital. Magister dixit. Thus the younger Moltke had decided. Thus the elder Moltke had prescribed in his famous note of 1859: "Even though the fate of Paris decides everything, as in 1814," it would be right to "turn away from Paris" in case a French army should be gathered in the neighborhood of Rheims. It would then be necessary to attack the French behind the Aisne, to throw them back across the Marne, the Seine, the Yonne, and, finally, the Loire. After that, we could march on Paris.

I have said that this explanation appears to me genuine. It is, none the less, singular that the author of this narrative, so complete in other respects, should make no allusion at all to the tempest of recriminations which was raised in Germany, after the defeat of the Marne, against the movement "to the east of Paris." It is comprehensible that he should keep silent concerning the intervention of the Emperor, who wished, as I believe to be the case, that the German army should march direct on Paris, and concerning the opposition of Moltke, who must have spoken of it to von Kluck, to the imperial proposal. All the same, he might try to justify the manoeuvre, and to prove to German opinion that the attack on Paris, far from leading to certain victory, might have led to disaster, and that, therefore, the strategic rule must be followed. Why does he not attempt this demonstration, which I believe to be sound?

His mere sketching it has sufficed to bring about the suppression of his book, or the prohibition of a second edition by the higher authorities.

German Officer's Memorandum

In contrast with this, here is what may be read in the notebook of the German officer already mentioned, under date of Sept. 3. The bulk of the army had taken up its quarters in the forest of Ermenonwille. The columns were advancing toward Betz:

> We are leaving Paris on our right, and we shall concentrate toward the southeast, opposite the remnants of the Franco-English army, which is trying, it is true, to reassemble its broken fragments in the plain of the Marne. Our soldiers have no suspicion that we are temporarily leaving the road to Paris. They are counting so completely on finding themselves at the gates of Paris tomorrow, or the day after, that it would be cruel to tell them the truth. They would lose all their spring. Our soldiers believe that the epoch of battles is ended, that the decimated French Army is hiding, and that we are going to enter Paris singing and drinking.

Paris is not only the great triumph; it is rest and peace:

> One of our battalions was marching wearily forward. All at once, while passing a crossroad, they discovered a signpost, on which they read: Paris, thirty-seven kilometers, (twenty-three miles.) It was the first signpost that had not been erased. On seeing it, the battalion was as though shaken up by an electric current. The word Paris, which they have just read, drives them crazy. Some of them embrace the wretched signpost, others dance round it. Cries, yells of enthusiasm, accompany these mad actions. This signpost is their evidence that we are near Paris, that, without doubt, we shall soon be really there. This notice board has had a miraculous effect. Faces light up, weariness seems to disappear, the march is resumed, alert, cadenced, in spite of the abominable ground in this forest. Songs burst forth louder, and no longer the traditional songs, but Parisian ditties, stupid enough in all conscience.

Then on the next day, (Sept. 4,) General von Kluck himself comes to make a visit of inspection to Lizy-on-Ourcq. The officer of the notebook talks with a Major in his escort. Is von Kluck only the well-disciplined interpreter of the decisions of Moltke, the supreme chief? In any case, "he feels certain that the Germans will soon crush the crumbs of the French Army. The reports of spies who have watched the retreat of the enemy army are very encouraging. They are a dejected horde, discontented, without any spring. There is no chance of their regaining a biting edge. The General fears nothing from the direction of Paris. We shall come back to Paris, after having annihilated what is left of the Franco-British army. The Fourth Corps of reserves will be intrusted with the triumphal entry into the great capital. * * *"

On Sept. 5, the eve of the general attack, the officer of the notebook records that the high German command foresees a flank attack, "although our reconnoissances have not brought any certain information on this point." Orders are given to dig trenches, to hasten defensive works. "These orders are very badly executed." Von Kluck makes a tour of inspection; "he is evidently very displeased." The soldiers work badly, or not at all. They are "worn out by forced marches, or drunk." But there is something more: "Persuaded that they have already attained complete success, they are full of disillusionment when they learn that they will have to dig defensive trenches. Our soldiers have been too much accustomed to singing hymns of victory and triumph."

New Spirit of the French

This is very good military psychology. Here is a German who can read more than is in his books. Note the phrase that follows: "If the French were not so profoundly demoralized, they might become very dangerous, for our First Army is very far from possessing the energy and discipline which were its strength in Belgium and on the northern frontier of France." Also, on Sept. 7, (battles of Marcilly, Barcy, and Chambry,) and Sept. 8, (capture of Chambry,) what surprise: "The French troops appear to be full of ardor. * * * Our men hold the heights, but the French have become demons, they charge in the face of machine-gun fire, joyfully let themselves get killed. * * * The valor of the French is superhuman. * * * Like spontaneous generation, troops appear from all sides. * * *"

On Sept. 8 the officer of the notebook writes:

> Col. Gen. von Kluck has inspected the posts. I saw him. His eyes, usually so brilliant, are dull. He, so energetic in his whole attitude, speaks in a faint voice. He is quite cast down. I question the Major who accompanies him. Our reconnoissances have just unmasked considerable French formations. Today's battles have been terrible for us. And all our armies, from the Marne to Alsace, are bearing an unendurable burden. We must parry this danger at any cost, even by retreat.

It was, writes the German historian of the Marne, "to escape the danger of being outflanked that the French Commander in Chief had created a new army on the extreme French left. This new army the Sixth, and the German Fifth Army, against which Joffre created it, were only fighting on the Ourcq, for four days now, in order to try to outflank each other. Neither succeeded. However, von Kluck was only able to stop Maunoury's turning movement by drawing strong reinforcements from Bülow, whose Second Army was thereby greatly weakened; the English, and the French Fifth Army, under Franchet d'Espérey, concentrated all their efforts on the point of least resistance in front of them; the English recrossed the Marne; the French Fifth Army pushed north; thus the German forces facing our Sixth Army on the Ourcq were taken in the flank. * * * Here is the German account:

> Sept. 9 was a very critical day for Maunoury. The Germans had been marching unceasingly for five weeks, they had fought numerous battles, and lacked munitions and even more, food. Yet, in irresistible assaults, they had the force to throw the French back at all points. Instead of yielding, they compelled the French to yield; instead of being outflanked, they outflanked the French, and even captured Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. But the finest energy must grow weak when it is not supported and refreshed. Reduced to

corps, weakened and melted away by fighting and fatigue, even these valiant warriors lost their power.

The French, on the contrary, who were only a few kilometers from Paris, not only received continual reinforcements, but were further supplied with all kinds of munitions. General Gallieni ceaselessly watched with vigilant eye over the movements of the Sixth Army, and made every imaginable effort to furnish it, as rapidly as possible, with every kind of support. He requisitioned thousands of automobiles in Paris, and, during the night, sent them to Maunoury with reinforcements, which were brought to him by rail from the interior and other parts of the front. One of the most remarkable of these transports was that of the Sixty-second Division (Zouaves) toward Creil and Senlis, carried out in the night of Sept. 8-9, with a view to hindering at all costs the outflanking of the French left wing.

Finally, on the same day, Maunoury asked that the division which he had lent to the Marshal should be returned to him, because the danger of being beaten by the cavalry corps of General von Marwitz no longer existed for the three English corps. This Eighth Division was sent, by rail, from Paris toward Maunoury's extreme left wing.

On the evening of Sept. 9, in spite of all the reinforcements they had received, the situation of the French Sixth Army was anything but brilliant. But it had to hold its ground at all costs, and could not withdraw even an inch further, no matter what it might cost.

But on the German side the offensive power was equally paralyzed. After all their efforts, and all the prodigious battles of the last days, the iron legions of von Kluck's army had arrived at the extreme limit of what they could give. On Sept. 9, toward noon, General von Marwitz had to announce, with an unwilling heart, to his chief that it was no longer possible for him to resist the whole English Army and the French Eighteenth Corps. To spare the blood of the English, Marshal French had in fact asked his neighbor on the right, the commander of the Fifth Army, for a whole corps, the Eighteenth.

In accord with the Chief of the General Staff, von Kluck was forced, unwillingly, to give the order to cease fighting, because the superiority of the enemy left wing grew continually. During the night of Sept. 9-10 the German armies withdrew toward the north in complete order. When, on the next morning, the French wished to continue the battle, von Kluck and his army had disappeared. Strong rearguards alone covered his retreat and for a long time occupied Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. * * *

Thus reads this early German admission of military defeat at the Marne.

A retreat in good order. * * * The officer of the notebook writes: "At Lizy the retreat is organized. * * * If that helter-skelter can be called organization."

The anonymous narrator, as was to be expected, remains faithful to his ill-starred chief: "The skill with which the Germans succeeded in withdrawing from their adversary is evidenced by the fact that von Kluck only abandoned a small number of guns and almost no prisoners." He also praises him for having retired toward Compiègne and Soissons, and not toward Rheims, for if he had bent toward the east, "the Germans, when Antwerp fell, would not have been in a position to extend and carry their front as far as the coast." This is accurate.

Necessarily, as von Kluck, with his army of the extreme right wing, "served in a certain way as guide for the other armies," his retreat compelled that of Bülow's army, which, in its turn, involved that of von Hausen's Saxon Army and of the Guard, in the centre of the German front. Duke Albert of Württemberg and the Crown Prince, not wishing to lose contact, withdrew in their turn.

Foch the Storm Centre

Of all the battles in progress, that of Sept. 9 before General Foch's army was much the hardest and bloodiest. Von Hausen's furious offensive was the ultima ratio of Moltke, requiring of an action of the centre a decision which he no longer hoped to be able to win on his wings. And Foch immediately proclaimed his faith in the famous Order of the Day, like a challenge, which destiny did not accept: "The situation is excellent; I order that the offensive shall be renewed. The key of the day will be to debouch by Fère-Champenoise." The very name of Fère, like that of Mondement and Marais, fails to appear in the narrative. Our centre might not have broken on Sept. 10; Dubois, Humbert, Grossetti, and all the others, firm in their reconquered positions, were masters of the hour.

The marshes of Saint-Gond in their turn witnessed a flanking manoeuvre which had a decisive share in the victory. The narrative admits, however, that Langle de Cary's attack, on Foch's right, against the Nineteenth German Corps—the retaking of Sermaize and of the crest west of Vassincourt—"had a certain influence on the course of the battle," and "to a certain degree hastened the retreat

of the (German) centre." He also admits that the energetic resistance offered by our Third Army "to the Crown Prince's violent and able attacks," stopped them on the heights of the Meuse and between Verdun and Saint-Mihiel. "The ring of iron around Verdun and the forts of the Meuse was also slackened—for a time."

Everything is linked together in the manoeuvre of battle, but on condition that no link bends or breaks. It would have availed Maunoury nothing to hold like a rock if Foch had yielded, nor Foch to have pierced the German centre if Maunoury had been enveloped on his left. And everything would have smashed if Franchet d'Espérey and French had not pierced their hole between the First and Second German armies, or if Langle de Cary had been pushed back or Sarrail had been repulsed on the extreme right wing.

Finally, the German writer, while he still refuses to utter the word defeat, marks in clear enough lines the failure of Moltke's plan, which was "to smash the French Army at the first shock, to cut it into pieces and dislocate it." But, he says, "Joffre succeeded still less in turning the Germans, in rolling up their battle line and in throwing them out of France, across the Rhine."

In other words, we lost the battle of the frontiers; the Germans lost the battle of the Marne. * * *

Significance of the Marne

These are the facts as they appear to a German officer, who is not a Jomini, but who understands what he sees and whose mind is well balanced. The moral significance of the Marne escapes him; that of Valmy, as we know today, was only revealed years later to Goethe. "Moltke withdrew the front of the German battle line about a day's march to the north." That is all he sees. It was "a battle interrupted for tactical reasons."

And Moltke had five motives. Two have already been discussed, the exhaustion of the armies of the right wing and the centre, which were "quite worn out," and the defective supply of food and munitions. In the third and the fourth place, the Germans had discounted a more rapid fall of the fortresses of Liége, Namur and Maubeuge, and "the energetic sortie of the Antwerp army," coinciding with the battle of the Marne, held army corps whose mere presence would have been enough to make German victory certain and "break the French line." Finally, it was necessary, beginning with the end of August, "before the deploying of the German armies was completed," to transport to the eastern frontier several army corps from the western front and from the interior of the empire, because the Austrians had not been able to stand up against the formidable thrust of the Russians into Galicia and the Russians had invaded East Prussia.

These three Russian and the Belgian reasons are perfectly accurate.

The Russian mobilization was ordered on the night of July 30-31, a partial mobilization of the four southern districts—Kieff, Moscow, Kazan, Odessa—as a reply to the mobilization of seven Austrian army corps on July 27; the general mobilization was ordered on July 31, toward midday, in reply to the general mobilization of Austria decided on in the morning. The German Chancellor delivered an important speech (on Nov. 9, 1916) to establish the assertion that the partial mobilization of Russia rendered war inevitable. An impudent lie, but let it pass, and suppose that Russia had waited for the completion of her concentration before taking the offensive against Prussia. This would have made Germany safe on her eastern frontier. Consequently, two or three army corps which Hindenburg summoned would have been on the Marne, on Sept. 9, or on the Ourcq; and the wheel might have turned.

How the Belgians Helped

The same reasoning applies to the Third and Ninth German Reserve Corps, which remained on the banks of the Dyle and the Scheldt, where the Belgian Army of the intrenched camp of Antwerp "was working to draw them against itself and to keep them far from the French battlefield." There were two fine combats at Impde and Hofstade, on the canal from Louvain to Malines, on Aug. 24 and 25,

during the battles of Mons and of the Sambre. At the sound of the firing, the Hanoverians set fire to Louvain, its Collegiate church and Halle aux Draps, with the famous library. On Sept. 4, on the eve of the battle of the Marne, there was an engagement at Capelle-aux-Bois, a bloody check of the Germans, who took vengeance for it by burning the village.

Moltke summoned from Belgium three reserve divisions, replaced by a division of Landwehr and a naval division. "The moment for a contribution by the Belgian Army to the operations of the allied armies became from that time opportune." It was the offensive against the German position, strongly organized, and extending from the left bank of the Dyle (from the village of Haecht) to the left bank of the Senne and the town of Walverthem, which is ten kilometers distant, to the southeast of Termonde. The battles of Sept. 9, 10, and 11 were so clearly favorable to the Belgians that the Germans sent for reserves taken from the interior garrisons and the Sixth Reserve Division, already on the march toward France. They then counterattacked on Sept. 12, and gained the advantage at the cost of heavy losses.

When, on Sept. 13, the Belgian Army withdrew on the intrenched camp, "the aim which it had had in view was attained"; the battle of the Marne had been won.

Finally, it is clearly proved that the German plan of a sudden attack had begun to fail with the refusal of Belgium to open its territories to the armies which were rushing to attack us, and to the heroic resistance of this noble people. The German plan was strictly a horarium. Every minute in it was determined. From the German frontier, opposite Aix-la-Chapelle, to the gap of the Oise, on the French frontier—the source of the Oise is in the Belgian province of Namur—there are six days' march. But the passage of the Germans across Belgium in arms—halted before Liége and before Namur, halted on the line of the Gette, beaten on Aug. 12 on the edge of the forest of Haelen, victorious on Aug. 18 and 19 at Aerschot—had lasted *sixteen days*, (Aug. 4-20.) The splendid effort of the Belgians had therefore made ten full days late the arrival of the German armies on the French frontier, from which only eight marches separated them from the advanced forts of Paris.

Thus the Russians and the Belgians, not less than the English, conquered with us on the Marne. The German author is not mistaken about this. It still remains for him to see that a battle which ends in a retreat is a defeat, that the violation of Belgian neutrality was at once a political crime and a military blunder, and that the war was premeditated and intended by the German Emperor.

How Paris Was Saved

General Clergerie's Story of a Great Sally, the Battle of the Ourcq, and von Kluck's Defeat

GENERAL CLERGERIE, former Chief of Staff in the Military Government of Paris and a close associate with General Gallieni in the tragic hours of August and September, 1914, officiated at the distribution of prizes to the boys of the Lycée of Périgueux, July 14, 1917. In an informal address he told how the army of the intrenched camp of Paris was led to attack the right wing of the German Army at the moment when the latter, in the region of the Ourcq, was preparing to envelop the left wing of the French Army.

Here is a summary of that page of history, the story of an eyewitness:

From Aug. 26, 1914, the German armies had been descending upon Paris by forced marches. On Sept. 1 they were only three days' march from the advanced line of the intrenched camp, which the garrison were laboring desperately to

put into condition for defense. It was necessary to cover with trenches a circuit of 110 miles, install siege guns, assure the coming of supplies for them over narrow-gauge railways, assemble the food and provisions of all kinds necessary for a city of 4,000,000 inhabitants.

But on Sept. 3 the intelligence service, which was working perfectly, stated, about the middle of the day, that the German columns, after heading straight for Paris, were swerving toward the southeast and seemed to wish to avoid the fortified camp.

"General Gallieni and I," continued the speaker, "then had one of those long "conferences which denoted grave events: "they usually lasted from two to five min- "utes at most. The fact is that the mili- "tary Government of Paris did little talk- "ing—it acted. The conference reached "this conclusion: 'If they do not come to "'us, we will go to them with all the "'force we can muster.' Nothing re- "mained but to make the necessary "preparations. The first thing to do "was not to give the alarm to the enemy. "General Maunoury's army immediately "received orders to lie low and avoid any "engagement that was not absolutely "necessary." Then care was taken to reinforce it by every means. All was ready at the designated time.

In the night of Sept. 3, knowing that the enemy would have to leave only a rear guard on one bank of the Ourcq, General Gallieni and General Clergerie decided to march against that rear guard, to drive it back with all the weight of the Maunoury army, to cut the enemy's communications, and take full advantage of his hazardous situation. Immediately the following order was addressed to General Maunoury:

> Because of the movement of the German armies, which seem to be slipping in before our front to the southeast, I intend to send your army to attack them in the flank, that is to say, in an easterly direction. I will indicate your line of march as soon as I learn that of the British Army. But make your arrangements now so that your troops shall be ready to march this afternoon and to begin a general movement east of the intrenched camp tomorrow.

At 10 in the morning a consultation was held by Generals Gallieni, Clergerie, and Maunoury, and the details of the plan of operations were immediately decided. In the afternoon an understanding with the English was reached at Melun. General Joffre gave permission to attack and announced that he would himself take the offensive on the 6th. On the 5th, at noon, the army from Paris fired the first shot; the battle of the Ourcq, a preface to the Marne, had begun.

General Clergerie then told what a precious purveyor of information he had found in General von der Marwitz, cavalry commander of the German First Army, who made intemperate use of the wireless telegraph and did not even take the trouble to put into cipher his dispatches, of which the Eiffel Tower made a careful collection. "In the evening of "Sept. 9," he said, "an officer of the in- "telligence corps brought me a dispatch "from this same Marwitz couched in "something like these terms: 'Tell me "'exactly where you are and what "'you are doing. Hurry up, because "'XXX * * *' The officer was greatly "embarrassed to interpret those three "Xs. Adopting the language of the "poilu, I said to him: 'Translate it, "I "am going to bolt."' True enough, "next day we found on the site of the "German batteries, which had been pre- "cipitately evacuated, stacks of muni- "tions; while by the roadside we came "upon motors abandoned for the slightest "breakdown, and near Betz almost the "entire outfit of a field bakery, with a "great store of flour and dough half- "kneaded. Paris and France were saved.

"Von Kluck could not get over his as- "tonishment. He has tried to explain it "by saying he was unlucky, for out of a "hundred Governors not one would have "acted as Gallieni did, throwing his "whole available force nearly forty miles "from his stronghold. It was downright "imprudence. Of course, it was Gallieni "who was in the wrong!"

General Clergerie pointed the moral for his youthful audience in these words: "If you want France to be great, there's only one way: Act."

A German Sailor's Account of the Jutland Battle

P. KRUG, one of the survivors of the German flagship Lützow, which was sunk in the battle of Jutland in June, 1916, published in July, 1917, a pamphlet giving his view of the naval engagement. His pamphlet, which appeared at The Hague, is the first published account of the battle by a German sailor.

Torpedoed by a British warship early in the engagement, the Lützow, which was the flagship of Admiral Hipper, was hammered unmercifully by the big guns of the British vessels, and soon became a complete wreck, a "ship of the dead," as Krug describes her.

According to his story, twenty-seven German sailors were trapped in the Diesel dynamo room before the battle had been long in progress, and remained there when the Lützow, a disabled hulk, was abandoned and sent to the bottom by a torpedo from a German destroyer. Two of these imprisoned men had been driven insane and were kept tied by their shipmates.

After describing the first part of the battle and telling how the arrival of British battleships turned the tables on the Germans, Krug writes:

Suddenly the entire ship is roughly shaken. The colossus heaves far over, and everything that is not fixed is upset. The first direct hit! The torpedo pierces the fore part of the ship. Its effects are terrible. Iron, wood, metal, parts of bodies, and smashed ships' implements are all intermixed, and the electric light, by chance spared, continues to shine upon this sight.

Two decks lower, in the Diesel dynamo room, there is still life. That compartment has not been hit, and twenty-seven men, in the prime of life, have been spared, but the chamber is shut off from all others, for the water is rushing into all sections. They are doomed to death. Several 38-centimeter shells squarely hit their mark, working terrible havoc. The first hit the wireless department. Of the twelve living men who a moment ago were seated before the apparatus, there is nothing more to be seen. Nothing is left but a smoking heap of ruins. The second shot again pierced the fore part of the ship. The entire forepart of the vessel, as far as the Diesel motor room, was past saving.

Another broadside meant for the Lützow fell short, but a torpedo boat close by disappeared, leaving only a few odd pieces of wood and a smashed lifeboat drifting around. It is now half-past 7, and the hostile circle grows ever smaller. The Lützow and the Seydlitz lie with their bows deep in the water; both are badly mauled. The forepart of the Lützow was in flames. Shells burst against the ship's side in rapid succession. A terrible sight is presented on board the Lützow, and it needs iron nerves to look upon it coolly. Hundreds have lost their lives, while many have lain for hours in torture, and the fight is not yet over. The bow is now crushed in and is entirely submerged. The four screws are already sticking half out of the water, so that the Lützow can only make eight to ten knots an hour, as against the normal thirty-two.

The Admiral decides to transfer to the Moltke. He gives orders to turn and get away from the scene of the fight, but the Lützow has not gone a mile before she receives a broadside of 38-centimeter shells. The entire ship was filled with the poisonous fumes of the shells, and any one who failed to affix his gas mask was doomed to be suffocated.

It was three-quarters of an hour before the lighting installation was restored. Then for the first time could the extent of the damage wrought by the salvo be seen. One of the shells had landed in the sick bay. Here there were only three doctors and fifteen attendants, besides 160 to 180 wounded. Of all those, only four remained alive. These four were hurled into the next compartment by the air pressure; there they lay unconscious.

The Lützow was now a complete wreck. Corpses drifted past. From the bows up to the first 30-centimeter gun turret the ship lay submerged. The other gun turrets were completely disabled, with the guns sticking out in all directions. On deck lay the bodies of the sailors in their torn uniforms, in the midst of the empty shell cases. From the masts fluttered torn flags, twisted signal lines, and pieces of wire of the wireless installation. Had not the lookout man and the three officers on the commander's bridge given signs of life, the Lützow would have truly resembled a ship of the dead. Below, on

the battery deck and in the coal bunkers, there still lay innumerable wounded, but there was no longer a doctor to attend to them.

Night came on and hope was entertained of getting away without a further encounter. But at 3 o'clock in the night news of the approach of two British cruisers and five destroyers was received and just at that critical time the fore and middle bulkheads gave way.

Orders were given to quickly carry the wounded to the stern. Then the order rings out: "All hands muster in division order abaft." A tumult arises on the lower deck, for everybody is now bent on saving his life. It is impossible in that short space of time to bring up all the wounded, for they are scattered everywhere. Eighteen men had the good fortune to be carried up, but all the rest who could not walk or crawl had to be left behind.

The twenty-seven men shut up in the Diesel dynamo chamber had heard the order through the speaking tube, for many, mad with anguish, screamed through the tube for help, and it was learned that two of their number lay bound because they had become insane. Inspired by their sense of duty, these sealed-up men had continued to carry on their work in order to provide the ship with light.

The torpedo boats now quickly took off the crew of the Lützow, and those left behind were doomed to death. It was resolved that no piece of the vessel should fall into the enemy's hands. An order was given and a torpedo cleft the waters. Just then seven men were to be seen running like madmen round the rear deck. Overfatigued as they were, they had apparently dropped off to sleep and only just awakened. As the torpedo exploded, the Lützow's bow quickly dipped, and the stern rose until she stood on end. Then she heeled over and sank, forming a great whirlpool that carried everything within it into the depths.

When the roll was called it appeared that there were 1,003 survivors of the Lützow; 597 men had perished in the Battle.

Heartrending Scenes in Belgium

A CITIZEN of Liége who succeeded in escaping from Belgium draws a terrible picture, says Reuter's Agency, of the sufferings of the repatriated deportees and of the brutality with which the unfortunate people are still treated by the Germans. This escaped Belgian was engaged from March to July, 1917, at an infirmary outside Liége station and witnessed the arrival of train after train of repatriated deportees. Describing what he had seen, he said:

Never shall I forget the terrible scenes I have witnessed. The trains contained sometimes 500 to 900 men, who had been for three days practically without food. A great many of them had their feet and legs frostbitten or frozen off, and had to be carried on stretchers. They had been obliged to walk for hours in their stocking feet in the snow. Often gangrene had set in and the men died within a few days.

We had an average of two deaths every day in our small infirmary. Some of them were so famished that they could not take any food, and had to be fed with a spoon; others ate ravenously anything that they could snatch from your hand. Eighty per cent. are stricken with tuberculosis, and will never recover. Such is the result of a few months spent in the German prison camps and kommandos.

The first time we saw them alight from the train we could not believe that these ragged ghosts, with haggard faces and feet wrapped in muddy sackcloth, could be the same men who had passed through Liége, singing patriotic songs, on their way to Germany. According to their reports many have died over there; many also died on the way home, every train bringing a load of three or four dead as well as the dying. Many more have died at home later after horrible sufferings from the incurable diseases which they have contracted.

But these physical tortures are nothing beside the moral trials to which they have been subjected. Some of the men have gone quite mad and do not realize that they have come back. One of the men I attended, in his delirium repeated unceasingly the same cry, while making a movement as if pushing something away. "I will not sign, I will not sign!" He did not, and he died for it in my arms. As an old woman said to me who was waiting for her son to be returned, "Is it not enough to make the stones weep?"

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

VII.—Battle of Loos and Champagne Offensive

A FRENCH writer observing the new British divisions which began to march to the western battle front late in May, 1915, said, "This is an army of athletes which England has trained." The splendid regular army which had fought so bravely in the Summer and Autumn of the first year of the war was resting mostly in thick-sown graves between the Seine and the sea. But the best soldier material of Britain had flocked to the colors in the early Winter and was thoroughly trained and equipped by this time. These were Kitchener's men and were to continue the task of hammering at the German lines as they were left after the fighting at Souchez, Festubert, Aubers Ridge, and Neuve Chapelle in the Spring of 1915. The new troops found hard fighting awaiting them at Hooge.

The salient at Ypres was still a storm centre, and the Germans since May had held the high ground about the Château of Hooge, two miles east of Ypres on the road to Menin, which was the point of their nearest approach to the town after the terrific battles and the gas attacks in May. In June and July there was continued close fighting for every outbuilding or fortified rubbish heap on this low ridge, where positions were taken and lost over and over again. By July the advantage was considerably on the German side, especially in the region of Bellewaarde Lake, a pond north of the château.

Here the British had lost ground until they were pressed back to a little lane connecting the Menin road with the highway to Zonnebeke, a full half mile nearer Ypres than the position at Hooge. This made a dangerous-looking dent in the British line, but along the Menin road they still clung to trenches close up to the château. A huge depression called "The Crater" resulted from the explosion of a British mine at this point and was the scene of a powerful German attack before dawn on July 30.

First Use of Liquid Fire

In this assault liquid fire was employed for the first time, and after a heavy bombardment by trench mortars (minenwerfern) the infantry stormed the British trenches, using a great number of grenades. The troops in the trenches attacked were practically annihilated, and the British line gave way about a quarter of a mile to the edge of the high ground at the corner of Zouave Wood. The Germans were about to thrust their lines south of the Menin road forward to a point abreast of their furthest positions westward along the lane north of that road. Second Lieut. Woodroffe, a boy under twenty, was the first soldier of the new army to win the Victoria Cross, which was awarded for a splendid effort to lead his men back in a counterattack in which he was killed. Major Gen. Keir, commanding the Sixth Corps, ordered a counterattack in midafternoon which resulted in the useless slaughter of the Seventh and Eighth Rifle Battalions, which were torn to pieces in the death trap called Zouave Wood and the fields beyond, where 2,000 men fell, including sixty officers.

No further suicidal attempts were made to storm the German lines by daylight, and for ten days the British heavy artillery poured a flood of 8-inch and 9.2-inch shells over them. The British superiority in heavy guns began at that time to be in evidence and has continued to grow ever since.

On Aug. 9 two brigades renewed the counterattack just before dawn and, charging across a "no-man's land" 500

yards wide and heaped with the unburied victims of the previous effort, these gallant troops recaptured the crater and trenches close to the château. Two hundred Germans who held the dugouts in the crater were killed to the last man. That night the Germans shelled the new British positions, part of which it proved impossible to hold. In this day's fighting the two brigades lost over 2,000 men, but nearly all the ground was held until a fresh brigade arrived and gave the much-needed reinforcement required to retain the position.

Western Front, September, 1915

In the early Autumn of 1915 it was estimated that the Germans were defending their western front of 570 miles with a total force of nearly 2,000,000 men. They were outnumbered by the Allies, for Sir John French commanded a million British soldiers in France, while the French had 2,000,000 men on this front with strong forces of recruits in training camps in the rear. There were about 6,000 guns of varied calibre on each side.

By this time the British production of artillery munitions had been very greatly increased over the capacity of the early Spring. The German system of field fortification had, however, been developed to the utmost. Back of every front-line system lay another complete and even stronger line of trenches, completely prepared with wire entanglements, very deep dugouts, &c. The second line was usually about 700 yards behind the first, and a third and stronger position was prepared usually about a mile to the rear. There were frequent *fortins* or low redoubts of great strength so situated as to enfilade trench systems which might be lost. Against this elaborate fortification the operations took on increasingly the character of sieges rather than field manoeuvres intended to break through or outflank an enemy in the field; but in September the Allies launched two great attacks which it was hoped might win from the enemy some of his vantage ground. The time seemed propitious, for von Hindenburg's great campaign in Russia, while widely victorious, still required every man that could be spared from other fields.

The German lines in France formed a great right angle, whose upper line faced west from the sea to the Aisne, where it bent and ran toward the southeast to the Swiss frontier. The Allies planned to strike two great blows back of the head of this vast salient—one in the north toward Lens, and the other in Champagne about Souain.

The Battle of Loos

On the northern sector a terrific bombardment was maintained from Sept. 23 until the early morning of the 25th, when the British attack upon Loos started. On the French front, facing Vimy Heights, the bombardment continued until early afternoon, when the infantry assaults began and made excellent progress before night. The next day D'Urbal's soldiers fought their way to the lower slopes of the heights north of Thelus, crossed the Souchez stream and gained part of Givenchy Wood. By the 29th the western slopes of Vimy Heights and much of Givenchy Wood had been taken from the Germans, and it became necessary for the French commander to send reinforcements to the British on his left flank, where a deep salient was being held east of Loos by a dangerously inadequate force.

While the French were winning their footing on Vimy Heights the British had fought a series of separate battles both north and south of the Vimy sector. It will be well to realize in connection with this whole series of actions that they were timed to coincide with the great French attack far to the south in Champagne, and intended to so thoroughly engage the Germans in the north as to prevent the dispatch of reserves from that region to the south, where the Allies hoped to be able to break through the invader's fortified lines and reach the railway communications in the rear. The northern attacks were planned to be at least "holding" battles, but the numbers of both men and guns employed were so great as to lead to the hope that at some vulnerable spot the German lines might be broken and the railways from Lille southward be reached.

On Sept. 25 the British, after a final bombardment, exploded a mine and then

once more attacked Hooge, the blood-drenched point of the Ypres sector. Two infantry divisions stormed German trenches in some places to a depth of as much as 600 yards, but nearly all the ground gained was so completely commanded by the heavy German artillery that it had once more to be yielded by the end of the day.

Another British attack developed soon

GENERAL DE CASTELNAU

after 4 A. M. in front of Armentières. Here the forces on the flanks made good progress, but the centre failed to gain, so that in the end both flanks were compelled to fall back to re-establish the alignment. The only result here was that the German troops were kept occupied on their own front.

An Unsuccessful Phase

A third battle meanwhile was fought by the British Indian Corps, commanded by General Anderson, above Neuve Chapelle, and this effort was the least successful of all. The faults seem to have been divided between imperfect staff arrangements and unsatisfactory qualities displayed by some of the native troops. Two Indian brigades which rushed over German first-line trenches failed to either clear out or hold the positions, which were presently reoccupied in dangerous force by the Germans. A reserve brigade of Indians, which should have followed closely the advancing units, stopped in the old British front-line trenches and viewed with dismay a front which, to their astonishment, bristled with resistance, although two whole brigades had swept over it and disappeared beyond. At the opening of this battle one of the Indian divisions (the Meerut) attempted to send a cloud of poison gas over the German lines, but in a drizzling mist with almost no wind the gas lay still, so that when they advanced they were compelled to charge through the gas themselves. As the day wore on, German counterattacks drove back the lines of the Twentieth Division of the Third Corps, which exposed the flank of the Meerut Division, to which the main attack toward Aubers Ridge had been committed.

Gradually whatever plans had existed dissolved and the action degenerated into an utterly confused mêlée, out of which the remnants of the leading brigades finally fought their way back to the old lines. The reports laid great emphasis upon the sturdy courage of the British regular battalions serving with the native brigades. Once more the Neuve Chapelle sector proved a deadly area impregnable to British efforts, and this battle of September in this fatal sector was a failure like the preceding ones of December and May.

Fighting Near Givenchy

Still another attack was made by the British troops near Givenchy, the strongly defended outpost on the west front of La Bassée. Some gains were made, but the lack of reserves made it impossible to hold such of the first-line positions as were entered.

The great British attack on this day of many battles was meanwhile launched against the fortified ridge and quarries west of the La Bassée-Lens road. Here General Haig had Rawlinson's (Fourth) and Gough's (First) Corps for deployment on a front of about eight miles between Givenchy and Grenay. This important phase of the great battle of Sept. 25 opened soon after 6 A. M. with an at-

tack on the German positions just below the La Bassée Canal, but, although some progress resulted after desperate fighting, the brigade engaged here was compelled before night to fall back.

Just below this sector another Scotch brigade in a glorious attack won the Hohenzollern Redoubt and a fortified position called Fosse 8. On their right the Seventh Division drove their attack through to the German second line in the Cité St. Elie and the village of Haisnes, both places well in the rear of the Hohenzollern Redoubt and directly on the La Bassée-Lens highway. The lack of sufficient reserves made it impossible to hold the more advanced positions won, and by midday part of the gains had to be relinquished.

The Capture of Loos

Further south Rawlinson's men fought brilliantly, and in an advance of nearly two miles reached the outer edge of Hulluch and captured Loos close to the Lens-Bethune road. In this splendid success there was a notable improvement over the methods which on the same day scored such a failure at Neuve Chapelle. Loos was taken by divisions made up of London regiments which had spent a number of days before the battle in studying a big model of this sector, with the result that when one battalion (the Nineteenth London) lost every officer, the men went on and accomplished their part without hesitation.

Success in this war is reserved for those adequately prepared to win it. However, even successes so won cannot be maintained unless supported by large reserves equally well prepared. The brave Scotch battalions, having taken Loos, pressed on with mad courage into the very heart of a fortified zone beyond. In less than three hours Gordons, Camerons, Seaforths, and Black Watch had driven nearly four miles through the German trenches. An English writer commenting upon the heroic fighting of the Scotch brigades in this battle justly remarked that while what they did was magnificent it was not war, for it was an attack unprovided with reserves. About 10 o'clock word was sent up to the advanced units that they must fall back; but, almost encircled by the enemy as they were, the task was well-nigh impossible. Only a few men fought their way back to the lines, which were finally held.

In summing up the results of these great efforts, which involved something like five separate but co-ordinated battles on the British front, we must admit that

MAP OF REGION WHERE BATTLE OF LOOS WAS FOUGHT

little more resulted than the prevention of reinforcements being sent by the enemy from the northern positions to his hard-pressed lines in Champagne. There seems to have been a time when the prompt use of adequate reserves in the sector north of Lens might have rescued the whole region between Lille and Douai from the invader. Sir John French was in supreme command, and he had in reserve and immediately under his control the Eleventh Corps, consisting of the Guards Division and the new Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth Divisions. At the critical moment when the great Scotch charge reached Cité St. Auguste the Guards Division was about twenty

miles away from the Loos sector. General French gave Sir Douglas Haig the Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth Divisions before 10 A. M., but even these troops were eight miles away.

On Sunday, the 26th, the Germans made heavy counterattacks and severely defeated the inexperienced troops of the Twenty-fourth Division, so that a good deal of ground was lost. On Monday the Guards Division, consisting of three brigades of England's finest troops, was sent in to redeem the situation. The Guards fought well. The Third Brigade, consisting of the First Grenadiers, Fourth Grenadiers, Second Scots, and First Welsh, attacked the strongly fortified Hill 70, just north of Lens, and were deployed in columns of half platoons, with 100 yards intervals between the sections and 250 yards distance between the lines. They reached the crest of Hill 70, but could not hold it against the converging machine-gun fire, and, falling back, dug themselves in about a hundred yards to the west. On the 28th the First Coldstreams succeeded in reaching a fortified chalk pit north of Hill 70, but that place, too, was too hot to hold.

Through the remaining days of September and the early part of October, under heavy bombardment, the British consolidated the positions and straightened the lines. They had taken 3,000 German prisoners, with 26 field guns and 40 machine guns. Lord Kitchener in England and Field Marshal French at the front gave unstinted praise to the gallantry of the troops, but there was a distinct disappointment in England, where it was felt that the errors of Neuve Chapelle in the Spring had been repeated and that the possibility of a great victory had been lost because of imperfect plans. Probably the fairest of the many criticisms leveled at the British staff was that which admitted their lack of training in the handling of great armies. Had the splendid British armies possessed a thoroughly efficient and competent General Staff they would have won in the early Autumn of 1915 what they have fought for through two long and bloody years since.

The British losses at Loos and thereabout were 45,000, including 3 Major Generals and 28 battalion commanders.*

French Attack in Champagne

While the British were fighting the series of battles which culminated at Loos and d'Urbal's Tenth French Army was fighting for Vimy Ridge all France awaited breathlessly the great effort which it was hoped would smash a way through the German fortifications on the chalk ridges of Champagne. Here the really great effort was planned to deal such a blow as would cut through the invader's railway communications, which so perfectly assisted his Generals to shift men and guns quickly wherever required.

The sector selected for attack was that above Suippes, between Auberive and Ville-sur-Iourbe, and de Castelnau's army was chosen for the grand effort. All through September both French and British airmen flew straight at any German aircraft which attempted to reconnoitre back of their lines. They were most successful in masking the great concentrations of troops back of the sectors selected for attack. Early in the morning of Sept. 25 de Castelnau's men began to crowd forward through the communication trenches under a volcanic discharge of shells hurled over their heads against the German trenches of both first and second lines. Every platoon had been carefully taught just what its own objective was to be, and General Joffre's famous order read: "Soldiers of the Republic: After months of waiting the hour has come to attack and to conquer." Every soldier had an extra ration of wine on the night of the 24th, and trench knives were added to the regular equipment for the close fighting anticipated in trenches and dugouts.

At 9:15 on the morning of Sept. 25 the bugles sounded, the officers cried out "To Win or Die!" and on a front of fifteen miles a splendid French Army charged. Both field batteries ("seventy-

*It is interesting to compare the losses in the month of May, 1917, when the casualties amounted to 114,000 as the price of another offensive on nearly the same ground but in which positions won were held and 3,412 Germans were captured.

fives") and cavalry were used during the day, for on that long front the French lines had by night advanced an average of two and a half miles. Four great redoubts had been stormed and thousands of prisoners taken, together with hundreds of guns. On Sunday, the 26th, further progress was made, and on the 27th the French repulsed an attempted diversion by the Crown Prince at La Fille Morte, in the Argonne.

By Wednesday, Sept. 29, the French had sufficiently reorganized their forces to resume the attack, which was directed particularly along the west side of the Souain-Somme-Py road, where the Navarin Farm, on the east side of the highway, and Hill 185, on the west, marked a line about midway between the two towns. The German lines proved too strong to be forced, and, although there was a gap opened near the great Lubeck trench, a concentrated German fire poured through the opening forbade any further advance. In fact, the scientific arrangement of the German fortifications was such that any position captured immediately was subjected to an enfilading lateral fire from neighboring positions, as well as a deluge of shellfire, both direct and indirect. Above the farm called Maisons de Champagne a defensive work called the "Ouvrage de la Defaite" was won and lost over and over again before the brave French soldiers would admit their inability to hold it. All that de Castelnau's men could do was to dig themselves in where they were and fight hard to hold what had cost them so much.

The French losses in Champagne, and including those in Artois at Vimy Ridge, amounted to 120,000 men. The Germans were pushed back nearly three miles on a front of about fifteen miles, but they remained secure in a stronger position than the first, and their railway communications were undisturbed.

Net Results Disappointing

The great allied offensive in the west in the Autumn of 1915 resulted in tremendous battles which won considerable local success, but nowhere succeeded in seriously disturbing the invaders' grip upon France. Nothing was achieved which could be reckoned an offset to what the enemy had accomplished in Russia through the Summer, and only part of Joffre's optimistic prophecy was realized. The splendid élan of the French soldier did carry him at a bound up to the batteries of the adversary, but the hope that he would charge on past and beyond the fortified lines was doomed to disappointment. Despite superiority in numbers of troops, guns, and shells, the Allies were compelled to realize that the bravest of attempts could not hope to pierce those fortifications. The slow processes of siege operations must be resorted to, and years consumed in a task which it had been fondly hoped might be accomplished in a series of smashing attacks.

It was after the Marne that the Germans dug themselves in so thoroughly on the chalky hills of Champagne, and as the months have lengthened into years they have created a series of defensive works secure from flank attacks and capable of a deadly defense against frontal assaults. The French staff knew the difficulties of their task, and were provided with exact information as to every trench, alley of communication, and clump of trees. Letters or numbers were assigned to each of such objects on the detailed maps furnished to the troops in every sector of the attack. It was found that the wire entanglements between the German trenches attained a width of from 15 to 60 meters. The French official report on the battle in Champagne said that a line showing the different stages of the French advance would assume a curiously winding outline, revealing on the one hand the defensive power of an adversary resolved to stick to the ground at all costs, and on the other the victorious continuity of the efforts of the French soldiers in this hand-to-hand struggle. At the two extremities of the attacking front the offensive could make no progress because of the converging fire of the enemy and his powerful counterattacks.

In an order dated Oct. 5 General Joffre announced the results in Champagne, where 25,000 prisoners and 150 guns were captured and made visible evidence of the splendid success of the opening phase of the battle. That the outcome of the great effort was a bitter disap-

pointment to the French was never evident in the slightest weakening of their determination to fight on at all costs until somewhere and somehow the final defeat of the enemy shall be accomplished.

German Counteroffensive

The Germans had maintained in the east their favorite conception of war, that only the offensive can win. On the west front through all this long series of battles in 1915 they were compelled to assume the to them repuguant rôle of the defensive. But to the German military mind it was perfectly clear that the only successful defensive must be that of the active and aggressive kind known as the offensive-defense.

When the allied effort of late September died down the Germans began a campaign of counterstrokes serious enough to shake the Allies out of some of the vantage points recently gained, and all sufficiently threatening to compel both British and French to hold heavy mobile reserves distributed back of the battle lines ready for instant dispatch to any point where serious disaster might threaten. The German commanders knew that a fatal deterioration in the best troops in the world is certain to result if they are permitted entirely to lose the initiative. Their announced plan was to hold rather lightly the first-line positions to minimize the losses from bombardments, yet in sufficient strength to inflict severe losses upon the assaulting infantry; then, when an exhausted fraction of the original force had gained the second-line positions, to hurl upon them powerful fresh reserves competent to destroy survivors of the original attack and recover much, if not all, of the lost ground.

This plan was perfectly sound and failed of great results only because the Germans no longer possessed the superiority in numbers which it demanded. Nearly their whole force was required to resist the allied attacks, and when these stopped exhausted the Germans had nowhere immediately available fresh units strong enough to be hurled in for an instant counterstroke. The counterstrokes were made, but only after the lapse of days or weeks in which the Allies had repaired their losses in men and improved the defensive arrangements in the new positions. Late in September several divisions arrived in France from Russia, and it is probable that this reinforcement numbered somewhere near 125,000 men.

On Oct. 3 the British front was attacked between La Bassée Canal and the town of Loos, which had been captured the week before. In the salient near Cité St. Elie the defense held well, but further north at the Hohenzollern redoubt the British were forced out of most of the works. On Oct. 8 the Germans after a five-hour bombardment with explosive shells launched strong infantry attacks in four waves, which were torn to pieces by the French and British guns. Only small and temporary advantages were gained, and nearly 9,000 dead were left in front of the British trenches, against which the finest German infantry had been marched shoulder to shoulder. Unquestionably the German commanders blundered badly here, for in result this battle amounted to no more than a demonstration, but the price paid was far too high for such a purpose. The artillery preparation had been entirely inadequate, notwithstanding that on all sides the war had taught the lesson that without most thorough artillery preparation no frontal attack on a prepared position can be expected to win.

The Germans seem to have learned this lesson more slowly than the Allies. Over and over again they have acted as though no economy were worth while in the use of their magnificently trained infantry. They appear often to overestimate the effect of a bombardment of a few hours which has really only begun to pave the way for a frontal attack.

Fierce Fighting Around Hulluch

On Oct. 13 the British sent a great cloud of poison gas (white on top, mottled red and green below) over the German front between the Hohenzollern redoubt and Hulluch. Then when the heavy guns had pounded the front the infantry attacked. Southwest of Hulluch German trenches on a front of 1,000 yards were taken, but as the German artiller-

ists had the range to a foot the positions could not be held. Between the redoubt and Cité St. Elie parts of a heavily fortified quarry were captured. At the great redoubt the main British attacks were directed, and in the face of a terrific cross-fire a division of Territorial troops fought their way into the two great communicating trenches known as the Big Willie and the Little Willie, where for three days close hand-to-hand fighting largely with bombs followed. Here Captain C. G. Vickers (of the Sherwood Foresters) won the Victoria Cross by most exceptional bravery. When only two of his men were left to hand him bombs he held a barrier for hours and ordered a new barrier completed behind him to insure the holding of the trench against attacks pressing in on three sides. Even such gallantry and enormous losses sufficed only to win part of the great redoubt, which was found to be a marvel of intricate defensive fortification in the hands of defenders of the greatest courage and resolution.

On Oct. 19 the Germans repeated their attacks between the Quarries and Hulluch as well as in the Hohenzollern redoubt. Only heavy losses resulted. The British losses on the western front from Sept. 25 to Oct. 18 were 59,666, of whom 11,000 were killed, including 773 officers.

In Champagne on Oct. 6 the French made a great attack upon one of the key positions, that at the Butte de Tahure, just north of the ruined village of the same name. It is noticeable that in this area the German engineers had most skillfully located the wire entanglements and other defenses just under the hill-crests on the reverse or northern sides, where the French gunners could get no direct observations. After a heavy bombardment by massed guns the Picardy Division captured the top of the Butte, and so gained the rear of the village, where the Germans still occupied strong positions among the rubbish heaps. This day's success marked the culmination of French progress in the campaign in Champagne in the Autumn of 1915.

On the same day the French Moroccan infantry made a little progress north of the Navarin Farm, but was checked by a storm of machine-gun fire. German counterattacks on Oct. 8 at both Navarin Farm and Tahure failed, but on the 19th General von Heeringen made a very threatening attack further to the west in the Rheims sector. After shelling and gassing the French positions for many hours, four lines of German infantry advanced, with intervals of 300 yards. Only the fourth line survived to reach the French trenches, from which French reinforcements expelled them later in the day. On the 20th renewed attacks further west, near the village of Prunay, were all defeated. At one point in front of the wire entanglements 1,600 German dead were counted, all from one regiment.

On Oct. 24 the French captured La Courtine, a typical German field fort near Le Mesnil, and held it against numerous counterattacks. On Oct. 30, having been strongly reinforced from the Russian front, the Germans again counterattacked on a front of four miles. They failed to recapture La Courtine, but stormed the Butte de Tahure. In the north, in Artois, d'Urbal's Tenth Army fought daily on Vimy Ridge, but no great single actions occurred. The Médaille Militaire was won by a feat of extraordinary courage by two Breton soldiers, Privates Manduit and Cadoret, who were blown up in a sap by a countermine; after three days of molelike burrowing they got back to the French lines.

Bulgaria Joins the Germans

While German armies were winning Western Russia in the Summer of 1915, and while the allied attacks in France were going on in the early Autumn, German diplomats were secretly scoring a notable victory in the Balkans. Bulgaria, the most warlike of the three small kingdoms—Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania—which separated the Teutons from Turkey, was won to the side of the Central Powers, and about Sept. 20 a treaty was signed between Bulgaria and Turkey. About the same day Field Marshal von Mackensen, Germany's ablest soldier, appeared at the head of a new German army—which included at least one Austrian corps—opposite Belgrade, the Serbian capital, on the Danube. The Bulgarian, Serb, and Greek armies were

CHINA'S NEW PRESIDENT

General Feng Kue-chang, former Vice President, assumed the office of President after defeating Chang Hsun and preventing the restoration of the empire under the Manchu dynasty

(Photo Bain News Service)

VAJIRAVUDH, KING OF SIAM

The young monarch, who is 36 years of age, has brought his country into the war on the side of the Allies. About 19,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping in Siamese ports have been seized

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

all mobilized, and the Serbs were anxious to attack Bulgaria without waiting for a declaration of war. England persuaded them to wait, still believing that Bulgaria could be kept neutral, if not won to the allied side. This cost Serbia whatever advantage might have been gained by the initiative. On Oct. 4 diplomatic relations with Russia were severed in consequence of an ultimatum which demanded that Bulgaria should definitely break with the Central Powers. The next day every village in Bulgaria was circularized with a Government pamphlet stating the case against the Allies as follows: Russia was in the war to get Constantinople and the Dardanelles; France for Alsace-Lorraine; England to ruin Germany; Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro for plunder. Also the Allies had offered too little for Bulgarian help on their side. Inferentially the German price was much higher.

Early in October, disregarding a Greek protest, French and British divisions were landed at Saloniki for the purpose of helping Serbia to resist the threatened invasion and to prevent any possible lapse of the Greeks toward the Teuton side. On Oct. 7 von Mackensen forced the river frontiers of Northern Serbia, and on the 9th captured Belgrade. Two Bulgarian armies were on the eastern frontier, and Turkish troops were moving up from the southeast. On Oct. 11 Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, and four days later England declared war on Bulgaria.

Barrage Fire in Modern Warfare

A barrage fire, such as that used by the British with wonderful precision and effectiveness in the recent offensive in Flanders, is one of the most remarkable developments of the great war. Dictionaries of a few years ago say a barrage is a dam or barrier, and that is just what it is in battle tactics. In general terms, barrage fire is the systematic advance, in front of charging infantry, of a curtain of exploding shells fired from guns to the rear of the line. Although modifications of the system were used even by Napoleon, it never has been possible to develop it to scientific exactness until the present conflict.

Barrage fire does not start until the so-called artillery preparation is complete. In the preparation guns of practically every size take part. For the barrage a certain uniformity of calibre is essential. A series of batteries, say of eight-inch howitzers, is arranged upon a more or less straight line, usually close behind the division or army corps that is to go forward. The gunners never see their targets, their fire being directed entirely by telephone, telegraph, or airplane.

At the time designated for the charge these guns are elevated. They must drop a steady line of shells just far enough ahead of the charging troops to prevent any effective counterthrust on the part of the enemy. Usually the shells fall only a few hundred feet ahead of the charging line. When this is the case the fire is known as "creeping barrage." Constant correction of the range is necessary, as shells too close may endanger their own men and too far away may allow play for the machine guns, which creep out of their dugouts at short notice, wreak havoc, and then crawl back underground before field artillery can be brought to play upon them. Only precision of observation, perfect ammunition supply, and absolute sympathy between the movements of the attacking line and the heavy guns can render the creeping barrage effective. But when these are attained it is the dominating and irresistible feature of a modern battle.

Berlin After Three Years of War

Observations of a University Professor

[This article was written in June, 1917, for The London Times by F. Sefton Delmer, for thirteen years English Lecturer at Berlin University. The introductory portion appeared in the August issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, Pages 324-327.]

THE traffic in the London streets, too, is a surprise to me. I find them pulsing with life compared with corresponding thoroughfares in Berlin. The Leipziger and Friedrich Strassen are still, it is true, fairly animated, but in the rest of the city a baby could wander about at no great risk to life and limb. Private carriages and motor cars have long since disappeared from the streets, and the riding tracks through the alleys of the Tiergarten are untrodden. Here there seems to be no lack either of taxicabs or chauffeurs.

In Berlin it is practically impossible to get such a vehicle. I have known men leave their comfortable flats in the Tiergarten quarter to live in hotels in the city in order to be close to their work, as an auto or droshky is never to be had. The fine military cars one occasionally sees in Berlin are said to have been part of the cargo of the captured Yarrowdale. Berlin is, too, almost without horses. All available horses were called in long ago for military and, where they can be spared, for agricultural purposes. The horses now seen in public vehicles, droshkies, omnibuses, &c., excite one's pity. They are mere bags of bone, and I have seen them greedily eat potato peelings from the hand of some kind-hearted child or woman in the streets. One hears, too, of special horse diseases brought about by lack of proper fodder.

This lack of horses leads to all sorts of difficulties of transport and makes itself felt in a thousand ways.

Landlords provide tenants each week with ration tickets.

The method of distribution of these tickets is very simple. The landlord or the caretaker (Portierfrau) of each house makes out on a printed form provided for the purpose a list of the families in the various flats, stating the number of persons in each. This list is handed in to the Brotkommission—District Bread Ticket Distribution Committee—which has its office in a classroom of one of the big municipal schools. There are many such officers spread over Greater Berlin, so that no one has to go far to reach one. This committee then gives the exact number of tickets required to the Portierfrau, who distributes them to the various families in the house and gets a printed receipt for them. One gets quite a sheaf of such tickets, of all colors and sizes, handed in at the door once a month.

For each of the following commodities there is a separate card: Bread, (3½ pounds a week;) meat, (1 pound a week;) butter, (1¾ ounces,) and margarine, (1 ounce a week;) eggs, (during the Winter one a fortnight, now three a fortnight;) potatoes, (5 pounds a week;) sugar, (¾ pound a fortnight;) milk, varies according to age, but is only allowed to children up to the age of six years and to invalids in cases where a committee of doctors decides that it is absolutely necessary.

There is an extra ticket called the Lebensmittelkarte, which enables the holder to buy certain quantities of oatmeal, barley, semolina, jam, canned vegetables, herrings, soup tablets, &c. Readers must not suppose, however, that all these good things on the grocery ticket are handed out at once. Each week a proclamation is posted up on the advertisement pillars at the street corners making known that, say, 3½ ounces or sometimes even 7 ounces of barley, or 7 ounces of oatmeal, or 3½ ounces of semolina, or, perhaps, if it is a good week, 7 ounces of barley and 3½ ounces of semolina will be distributed as his weekly portion to each person applying in time. Every week brings one at least of these extras with it, and on rare occasions—three times during the

whole Winter—there was 1 pound of so-called jam allotted to each person.

The chief ingredients of this jam were mangolds and beetroot, sweetened with saccharin. It was not altogether a tasty concoction, and the German soldiers at the front, who get practically nothing but this eternal "marmelade," as the Germans call jam, to put on their bread, are said to make it the butt of the doggerel in which they are so fond of indulging. Of canned vegetables there was only one distribution during the past Winter—it was in March, and they gave us 2 pounds each. The number of herrings distributed during the last six months was one to each person on three separate occasions, and they cost about 6 pence each. Fresh vegetables—when they are to be had—can be bought without cards. Brussels sprouts and spinach were obtainable during part of the Winter, but cost as much as 3 shillings a pound.

We could sometimes get a head of coarse white cabbage from some hiding place under the counter in the greengrocer's shop; such a cabbage cost 2 shillings. Horse carrots were greatly in demand at 8 pence a pound. Mangold-wurzels, obtainable on the potato card, cost only ¾ penny a pound. For my part, I never want to see another mangold-wurzel as long as I live, much less to have to make my dinner off one, as my family and I not seldom had to do. In spite of the unappetizing quality of this "vegetable," I have seen long queues of people standing for an hour at a time at the Wittenburg Platz market when a lorry happened to draw up laden with these roots, often in a half-frozen state. No one knew beforehand when or at what shops wares were expected to arrive, so it was a matter of luck if you happened to get to the right shop at the right time, and it was amusing to notice the interest with which people peered into one another's baskets in the streets in order to get hints as to where there was something to be had.

In the days when potatoes were so rare, about Christmas time, trailing groups of people armed with potato nets could be seen running as fast as their legs would carry them from one shop to another. After they had been standing, perhaps, for an hour at one place, the ominous placard with "Kartoffeln ausverkauft" ("Potatoes sold out") would appear in the shop window. The door would be locked, and off the whole band would scour to the next shop that rumor credited with potatoes. At the present time, however, these queues have in most cases been rendered superfluous by the introduction of customers' lists. One can, for instance, only obtain meat at that particular butcher's shop where one has had one's ticket stamped and one's ticket number registered. The meat tickets are, of course, good for the same amount of meat at a restaurant, too. There is in Berlin no such possibility as there is in London, where a greedy and unpatriotic individual, having consumed his one-and-threepence worth of luncheon at one restaurant, may go next door and have another one-and-threepence worth.

The prices of the rationed articles have been fixed fairly low. The loaf of rye bread for the week costs, for instance, 7½ pence; the wheaten loaf, 8 pence; butter is a little over 3 shillings a pound; margarine, 2 shillings a pound; sugar costs 4½ pence a pound; eggs are now 4 pence each. The price of meat—and such meat!—varies according to the cut from 2 shillings to 2 shillings 9 pence a pound. Ham, bacon, and sausage of the better kinds are no longer to be seen in any of the shops, but occasionally an enterprising tradesman will manage to get a small quantity of bacon or butter through from Holland or Poland, and he sells it secretly, independently of the ration tickets. He gets as much as 12 shillings a pound for the bacon and 8 shillings a pound for butter. Swiss cheese is the only cheese that has been seen in the Berlin shops since September last.

The Public Kitchens

Several of the big market halls that had been put out of action by the war have been refitted by the municipalities to serve as soup kitchens; it has involved an expenditure of something like 2,000,000 marks, (£100,000 at pre-war rates,) if I can trust my memory. In these immense central kitchens the food is cooked

in huge boilers, made for the purpose, the vegetables being washed and peeled by machinery. From here lorries bring the thousands of gallons of suppe (hot-pot) in airtight caldrons to the distributing centres. These centres are generally located in the gymnastic halls (turnhallen) of the big Government schools.

The heavy work of transport is done for the most part by convicts serving sentences of hard labor, the driver alone being a Government official. The soup is then dealt out by women who volunteer for the work. A characteristic labor-saving detail is that the ladles these women use are especially made to contain one litre, (almost a quart,) this being the maximum portion allowed to each person.

The public kitchens are run by the various Town Councils of Greater Berlin, which have the best opportunities of obtaining the necessary raw materials from the supplies already requisitioned by the State with the minimum of intervention by the profiteering middleman.

During the Winter there were times when my family and I found it practically impossible to get along without having recourse to the public kitchens—I mean at periods when there were absolutely no fish, no eggs, no potatoes, and no vegetables to be had, and only half a pound of meat per person per week. The middle and professional classes rather hung back at first, and it was amusing to see how people we knew followed suit once they found us "proud English" unblushingly lining up with our enamel pot in a tea basket.

Mangold-Wurzel Mixture

The one-course bill of fare of the midday meal is chalked up in its daily variations on a blackboard in a prominent place at the entrance to the kitchen. The meal provided consists of a kind of thick soup that we should call hot-pot. This hot-pot would one day contain nudeln, a German variation of macaroni. It would have been very good if it had not generally been musty; it was always welcomed with delight on account of its filling properties. Next day there would be mangold-wurzels, cut into small cubes and boiled in water thickened with barley or oatmeal. This dish was generally greeted with satirical remarks.

Another day there would be stockfish, the most unappetizing dried salt fish imaginable, boiled to shreds and thickened with potatoes. I have often seen this fish in the back streets of Genoa, but never thought that I should eat it. It excited no enthusiasm among the hungry Berliners. But when on another day sauerkraut (shredded cabbage that has been allowed to ferment in brine) appeared on the notice board their faces were wreathed in smiles. On Sundays there is generally two inches of sausage in addition to the quart of hot-pot allowed to each person. On New Year's Day, 1917, we were even treated to rice and prunes.

During the time of strike unrest the menu grew perceptibly better, and pea soup once more appeared, but soon afterward mangold-wurzels (woe to me!) came into their own again. We paid fivepence a quart, which was a fair average price. This hot-pot was sometimes fairly good, and it was always infinitely better than the food provided at Ruhleben while I was there; but, as a rule, had we not been really hungry, we could not have eaten it at all.

No food can be got from such kitchens unless a person has registered as a customer at latest by the Thursday for the coming week, and he must register for a whole week at a time. This involves the sacrifice of three pounds out of the five pounds of his potato ticket for the week and seven-tenths of his meat ticket, (the whole ticket throughout the Winter being only for one-half pound.) Through this method of registration the purveyors are enabled to estimate almost to a ladleful the amount of food required at each centre.

Middle-class families always sent a servant girl to fetch the food and consumed it at home, as did the poorer people also for the most part, but young people in situations who preferred to eat their dinners at the public kitchen could do so at tables provided for that purpose. The table appointments were of the plainest, but clean.

Were the people satisfied with this arrangement? There is no doubt that it would have been a great deal more popular had the people not been obliged to give up such a large proportion of their meat and potato tickets. They were, on the whole, very chary of criticism, being apparently afraid to find fault too openly with food provided by such an official body as the Berliner Magistrat, which corresponds to the London County Council.

To keep these public kitchens up to even a moderate standard of efficiency the municipalities have had to encroach upon the food supplies reserved for the army. The military commissariat has even been forced by the stern protests of the municipalities—who feared that the patience of the people at home was being tried to the breaking point—to give up quantities, not large it is true, of rice, peas, and beans that had been long since requisitioned for the officers and soldiers. The officers are said to have particularly good fare, and they certainly always look well fed. If any one is starving the women and children of Germany it is the German Army.

Oils of all sorts are practically unobtainable. I heard of a Berlin lady only a few weeks ago who gave 200 marks (£10) for ten pounds of ordinary salad oil, and thought herself lucky to get it. Paraffin may not be sold in the shops between April 1 and Sept. 30. Methylated spirits can be obtained only by people in special trades who have a permit. Ammonia, boracic acid, vaseline, and glycerine have disappeared from the shops, and one has almost forgotten that such a thing as benzine ever existed. Turpentine came to an end long ago. How the painters still contrive to paint the houses is beyond me, but somehow they manage it.

Misleading Tone of Reports

Every afternoon, day after day, I went across the street to the police station, where on a notice board was hung out the day's military report from headquarters. It was posted up punctually at 3:30 every day. Month after month I watched the reports to see the progress our men were making, and I had to learn to read between the lines and to force myself to disbelieve, not the details of the report, but its misleading tone. Little groups of passersby would gather around the notice board and after a while again dissolve. The impression, I could tell, left on their minds was a negative but hopeful one—Germany at bay and her foes uselessly battering themselves to pieces in hopeless onslaughts.

All their hopes of going forward into France have long since vanished. "This time we intend to destruct France," a German officer said to his English wife in my hearing at the beginning of the war. The word still rings in my ears. "We intend to destruct France!" And now! So modest have these Germans grown that merely to hold out against attacks is greeted as victory. In silence they read the report and in silence they turn and walk away.

Now and again an individual will point to some telling sentence tucked away in the middle of the report—a village, a trench left to the enemy because it was no longer of any value—and his face will betray an almost imperceptible note of distrust, but he will say nothing. The womenfolk in the queues are more outspoken, and one used often to hear them say, "Wir siegen fortwährend, doch kommen wir immer weiter zurück"—"We have nothing but victories, and yet we always get further back."

Life in Denmark's Lost Province

By Gudrun Randrup Toksvig

[Translated from the Danish for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by the author]

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, the Danish province captured by Germany and Austria in the war with Denmark in 1870, is the Alsace-Lorraine of Denmark. Sönderjylland or South Jutland is the Danish name for this province. Officially, there is no South Jutland, of course. A story is told of a Danish girl who, from habit, addressed a letter going to the province of Schleswig-Holstein as going to South Jutland. Her letter was returned to her with the following inscription: "Sönderjylland unbekannt in Deutschland." (South Jutland unknown in Germany.)

The people are still pathetically loyal to Denmark in spite of Germany's efforts to Germanize the province by forbidding the teaching of the Danish language in the schools, and frowning upon the official use of that tongue in general. Nevertheless, Danish is secretly taught to the children in the homes. There is hardly a South Jutland youth who cannot speak his old mother tongue. South Jutland Danes may be said to be more Danish than the Danes themselves. It must be said that this only holds true in North Schleswig-Holstein, since the southern part of the province is completely Germanized, and, in fact, this section has never been Danish in custom or language.

The lost province is so dear to the Danish people that news from there is published as an inseparable part of the newspapers in Denmark. The death and casualty lists of South Jutlanders pressed into German military service are faithfully published even in Danish-American papers. Den Danske Pioneer is one of the leading Danish newspapers published in the United States. The Pioneer has a special department entitled, "Fra hinsides Graensen," (across the border there,) which is devoted to news from the former Danish province of Schleswig-Holstein. It is from this department that the following items and stories have been selected and translated:

An Officer's Daring Escape

A Russian officer recently fled across the border into Denmark at a point south of Vamdrup, (a small Danish town very near the German frontier.) His escape from a German military prison camp sounds very Baron Munchhauseny. He had been taken prisoner by the Germans in one of the big battles on the eastern front. After some time he was put to work as a sort of postmaster in a camp of Russian war prisoners in East Prussia. His excellent knowledge of German and Russian made him valuable in this capacity. One fine day the Lieutenant got hold of a German passport. Luck was with the stout-hearted, for the "postmaster" saw his chance to steal a German uniform. Thus equipped, he went by train through East Prussia and clear through Germany until he reached one of the nearest border stations, where he got out of the train. Under cover of the friendly night he crossed the border safely. The next morning he reached the Danish city of Kolding, (a city of 14,000 inhabitants about nine miles from the frontier.) He went up to the City Hall and reported the details of his escape with the request to be sent back to Russia.

New German Delicacies

A South Jutland newspaper mentions two new German war dishes said to be rare delicacies: boiled nettle leaves and tea brewed from cowslip blossoms.

Burial Shrouds of Paper

The Kieler Zeitung says: "The custom "of burying the dead in their valuable "clothes is the means of great loss of "much good cloth. The loss of such "cloth is now irreparable because of the "war. For the public good, before which "the individual must bow, it is necessary

"to break this old custom. It should be "taken under consideration that the dead "should be clothed in burial shrouds "made of paper, and should be covered "with a sheet of similar material. Pil-"lowslips could likewise be made of "paper. In view of existing conditions, "it seems unsuitable to clothe the dead "with shoes and stockings."

Fines for Thistles

The population in the district of Hadersleben (about ten miles from the border) have been ordered to destroy thistles in the pastures, by the roadsides, in the garden, in the woods, and in the cultivated fields, either by cutting them or knocking them down. Neglect of this order will bring on a maximum fine of 150 marks, or about $35.

Fate of Historic Bells

The German military authorities in South Jutland have seized a goodly number of the country's old church bells. The metal is to be used for military purposes. These church bells often have peculiar old inscriptions. For this reason Nis Nissen, a member of the Landsthing or Danish Upper House, appeals to the readers of a South Jutland newspaper to copy accurately the words and numerals engraved on the venerable bells, so that at least something may be preserved of these historic relics.

Nis Nissen mentions among others the oldest bell in Norburg, a city on the island of Alsen, thirty-five miles north of Kiel. It hangs in Tundtoft Church and bears the following Latin inscription, translated into Danish: "When Christian the "Fourth was King, Statholder, (Imperial "Chancellor,) Jacob Ulfeld church di-"rector, Johannes Mikkelsen church pa-"tron, Pastor Johannes Monrad dean, "and M. Johannes Monrad rector in "Tundtoft, in the year of our Lord 1620, "Melchior Lucas made (cast) me."

The youngest and also the largest bell in Norburg, now become a sacrifice to the war, has the following Danish inscription at the top: "Johan David Kriesche cast "this bell." On one side: "Cast at "Eckernforde (about fifteen miles north "of Kiel) Anno Domini 1777, when "Counselor of Justice Johan Christian "Anders was church inspector and Hol-"ger Fangel rector." On the opposite side: "Psalms, 95, 6: 'O, come, let us "worship and bow down: Let us kneel "before the Lord, our Maker.'"

A foreign firm has made an offer to the board of church directors to take the big bell down intact for the sum of 100 marks, or about $23. This offer has not been accepted by the German authorities. The bell will be broken to pieces in the tower and brought down in small sections.

It is with a sorrowful heart that every Dane must see this sacrifice laid on the altar of war. The venerable bells of South Jutland that have rung in so many centuries are not only historical antiquities, they are witnesses also—stones that speak.

Prayers for German Harvest

The official organ of the Kiel Consistory says:

"Since harvest prayer services have "been held in all churches throughout "the land for the past two years of the "war at the instigation of Die Deutsche "Evangelische Kirche Ausschuss, (the "German Evangelical Church Commit-"tee,) this year we also appeal to the "honored clergy to call upon God's bless-"ing for a bountiful harvest in these "hard times of war. The experiences of "the last years of the war have con-"stantly brought home to us what sig-"nificance a good harvest has for a suc-"cessful and victorious termination of "the war. We therefore ordain that our "national church shall touch upon the "great national importance which this "year's harvest will have for our people. "At the same time, we request the min-"isters to pray for a rich harvest in the "church prayer every Sunday until har-"vest time."

$640,000,000 for American Aviation Corps

PRESIDENT WILSON on July 24 signed the war aircraft bill appropriating $640,000,000, a sum greatly in excess of the combined army and naval expenditures of previous years and larger than any sum for a single project ever voted by any Congress. With these funds it is hoped that the United States will be able to fill the air along the western front in Europe with thousands of aviators and military airplanes. The aviation corps is ultimately to consist of about 100,000 men with about 22,000 airplanes.

As soon as the bill was signed Howard Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Production Board, stated that the board was prepared to go ahead at once, but results should not be expected too soon. He added:

Under ordinary conditions at least a year would be required for the industrial preparation which this program demands. Yet we have no such length of time in which to perform the task now.

In every other country there is a shortage of materials for aircraft construction. In every other country there is a shortage of the type of men required for the air service. In spite of our previous inexperience in quantity production of fighting planes, we must have thousands of them for next year's use to make the contribution which the Allies expect of us.

The design and construction of jigs, tools, and gauges will require weeks, and even months, no matter how rapidly we work. It must be remembered, therefore, that a few months will necessarily elapse before the outward results of our industrial effort will show in the shape of quantities of finished fighting machines.

Most gratifying progress on the preliminary organization has been made during the last few weeks. If it progresses in the future at the stride that has been developed there need be no fear as to America's position in the aircraft field by next Summer.

The difficulties which apply to the production of high-powered machines for fighting and bombing purposes fortunately do not apply with equal force to the training program. Within a comparatively short time we shall have enough of the type required for training the thousands of men who will constitute a contribution to the winning of the war equal in importance to the production of machines.

America is the last great reservoir of material for war pilots as well as for airplanes. Already three of the twenty-four big new training fields are completed and instruction on them has begun. Others are being rushed to completion. Orders for training machines were placed weeks ago, and shipments of the first output already have been made. The output of this most necessary type will continue to increase rapidly, as we already have plants experienced in their manufacture.

In considering the size of the appropriation it must be borne in mind that less than half this amount is to be expended in the purchase of airplanes alone. Personnel, training, equipment, overseas maintenance, spare parts, flying stations, armament, and scientific apparatus, all are to be provided for, and are equally as important as the manufacture of the machines. One hundred and ten thousand officers and enlisted men—an army of the air greater than our standing army of a few months ago—will be needed.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task before the Aircraft Production Board may be gathered from the statement on British progress in manufacturing warplanes made on July 12 by Dr. Christopher Addison, who was then Minister of Munitions and who has since been appointed Minister in charge of reconstruction. Since January, 1917, when the Munitions Ministry became responsible to the British Flying Services for supply, the program had been steadily and largely increased; and it was still expanding. Dr. Addison added:

No fewer than 1,000 factories are engaged on some process or other connected with the construction and equipment of the flying machine. If for the purposes of comparison you put the number of airplanes produced in May, 1916, at 100, then in May of this year the number rose to rather more than 300. Even this rate of increase is being accelerated. The output in December will be twice what it was in April, and the December total will be far surpassed in succeeding months. The number of airplane engines turned out monthly has been more than doubled this year already and this total will be doubled again before the close of the year.

What these figures involve in organization will perhaps be appreciated when it is stated that a single cylinder of the rotary engine involves forty-eight different operations in its manufacture. As for spare parts, an enormous number has to be manufactured, as, owing to the fragility of the machine, its parts require frequent renewal and "spares" must be ready to hand whenever and wherever wanted.

A growing number of workers is employed in the airplane factories, the increase in the last five months being 25 per cent. on the previous total. Along with this the replacement of skilled workers by women has gone on, the dilution having risen from 19 per cent. to 37 per cent. To meet the demand for labor special schools have been started all over the country, where a training of about two months qualifies a pupil to carry out some simple process in airplane manufacture. About 100 qualified workers are supplied each week under this system.

Yet the demand is not satisfied. More and more women are wanted, both in London and in the provinces; and women of good education and good physique can render the nation no better service at the present time than by undergoing the training which is offered in these schools.

The Ministry of Munitions has had special difficulties to overcome to reach the present degree of output and efficiency. The technical development of the airplane has presented peculiar problems. New types are continually being evolved. Those responsible for the manufacture of our flying machines have always had to allow for a new invention coming along and revolutionizing all their projects. Speed, climbing power, armament, have continually increased and improved since the outbreak of the war. An engine that can develop up to 350 horse power, for example, and a single-seater scout able to travel at 150 miles per hour are built on very different lines from their prototypes of August, 1914. Where there is no finality there is a limit to standardization, except in small details, and the problem of supervising the manufacture of our airplanes is correspondingly complicated.

The variety of materials used in airplane construction, again, has been a great source of anxiety to the Ministry. Linen, timber, chemicals for tightening the fabric of wings, alloy steel, light alloys, thin tubes are among the essential requirements of the industry. Even if these were wanted in normal quantities, there would be difficulty in getting enough in view of other necessities. But the needs of the airplane program are enormous, almost passing belief.

For our present program of construction more spruce is wanted than the present annual output of the United States, more mahogany than Honduras can supply—and Honduras is accustomed to supply the requirements of the world. Besides this, all the linen of the type required made in Ireland, the home of the linen industry, and the whole of the alloyed steel that England can produce can be used. As for flax, to meet the needs of the air service the Government has actually to provide the seed from which to grow the plant essential for its purposes. Still, despite the magnitude of the demands, all the needs of airplane manufacture will be met. The program before the Ministry of Munitions is that of a maximum production.

In Germany the Zeppelin has been practically discarded and all energies are being directed to an enormously increased production of airplanes, with the object of taking up the Allies' challenge for the supremacy of the air.

Some Historic Airplane Raids

Recent Attacks on London and Paris, and the Advent of Giant Machines in Aerial Warfare

AIR raids on a large scale were made in July and August by German, British, French, and Italian aviators. Harwich, a seaport town on the east coast of England, was visited on July 4, 1917, by twelve or more German air raiders who dropped bombs, killing eleven persons and injuring thirty-six others. It was a misty morning, and the machines could be distinguished only at intervals when they appeared from behind cloud banks. Bombs were dropped in rapid succession. British airmen intercepted the Germans and broke up their formation, causing them to return toward the sea. Their retreat was marked by a series of duels with British aviators. Two of the enemy machines were brought down ablaze and a third was damaged.

Greatest Raid on London

The greatest air raid on London up to the present writing was made by twenty-two German airplanes on the morning of July 7, 1917. The total number of persons killed in the metropolitan area and the Isle of Thanet was 43; injured, 197. The raiding machines were of the new Gotha type, which is about three times the size of the single-seated machine. Three of the airplanes which took part in the attack were brought down at sea on the return trip. British airmen at Dunkirk prepared to intercept them, but they took a more northerly route. The Dunkirk fliers, in the course of their patrol, brought down seven machines of another German squadron.

The battle in the air was an engrossing spectacle. Despite official appeals to the population to take cover in case of another raid, millions saw some part of it and hundreds of thousands watched it in all its phases. The raiders were plainly visible during most of the time. Their arrival was favored by a thick Summer haze, which assisted them in their manoeuvres over the metropolis. Their plan of action had evidently been worked out to the smallest details and their formation was maintained throughout. They crossed London from northwest to southeast. Shrapnel was bursting all around them, but they flew, as one spectator put it, like a school of crows following a leader. The simile was inaccurate in respect to color, for the raiders were shimmering white in the sun. A little later their course might have been compared to the flight of swallows, for anti-aircraft guns seemed to get their range as the northern districts of the capital were reached. The machines dived and swerved just as swallows do. At times one or another machine would drop, and many spectators, unversed in the tricks of flying, jumped to the conclusion that one or more planes had been brought down. Experienced airmen understood these "falls" to be what has now, with the advance in flying, become a common device to change the altitude when one position becomes too hot.

London again showed a spirit of phlegmatic endurance. Curiosity to see what was going on was much less general than it had been on the occasion of the June 13 raid. While the earlier phases of the raid attracted crowds to roofs and windows, and even into the streets, a marked disposition to take to cover made itself evident as the firing continued. When the raid reached its height certain usually crowded streets were left empty. The fact that a larger proportion of people took cover than was the case in June was held to explain the smaller casualty list.

Details of Damage Done

Subsequent uncensored reports stated that bombs were dropped in Whitechapel and killed a number of persons. A bomb was dropped in Aldgate near where hay wagons were standing, but it did not explode. From Aldgate the raiders flew

over Fenchurch Street and Mincing Lane, where the tea, coffee, indigo, and spice merchants have their offices. Several persons were injured by bombs there. By this time British aircraft were coming from all directions to repel the invaders, and the anti-aircraft guns on the tall buildings near the Bank of England were also in action. Apparently the raiders were trying to hit the bank, as they had attempted on previous raids, but did not succeed. One of the bombs struck the Swiss Bank, which was full of men and boys, and several were injured.

Five or six of the bombs that fell in Cheapside as the German machines continued their flight toward St. Paul's did not explode. One struck the General Post Office and set part of the building on fire. Another bomb fell into St. Paul's churchyard and destroyed the iron railings on the north side and broke several of the stone monuments. One was dropped on the west side of the cathedral in front of the main entrance, but did not explode. From there the air raiders flew down Ludgate Hill and over Fleet Street, and then made a swing to the northwest as far as Oxford Circus, where more bombs were dropped, without doing much harm. Then they changed their course and turned back to the southeast over St. Giles-in-the-Fields, down to Marconi House, in the Strand, and over Somerset House and the River Thames toward the Kentish coast, flying at great speed and followed by squadrons of British aircraft.

A Defender's Heroic Charge

One of the heroic episodes of the raid was the charge by Second Lieutenant I. E. R. Young, an officer of the Royal Flying Corps. His feat is described in a letter from his Major to his father:

> Your son, as you know, had only been in my squadron for a short time, but quite long enough for me to realize what a very efficient and gallant officer he was. He had absolutely the heart of a lion and was a very good pilot. Your son had been up on every raid of late, and had always managed to get in contact with the enemy machines. The last raid, which unfortunately resulted in his death, shows what a very gallant officer we have lost.
>
> Almost single-handed he flew straight into the middle of the twenty-two machines, and both himself and his observer at once opened fire. All the enemy machines opened fire also, so he was horribly outnumbered. The volume of fire to which he was subjected was too awful for words. To give you a rough idea: There were twenty-two machines, each machine had four guns, and each gun was firing about 400 rounds per minute. Your son never hesitated in the slightest. He flew straight on until, as I should imagine, he must have been riddled with bullets. The machine then put its nose right up in the air and fell over, and went spinning down into the sea from 14,000 feet.
>
> I, unfortunately, had to witness the whole ghastly affair. The machine sank so quickly that it was, I regret, impossible to save your son's body, he was so badly entangled in the wires, &c. H. M. S. —— rushed to the spot as soon as possible, but only arrived in time to pick up your son's observer, who, I regret to state, is also dead. He was wounded six times, and had a double fracture in the skull.

The same afternoon Premier Lloyd George called a special meeting of military and aerial defense experts at Downing Street in connection with the raid. A group of Members of Parliament interested in air questions also held a meeting and decided to press the Government for a definite statement of policy in the matter of reprisals on German towns. Lord Derby, Minister of War, had on June 26, in the House of Lords, stated that the Government had no intention of imitating German brutality, but would confine aerial operations to exclusively military purposes. But the new raid immediately evoked a fresh demand for reprisals on German towns.

Another daylight raid over England was made on the morning of July 22. This time the east coast was visited by about twenty German airplanes, which dropped bombs on Felixstowe and Harwich, killing eleven persons and injuring twenty-six. The property loss was insignificant. An alarm was sounded in London, but before the Germans could reach any point near the city they were attacked heavily by defending squadrons of aircraft, which caused them to retreat. "A patrol of the Royal Flying Corps," said an official statement, "encountered some hostile machines return-

ing to Belgium and brought down one at sea near the coast."

Since the outbreak of the war 366 persons had been killed and 1,092 injured by air raids in the London metropolitan area, according to a statement made by Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, in the House of Commons on July 30. In the same period, he added, 2,412 persons had been killed and 7,863 injured in ordinary street accidents in the same area.

Two Raids on Paris

Paris was attacked by German airmen on the two successive evenings of July 27 and 28. These were the first raids on the French capital since January, 1916. A few minutes before 11 P. M. watchers of the French Aviation Service in Paris heard the noise of a motor and then an explosion, followed after a brief interval by another. The Prefecture of Police was accordingly instructed to give the alarm throughout the city. Soon after the warning the sky over the city was alive with defense airplanes, twinkling like stars, from which they hardly could be distinguished. Firemen dashed through the streets sounding alarms on powerful sirens, and one by one the street lamps flickered out. Bombs were dropped on three different suburban sections. In the first the bombardment caused no damage; in the other two localities five or six bombs were dropped, causing the slight injury of two women. One of the women was struck while in bed and was removed to a hospital; the other was injured by flying glass. At 1:10 A. M. the firemen gave the signal that all danger was over.

The second attack proved wholly futile, the German airmen being dispersed by French sky fighters before they even reached the outskirts of the capital. Somewhere on the front, however, one German flier dropped four bombs on a Red Cross hospital, killing two doctors, a chemist, and a male nurse and injuring several others, including patients. The raider was flying low and the distinguishing marks of the hospital were plainly apparent.

French Raid in Reprisal

In retaliation for German attacks on open French towns eighty-four French airplanes made a series of raids far into Germany on the evening of July 6. The text of the official statement read:

> On the night of July 6 eighty-four machines took to the air in reprisal for bombardments against our open towns. Several of these raids had as their objectives towns situated very far in the interior of the enemy territory.
>
> Eleven of our airplanes flew over Trèves, on which they showered 2,650 kilos of shells. Seven fires broke out, one of great violence in the central station. Six other machines bambarded Ludwigshafen doing considerable damage. Among other buildings, the important Badische aniline factory was devoured by flames.
>
> Another of our airplanes, piloted by Sergeant Gallois, pushed as far as Essen and dropped projectiles on the buildings of the Krupp factory.
>
> Military installations in the environs of Coblenz, the Hirson station, the railroad west of Pfalzburg, and the Thionville station were likewise bombarded.
>
> Another series of operations over the enemy lines gave excellent results. A fire broke out in the station at Dun-sur-Meuse, a munitions depot exploded at Bantheville, the railroad station at Machault, and establishments at Cauroy were burned.
>
> In all 30,455 kilos (about 67,000 pounds) of projectiles were used. Two of our airplanes have not returned.

Bombing the Krupp Works

The exploit of Sergeant Maxime Gallois, who flew 446 miles to bomb the Krupp Works, was told by himself in these words:

> Four of us—Lieutenant Ardisson de Perdiguier, Sergeant Durand, another comrade, and myself—left our base at nightfall Friday, (July 6,) with the intention of reaching Essen. Soon afterward we ran into foggy weather and lost sight of each other. I flew at an altitude of 1,200 meters, and passed over Metz and Thionville, following the course of the River Moselle, which, however, rapidly disappeared in the mist.
>
> The batteries fired at me crossing the Rhine, and as I passed over Metz searchlights played about the sky. At Thionville I heard another airplane near by, but made it out to be Ardisson's. Afterward I was compelled to travel by the aid of the compass, the stars, and the moon.
>
> At Trèves I saw a heavy bombardment, which I calculated was directed at my comrade. Therefore I knew I was traveling in the right direction. I did not see Coblenz. I saw the reflection of the moon

on the Rhine and found Bonn. From there to Düsseldorf there was a regular sea of electricity, which increased as I got further north.

Cologne was a blaze of luminosity, and at Düsseldorf there were all kinds of lights—blue, red, and white. All the time the anti-aircraft guns fired as I passed, and around Cologne the gunners were very accurate in the range.

Leaving there, I saw, like cliffs on the horizon, a brilliant illumination which seemed kilometers in length stretching to the left of Essen, while southward was another long line of lights coming from the factories. Arriving over Essen, I rose to about 2,000 meters. I circled around, searching for a place where the lights from the workshops appeared densest. Then I threw the first bomb. After counting ten I dropped the second, and then the remainder of the ten I carried at similar intervals. I could not tell whether the bombs exploded, but they probably did. It was impossible to distinguish their effect, owing to the flaming furnace chimneys.

My duty done, I turned homeward, not having seen my comrades again. The motor worked with wonderful regularity all the time. I came back exactly the same as I went, and was fired at many times.

I was thoroughly exhausted and was suffering from my eyes, which were affected by the strain and wind, as I had lost both pairs of goggles at the start, and was often obliged to put my head outside in order to see the director. When nearing the base, owing to the darkness I could not tell exactly where I was. I thought possibly I was still over the German lines and decided to continue westward as long as the petrol lasted. I had a few litres left and was driving onward, when suddenly I recognized a prearranged signal and managed to land just at dawn at the same place from which I had departed. The distance covered was 750 kilometers, (about 466½ miles.)

The whole flight lasted seven hours. When Gallois landed on his return he was unable to get out of his machine owing to fatigue and semi-blindness, but after a day's rest he was fully recovered and ready to undertake further expeditions. Thirty-eight years of age, he was serving in the dragoons when the war broke out. He passed a short time in the squadron and was then sent to the hospital where sick horses were cared for. He tried to exchange to the autocannon battery, but was told he was too old. He applied four times for the Aviation Corps unsuccessfully, but was accepted on the fifth application.

The German official report stated that only two bomb holes were found at the Krupp Works, and that six other bombs smashed windows in a village twenty-five miles from Essen. Bombs also were dropped in the villages of Speecher, Ehrang, and Oberemmel, where a child was killed, and on Neunkirchen, where a man was killed; on a suburb of Diedenhofen, where a family of three were killed, and on Trèves, where the Franciscan Monastery was set on fire. One airman who attacked Trèves was brought down near the Saar, it was announced, while another airplane was destroyed and its pilot made prisoner. The report concluded: "For what reason the open and militarily unimportant town of Trèves was bombed is incomprehensible."

British naval airplanes carried out a raid on the night of July 7 on the Ghistelles aerodrome in Belgium. Although heavily attacked by an enemy formation, bombs were successfully dropped on objectives, and all the British machines returned safely.

List of Air Raids

The more important of the organized raids carried out by the Allies and the Germans since May 1 are set out in the following list:

	Allies.	German.
May 1..	Sissonnes Aviation Camp	.....
May 2..	Sissonnes Aviation Camp	.....
May 2..	Béthenville	.....
May 7..	.....	London
May 12..	Zeebrugge	.....
May 23..	Réthel	.....
May 24..	.....	*East Anglia
May 25..	.....	Folkestone
June 1..	Zeebrugge, Ostend, Bruges	.....
June 2..	.....	Dunkirk
June 3..	Zeebrugge, Bruges, and St. Denis Westrem Aerodrome ..	.....
June 3..	Trèves	.....
June 4..	Bruges	.....
June 4..	Colmar Aerodrome	.....
June 5..	.....	Thames Estuary
June 6..	Nieuwmunster Aerodrome	.....
June 9..	St. Denis Westrem.	.....
June 13..	.....	London
June 15..	St. Denis Westrem.	.....
June 17..	.....	*Kent & E. Anglia

	Allies.	German.
June 26..	.....	Nancy
July 2..	Bruges Docks and Lichtervelde Munition Depots	.....
July 3..	Ghistelles and Ostend Aerodromes..	.....
July 4..	.....	Harwich
July 6..	Trèves, Ludwigshafen, Essen, and Coblenz	.....
July 6..	.....	Epernay & Nancy
July 7..	.....	London

*Raids by Zeppelins.

In the series of raids during June and July on Zeebrugge, Ostend, Bruges, St. Denis Westrem, and other places the British machines all returned safely on every occasion, although heavily bombarded by German anti-aircraft guns.

420 Airplanes Lost in July

The following table shows the losses in machines officially reported on the western front from the beginning of May to July 8:

	German.		British.
	Destroyed.	Driven Down Out of Control.	Missing.
May	133	116	90
June	104	90	74
July	14	11	3
Total	251	217	167

Within a period of one week, during June, British official communiqués reported the following German losses: Two Zeppelins destroyed, two seaplanes destroyed, twenty-two airplanes brought down, and twenty-one airplanes driven down out of control. On the other hand, the British losses in the same period amounted to only six airplanes missing. French official reports do not give the number of machines lost, but merely record the damage inflicted on the enemy. How substantial the German losses have been at the hands of the French is proved by the following figures for a recent month:

Machines destroyed	102
Machines seriously damaged.....	109

According to a British official statement, 420 airplanes were lost on the western front in July. This figure is approximate only, owing to variations in the French and German methods of announcing air losses. The month's losses are the third highest of the war and compare with 392 for June, 713 for May, and 717 for April. The July losses were divided among the belligerents as follows: German machines, 291; Allies, 129, of which 89 were British, although this figure probably is incomplete. The British brought down 247 German machines, the French 35, and the Belgians 9.

Italian Raids on Pola.

Early in August the Italians began a series of raids with giant Caproni airplanes against the Austrian naval base at Pola. These were meant to be both reprisals for Austrian raids and military assaults upon the nest of aircraft and warships with which Austria seals the entry to the Gulf of Trieste. Each Caproni airplane carried a crew of four or five men, with an extraordinary cargo of bombs. An eyewitness thus describes the departure:

> The first raid was carried out by thirty-six machines, including fast fighting machines, which escorted the great Caproni bomb-droppers. It was like watching a flotilla of destroyers go to sea as the great machines moved off at four-minute intervals, taking up a perfect alignment against the sky. Motor boats were out to guide them to the Austrian coast, for there was a fog over the sea. Before midnight the squadron was over Pola, manoeuvring amid a tangle of searchlight beams and a hurricane of shots from panic-stricken gunners in the city's defenses. Bombs ranging from 70 to 200 pounds were raining down on the arsenal, dockyard, and anchored ships.
>
> Three waves of airplanes went over, and the first two saw a huge explosion in the arsenal and a great fire start up, either in the arsenal or in the submarine depot. Six and a half tons of bombs were dropped in all, and there would have been more but that the third wave of attackers failed to find purely military targets.
>
> The following night they again returned to the attack. This time a light fog favored the aviators, and eight tons of explosives were deposited where they were likely to do the most damage. The results are described as entirely satisfactory.

The 600 horse power Caproni is a triplane with two fuselages or bodies, and driven by three Fiat or Isotta-Fraschini motors, any one of which has sufficient power to keep the craft aloft even were the others to be disabled. The machine is of both the tractor and pusher type,

for two propellers are mounted in front and one in the rear. The plane carries a so-called useful load of 4,408 pounds, which assures fuel for six hours, together with a crew of three men, three guns, and 2,750 pounds of bombs. It has a speed of close to eighty-five miles an hour and is capable of climbing 3,250 feet in thirten minutes, 6,500 feet in twenty-seven minutes, and 10,000 feet in fifty-seven minutes.

This seems slow in comparison to the Spads, which climb 10,000 feet in five minutes or less; but a Spad is simply a flying motor, with sustaining strength barely sufficient to support the aviator and a gun. The Caproni is as big as a trolley car. Its wing span is more than 100 feet. It stands twenty-one feet in the air and it is nearly fifty feet long.

The only aircraft which compares with it in size is the British Handly-Page machine, which, with two 280 horse power Rolls-Royce motors, carried twenty-seven passengers, and has a wing spread of 98 feet, and the Curtiss and Gallaudet monsters made in this country.

Earlier Raids of Note

Long-distance airplane raids have been made at intervals since the first year of the war, but hitherto they have had to be executed with machines that are dwarfed by the newer constructions. One of the first raids of historic importance was that against Carlsruhe on June 15, 1915. It was conducted by twenty-three twin-motored Caudron machines, in charge of Captain de Kerillis, and dropped close to fifty large bombs on Carlsruhe. Three of the machines did not return—they had to land and were captured, but the damage to Carlsruhe was serious.

In the very first bombardment of Sofia on April 21, 1916, a single aviator started from Saloniki, flew to Sofia, dropped four bombs and proclamations announcing the capture of Trebizond, and returned to Saloniki. This exploit was repeated by single aviators from time to time; then on Sept. 15, 1916, it was repeated by four aviators who left Saloniki at 6:20 and arrived over Sofia at 8:40. They dropped their bombs, many of which were effective, and returned. They had crossed the Balkan Mountains at 6,000 feet without trouble, and had accomplished what an army could not have done. The only limitation was that the airplanes were too few in number to win a decisive victory. In every raid in the Balkans only four or five airplanes participated.

Among the most remarkable long-distance bombing expeditions were the raids on Essen and Munich by Captain de Beauchamp and Lieutenant Dancourt on Sept. 24 and Nov. 18, 1916, which have been repeated since by other aviators. The raid on Ludwigshafen, accomplished on May 27, 1915, in which eighteen airplanes took part, also involved a flight of about 400 miles. It was conducted successfully, and only one airplane was forced to land and submit to capture. Another classic was the bombing raid on the Mauser Works at Oberndorf on Oct. 12, 1916, in which a French bombing squadron and a British bombing squadron participated, escorted by Lafayette Flying Corps fighters. In all these raids the aviators had to fly from five to seven hours continuously under most trying conditions, having to protect themselves with insufficient arms. A night raid in large, well-armed warplanes would be easy in comparison—and much safer.

A German Airman's Story of a Raid on London

Under the signature of "A Participant" the commander of one of the German airplanes which took part in a recent raid on London described his experiences:

THE morning sky is bluer than ever at 9 o'clock, the sun seeming to be laughing at the world. We are getting ready. Our commander addresses a few last words to us, ending with "God

bless you, lads." At 10 o'clock punctually our leader's machine, heavily burdened, rises and heads for London. Our huge birds swarm after him.

Soon the Belgian coast comes in view. To the left we clearly make out the German front lines. Next we are at Nieuport with a wide territory all around inundated. Ostend and Zeebrugge follow. We leave Holland to the right at the mouth of the Scheldt and Vlissingen is just visible. The commander is still flying somewhat ahead, the squadron, in close formation, behind. We can recognize the men in the machine flying nearest us, and signals and greetings are exchanged. A feeling of absolute security and indomitable confidence in our success are our predominant emotions.

Now our leader turns to the left. We are above the sea, the coast lines disappearing gradually. Barographs indicate higher altitudes. The motors are thundering their monotonous song of human power. Now and then the sharp tack-tack of practicing machine guns penetrates even the clamor of winds and the humming motors. In front, but far below us, appears a cloud bank.

Still more distant in a hazy atmosphere is the English coast. We notice our comrades in other machines pointing to the coastline. They nod at each other and seem highly enthusiastic. We pass the cloud bank and in long lines see English sentinel boats stretched behind. Then, in a hazy veil, the mouth of the Thames appears. We approach Sheerness at the left, which town ought to know us.

In a straight line we make for London, and now the first British shots reach our altitude, but that does not matter much. Onward we fly. Soon the bombardment dies away and the squadron closes in, moving higher. We follow the windings of the Thames on the map, and find we are speedily approaching our goal.

But another cloud bank appears. "Damn it all, shall our game be spoiled this time?" I exclaim. I write my fears on a piece of paper and hand it to my pilot, and I see his fist coming down broadside with an oath.

Five minutes pass in anxious suspense, and I look around after the comrade airships. They are still following in close formation. Then we pass that cloud bank, and London's sea of houses stretches in vast expanse far below us.

We now discover the first of the English chasing fliers, but for the present they do not concern us. Suddenly there stand, as if by magic here and there in our course, little clouds of cotton, the greetings of enemy guns. They multiply with astonishing rapidity. We fly through them and leave the suburbs behind us. It is the heart of London that must be hit.

We see the bridges, the Tower of London, Liverpool Station, the Bank of England, the Admiralty's palace—everything sharply outlined in the glaring sunlight. There are ships on the Thames that look like toys. With my glasses in one hand I signal with the other to my pilot. Slowly long rows of streets pass through the small orbit of the glasses.

At last it is time to stop, I give a signal, and in less time than it takes to tell I have pushed the levers and anxiously follow the flight of the released bombs. With a tremendous crash they strike the heart of England. It is a magnificently terrific spectacle seen from midair. Projectiles from hostile batteries are sputtering and exploding beneath and all around us, while below the earth seems rocking and houses are disappearing in craters and conflagrations, in the light of the glaring sun.

In a few moments all is over and the squadron turns. One last look at the panic-stricken metropolis and we are off on our home course. I nod to my pilot, indicating that everything is all right. He answers "likewise." We have gotten somewhat behind the squadron, but soon make up the distance.

Now we are in for a little bout with English chasers. They don't let us wait very long. As we reach the suburbs the first three English fliers suddenly appear in front of us, seeking to block our flight. At a hundred or two hundred meters distance both sides open fire, striving to get at each other's weak spots.

Then from several directions the attacking British planes reach us. They appear from below, then from the right or left or from above. My pilot is watch-

THE BRITISH ARMY ENTERING BAGDAD

Early on the morning of March 11, 1917, the British Army in Mesopotamia entered the ancient City of the Caliphs. During the preveious nights the Turks had beaten a simultaneous retreat upstream on both banks of the Tigris.

(British Official Photo from Central News)

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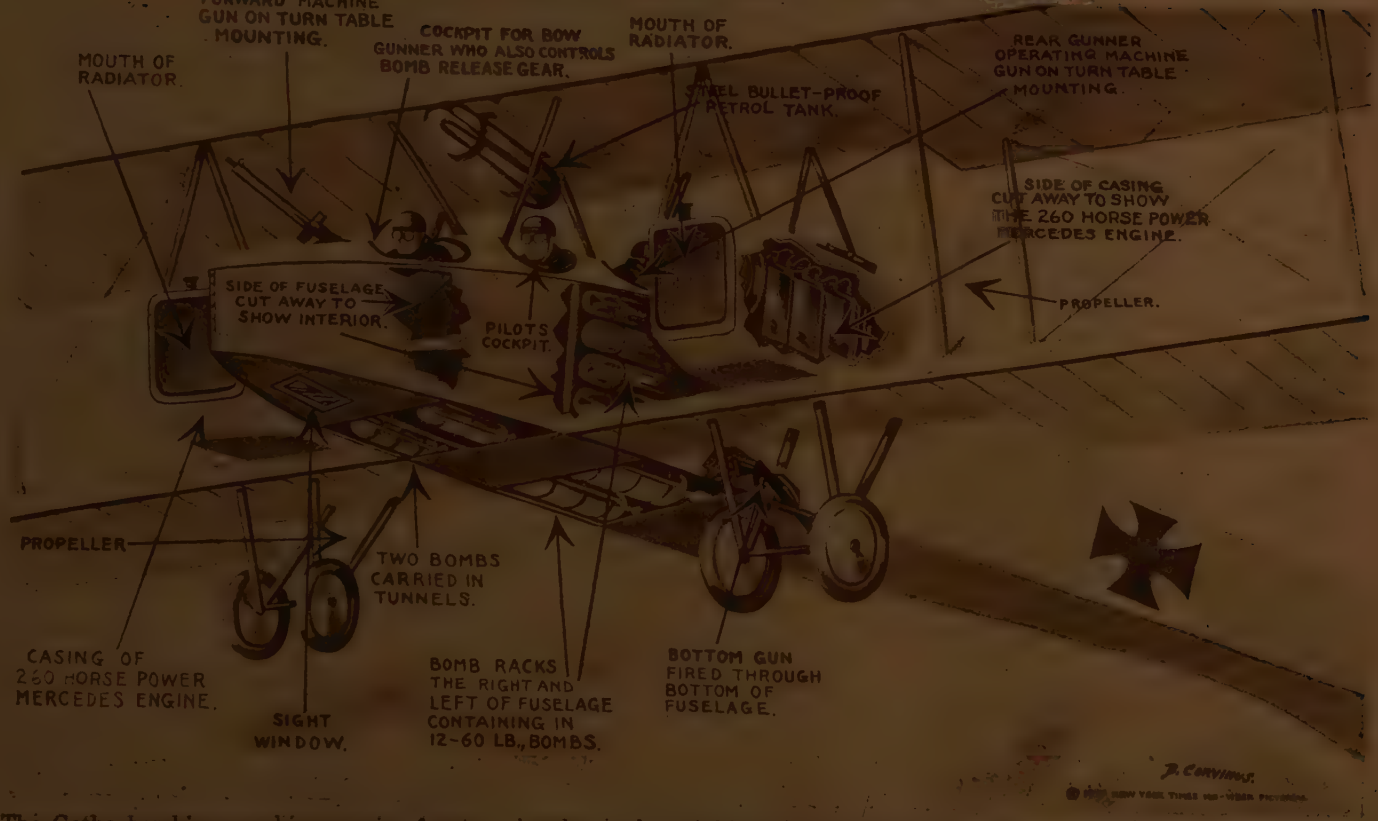
THE NEW GERMAN AIRPLANE FOR BOMBING


FORWARD MACHINE GUN ON TURN TABLE MOUNTING.
COCKPIT FOR BOW GUNNER WHO ALSO CONTROLS BOMB RELEASE GEAR.
MOUTH OF RADIATOR.
MOUTH OF RADIATOR.
STEEL BULLET-PROOF PETROL TANK.
REAR GUNNER OPERATING MACHINE GUN ON TURN TABLE MOUNTING.
SIDE OF CASING CUT AWAY TO SHOW THE 260 HORSE POWER MERCEDES ENGINE.
SIDE OF FUSELAGE CUT AWAY TO SHOW INTERIOR.
PILOTS COCKPIT.
PROPELLER.
PROPELLER
TWO BOMBS CARRIED IN TUNNELS.
CASING OF 260 HORSE POWER MERCEDES ENGINE.
SIGHT WINDOW.
BOMB RACKS THE RIGHT AND LEFT OF FUSELAGE CONTAINING IN 12-60 LB., BOMBS.
BOTTOM GUN FIRED THROUGH BOTTOM OF FUSELAGE.

The Gotha bombing machine carries fourteen bombs, each weighing sixty pounds. It has two engines and is armed with three machine guns. One of these airplanes was brought down during a raid on London, thus enabling the above diagram to be made

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

ing with eagle eyes, while I, with my hand on the gun lever, am not slow to give a tack-tack to the daredevil who exposes himself to my machine. Twice we just evade terrific onslaughts. Two hostile pilots turn and do not come back.

But the third is a brave and tenacious fellow. For ten minutes we fire at each other almost incessantly, my opponent looking for an opening. Suddenly he makes for us and showers his bullets on our machines. I can see or feel that the bullets have struck our planes, but I know I've got him. I send a whole sheaf of fire into his body. His machine rears up in the air like a wounded animal, turns a somersault, and disappears in the depths. This is the first enemy I have defeated over British soil. Three cheers!

Already the British coast is in view again, but more fighting awaits us. This time the English fliers seem to have lost heart. Their attacks are easily beaten off. Our machines reach the coast at length and close up with the rest of the squadron. While reloading my machine gun my pilot discovers a new enemy. By his tactics I recognize him as one of those astute English fliers we encountered at the Somme. Perhaps we had met there. For a short time we fly almost parallel, both preparing to attack. Suddenly he turns sharply to the left and there he is not twenty meters distant. Our machine guns pour lead into each other. Suddenly his gun stops dead. Must have jammed. He turns sharply and tries to fly, but my machine gun catches him squarely on the broadsides, and down he goes. Just twenty seconds of fighting and all is over, old friend of last Summer!

Ear Disturbances Suffered by Aviators

By P. Lacroix, M. D.

[Translated from the Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine de Paris for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

AS a military surgeon I have spent a year in one of our most important schools of aviation. This has enabled me to make a systematic study of the reactions and disturbances of the ear observed in aviators during their flights. I have based this study on questioning and on the otoscopic examination of numerous pilots from the aviation centre at Ambérieu (near Lyons) and also on personal auto-observation during the flights which I have made myself as an observer at altitudes varying from about 1,500 to 6,000 feet.

The ear is both an organ for the maintenance of equilibrium and an organ for hearing. As an organ for maintaining equilibrium, how does the ear behave itself in the aviator during flight? Do the flights produce vertigo? It seems, a priori, that rising in an aeroplane to great altitudes must entail a tendency to vertigo; but this conception does not correspond at all to the reality; on the contrary, one is struck with the rarity of vertigo under such circumstances. As soon as the aeroplane leaves the ground, the fear of dizziness which one was expecting disappears, and is replaced by a feeling of calm stability. When the apparatus, having attained the altitude sought, advances in the air, proceeding at a speed which ordinarily is an average of sixty miles an hour, one believes that he is advancing only with a majestic deliberation. Aside from the impression caused by the spectacle (very beautiful it is) which one has below him—the long, white ribbons of the roads, the diminutive houses, the microscopic living beings, a spectacle truly Lilliputian—there is really the absence of every painful impression, of all dizzy conditions. Personally, although I feel visual dizziness on the balcony of a second story, I have never felt it in an airplane even in the eddy wind, in the spirals, in the rapid descents.

This is easily explained. Vertigo, a malady of the sense of space, may have for its origin a visual condition, or a tactile disturbance, or an affection of

the labyrinth of the ear. In the airplane, the terrestrial guiding marks are too far distant to disturb the visual state. The habitual stability of the apparatus brings with it tactile and labyrinthine stability. It is only when the airplane is taken in a violent eddy wind that the tendency to vertigo may appear. But, in the matter of aviation, the rolling and the pitching, the dangerous "montagnes russes," are already abnormal and are near neighbors to accident.

Let us now consider how the aviator's ear behaves as an organ of hearing during flights. Do the flights provoke deafness?

The disturbances of equilibrium with vertigo are exceptional; but, on the other hand, affections of the hearing — buzzings, deafness—are habitual and practically the rule. The observer who is making his first flight is surprised to hear his ears buzz while the airplane is rising. This buzzing disappears at certain moments and then appears again. Auditory distinctness follows the same alternations. The noise of the motor which was striking the eardrums ceases to be perceived, then reappears. It is in the very high altitudes especially that these disturbances are produced during the ascents and the rapid descents; it is to these phenomena (deafness and intermittent buzzings) that it is fitting to give the name of "reactions of the ear."

These reactions are the rule, but they vary in intensity as well as in duration. An attempt has been made to explain them by the effect of the air set in motion by the propellers, by the noise of the motor. The air, which strikes the face quite vigorously during flight, certainly plays a rôle in this respect. However, the disturbances in question are also dependent in good part on the irregular aeration of the middle ears. The successive atmospheric strata into which the airplane passes do not have the same density, for the barometric pressure decreases as the altitude increases. The air which fills the external auditory canal in a given atmospheric stratum finds itself in a different pressure from that of the air which has been stored up by the middle ear in the preceding atmospheric stratum. To this fact are due the tractions on the eardrum and on the chain of the ossicles [small bones of the ear] and also the buzzings and the deafness; but these cease as soon as an act of swallowing (which opens the Eustachian tube) re-establishes the balance of the pressure on the internal and external surfaces of the eardrum. The aviator protects himself from these ear disturbances, in fact—sometimes without noticing that he does so—by executing almost automatic acts of swallowing, which, by aerating the middle ear, restore the equilibrium on the two surfaces of the membrane of the eardrum.

I have made frequent otoscopic examinations on pilots who had just landed, and I have verified in varying degrees objective traces of these reactions of the ear. For these examinations I have chosen pilots returning from important tests, flights at high altitude, flights of long duration, which constitute the tests for the brevet of pilot. In such cases the lesions of the eardrum ascertained are always similar. One finds more or less pronounced: (a) On the one hand, a red stripe the whole length of the handle of the hammer-bone in front and behind; (b) on the other hand, a congestive state sometimes very intense of that upper part of the eardrum known under the name of the membrane of Shrapnell. This appearance of the eardrum is well known to aurists; this it is which one excites in correcting a retracted eardrum by insufflations of air into the middle ear.

In healthy ears these disturbances are temporary. In the flights of short duration they cease immediately on landfall. For the prolonged flights, a slight buzzing with some deafness may persist for a few hours or even a day, but rarely beyond that. I believe, however, that in case of ears already diseased, as found in persons subject to ear or tube ailments, the flights would be susceptible of aggravating these affections. Therefore it is with good reason that the medical certificate of fitness for pilotage demands in the candidate integrity of the middle and internal ears.

Airplanes and Gas Bombs

New and Deadly Methods of Warfare Developed Since the Beginning of the Conflict

CONGRESSMAN TILSON of Connecticut, in a discussion in Congress on new methods of warfare, advocated the expenditure of $600,000,000 for airplanes, arguing that if the United States could have 100,000 machines in the air in France the result would be to blind the artillery of the enemy and win the war. In the course of his address, he said:

"At the beginning of the war each side had a few airplanes. The subject had appealed to the imaginative Frenchman more than it had to us or to the English. So France had quite a number. Germany, of course, following out her practice of thorough preparedness in everything, was well prepared with airplanes. At the battle of the Marne airplanes cut a considerable figure. The Germans had the old Taube machine and the French had the old Nieuport and others. These machines made something like seventy or eighty miles an hour. At once both sides set to developing this art, and very soon they were turning out machines on both sides that made very much in excess of those figures. First came the German Fokker, and gained superiority for the Germans. Then the Nieuport and other French machines were improved, and so it has gone, with superiority first going to one side and then to the other. Both sides now claim to have machines that will make the incredible speed of 140 miles an hour, and that will climb in the air 10,000 feet in thirteen minutes.

"The old machine was made to carry one man, or two at the most, and some thought that was the limit of the size of airplanes. The development in size has gone on until today larger machines are flying than ever were thought possible. Today smaller ones than any practical constructor dreamed of are being successfully flown. Take the big machines of the Handley-Page type, in which eleven men have flown from London to Rome in the night time. Such a machine is so large that it can take two little airplanes with their aviators on the wings, go up in the air 10,000 feet, and launch the small machines from the wings of the big one. That feat actually has been done. A machine of this larger type, which it is necessary to fly lower and which now usually flies at night, when we are able to take and hold complete supremacy of the air we shall be able to use in the daytime.

"The weapons that can be used from aircraft are practically all of those that can be used on the land, up to and including the Davis 3-inch recoilless gun, and a number that can be used in no other way, as I shall show in the case of certain drop bombs. I have spoken of the use of pistols, rifles, and machine guns from airplanes. The machine gun especially is extremely important. I also referred to the use from airplanes of fragmentation bombs, especially the Barlow bomb. At that time I told the House that this bomb had not yet received its final test. The test was held at the Hampton grounds a few days ago. It was dropped from airplanes at great heights, so as to thoroughly test it, especially as to accuracy and destructiveness. I do not think it advisable to give you the official figures, but I am permitted to say that the results were highly satisfactory in every respect, and that the officers having the matter in charge are quite enthusiastic. This bomb, in my opinion, is sure to be heard from before the war is over. Not only is great credit due to the inventive genius of Mr. Barlow, but to the Ordnance Department, and especially to the commandant and other officials of Frankford Arsenal, under whose special guidance this young man's fertile ideas were so satisfactorily worked out. I am informed that an up-to-date corporation of patriotic men has made all preparations necessary to manu-

facture these bombs in large quantities under whatever arrangement the Government may deem necessary and proper.

Deadly Gas Warfare

"In addition to the fragmentation bombs there is a large field to which I now refer, viz., that of gas bombs. Fighting with gas is worthy of an entire chapter by itself. The use of gas as a weapon of defense, like many of the other weapons now in common use in the armies of Europe, such as the catapult, flame projector, trench knife, and sling, is an inheritance from the early ages amplified, improved, and made more destructive by the aid of modern science.

"The first recorded effort to overcome the enemy by the generation of poisonous and suffocating gases seems to have been in the wars of the Athenians and Spartans, (431 to 404 B. C.,) when, in besieging the Cities of Platea and Belium, the Spartans saturated wood with pitch and sulphur and burned it under the walls of these cities in the hope of choking the defenders and rendering the assault less difficult. They also melted pitch, charcoal, and sulphur together in caldrons and blew the fumes over the defenders' lines by means of bellows.

"'Greek fire' was used by the Byzantine Greeks under Constantine about 673 A. D. to destroy the Saracens, and Saracens in turn used it as a weapon of defense against the Christians during the Crusades. This Greek fire had the double advantage of being not only inflammable but also generating during the process of combustion clouds of dense, blinding smoke and gas of an asphyxiating character. Its chemical composition was supposed to be a mixture of quicklime, petroleum, sulphur, and such other inflammable substances as pitch, resin, &c. Upon the addition of water the slaking process which the quicklime underwent generated enough heat to ignite the petroleum, which in turn ignited the resin, pitch, and sulphur. This flaming mixture was delivered against the enemy by means of phantastic syringes in the shape of dragons and other monsters with wide jaws.

"The first use of gas in modern warfare occurred April 22, 1915, when the Germans liberated great clouds of gas against the allied trenches near Ypres with a resulting complete demoralization of the troops and a large number of casualties. The Germans at that time turned loose fifty tons of chlorine gas to the mile of front occupied. Chlorine gas is two and one-half times as heavy as air. It apparently rolls along the ground in a greenish-yellow cloud. As soon as it reaches the vicinity of the dugouts, being heavier than air, it immediately goes down into the dugout and remains there until removed. The Allies had to meet this problem, and they began meeting it at once. Some Germans were captured who had gas masks, and in a few days every woman in France that could find any material out of which to make these things was making gas masks—imperfect, crude things at first, but they improved rapidly. A gas mask is absolutely necessary for the life of any one who is exposed to these deadly gases.

"Coincident with the use of the 'gas cloud' the Germans began to use gas also in bombs, hand grenades, and shells. From this beginning gas has now become recognized as one of the accepted arms of the military service and is being used very extensively in all armies, especially in the form of gas shells. The gases were used against the Canadian troops contrary to The Hague Convention, but are now generally used, not only by the enemy but by the Allies themselves."

Gas Bombs Most Terrible

In answer to a question as to whether the use of cloud gases had been discontinued on account of the effective results from gas masks, Mr. Tilson replied: "That is probably true as to cloud gases, which of course can be used successfully only against the front line of trenches, in which every man must be thoroughly prepared to defend himself against gases. It is our intention to have one of these respirators of the box type with every man, and a reserve mask of the type used by the French and the Belgians, so that cloud gases will prob-

ably not be used much when it is known that everybody is thoroughly prepared against them. The gentleman will note, however, that it is my expectation that these gases will be made use of from airplanes a great deal more than they ever have been. They have already been used, and are now being used increasingly, in the form of projectiles of glass and steel containing these poisonous gases and fired from trench mortars and howitzers. They are using those increasingly. My idea is that they will be used still more from airplanes when we get supremacy of the air, and that the gases being dropped suddenly from the air, perhaps at some distance back from the front line, the men behind the front line will not be so well prepared and will suffer demoralization and other damage, especially among the artillery."

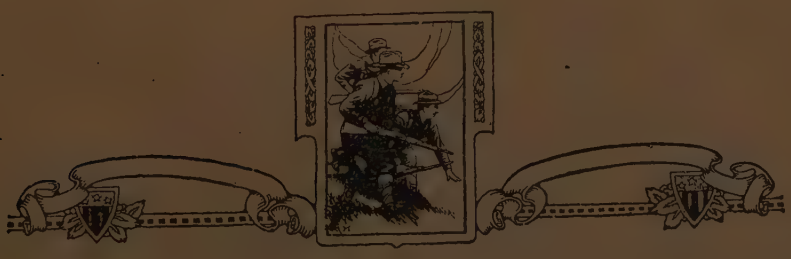
A member asked: "Is the nature of these gases such that if the bombs containing them are fired from a howitzer or dropped from an airplane there will be time to adjust a mask which is actually being carried by the soldier, in time to prevent his being harmed by the explosion of the container of the gas?"

"There is not time," Mr. Tilson replied. "As a matter of fact, they figure that in order for a man to be sure to protect himself against cloud gases he must be ready to put these masks on in six seconds. The drill in putting on these masks is made as accurate as the manual of arms used by infantry. It is intended to speed up so that a man can put one on, as I say, in six seconds. Even six seconds may be too long with these deadly gases falling from the sky, going out in every direction, and a man getting a whiff of the gas before it is possible to put on his mask. That has happened. I remember one of the party with the British Commissioners told of an instance showing the effect of gas shells containing the terribly poisonous gas called phosgen, which, unlike the chlorine or bromine gas, has a delayed action, so that you take it today and die tomorrow. The instance was one where a shell descended and two men got a whiff of the gas. A surgeon being near, saw that they were exposed to it, and immediately ordered them to the hospital and to bed. They obeyed orders and went off to the hospital, joshing each other that two strong men should be ordered to bed with nothing the matter with them. Before the dawn of the next morning both had died horrible deaths from that awful poison."

Another member asked whether the Germans would not see these flying machines coming or, hearing them and knowing that we had resorted to the use of this outrageous way of fighting, would they not have time to put their masks on. Mr. Tilson said:

"It is hoped that we are going to have so many machines in the air that they will not have to fly 10,000 feet high, but will be able to fly down nearer the ground, and in that way the Germans may have to wear their masks all day long.

"The point is that only a small part of the men can be on the front at once. They take turns, and the men on the front line, subject to exposure to cloud gases, all have to be doubly prepared by having these masks."



Japan's Part in the War

By Gardner L. Harding

FOLLOWING her capture of Kiao-Chau and her hardly less dramatic diplomacy in China, Japan's rôle in war and policy has been less spectacular; but its effect has been none the less actual, and the harmony of that effect with the larger policies of the Allies has within the last two years steadily and substantially increased. The arrival of the Ishii mission in the United States, (in the month of August,) a wise and statesmanlike attempt on Japan's part to co-ordinate with America, Japan's contributions toward the conduct of the war and her policies with respect to its aims, has provided an excellent landmark wherewith to trace up to this point, in extent and in actual results, Japan's assistance to the allied cause.

Her naval assistance began even before the capture of Kiao-Chau, when fast Japanese cruiser squadrons carried out the occupation of the three groups of German islands in the South Seas during the first two months of the war. From that time forward the Japanese fleet has done extremely valuable and incessant patrol duty in the Pacific, in the China Sea, and far westward in the Indian Ocean. The disposition of the Japanese fleet during this period has naturally been a naval secret, but it early allowed the substantial withdrawal of British warships from the crucial shipping lanes between Hongkong and Suez. It also bore a large part in the increased patrol necessitated by the depredations of German raiders like the Emden; it took a responsible share in keeping watch on the interned German ships in Chinese and Dutch East Indian ports, and until recently in American harbors in Guam and the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands.

Japanese warships have engaged on patrolling missions on the Pacific Coast of both North and South America; they have landed marines to quell riots at Singapore, and finally, within the past five months, they have appeared on active service in European waters, in the shape of a destroyer squadron operating in the Mediterranean Sea.

The ability of the Japanese fleet to perform such services is evidenced by its possession of ten superb destroyers, practically brand new, (having been finished since the opening of the war,) with possibly some of the eight others voted under the Okuma Ministry already available, and with a reserve of twenty-odd other destroyers, including four launched since 1910, less than twelve years old. Of other potential patrolling ships the latest Japan Year Book gives twenty-one first and second class cruisers, all rated above 20 knots speed. Finally, there is the first line of the Japanese Navy, numbering twenty battleships and battle cruisers, including eight of dreadnought construction, to which the three big battleships of the Fuso type voted by the Okuma Ministry are soon to be, or may already have been, added. The sixty-five leading ships of this formidable fleet displace no less than 628,321 tons.

Japan's Naval Contributions

Since the entrance of America into the war, the Japanese fleet in the Mediterranean has several times seen active service, and one victorious encounter with a submarine has cost a Japanese warship the loss of her commander, two other officers, and a number of her crew, the first casualties suffered by Japanese naval forces in European waters.

No account of Japan's naval contributions to the Allies' cause would be complete without mention of her assistance in convoying to Europe the Anzac troops at a time when, with the Emden still abroad, such assistance was of immense importance to the scheme of transportation. Furthermore, though other units of the Japanese fleet were not at that time fortunate enough to encounter the German raiding squadron in the South Pa-

cific, they had much to do with driving it into a position where it was effectually dealt with off the Falkland Islands by Admiral Cradock's British cruisers.

The extension of her submarine-chasing service in the Mediterranean, where the U-boats have accounted for practically all the Japanese merchantmen who have so far been their prey, and the assumption by Japan of new naval responsiblities in the Pacific, with the object of freeing American warships for service in the Atlantic, have both been widely suggested among influential centres of opinion near to the Japanese Government, and both these proposals, though as yet still unrealized, are undergoing serious consideration at the hands of the Allies, in close consultation with our own Government.

Commercial Assistance

Japan's naval aid has been formidable; but it has been in financial and commercial assistance that her power has so far been applied to the allied cause with the most cumulative and effectual result. The military character of this assistance makes its determination during the course of the war a delicate matter for general discussion; but in its broad features it is readily ascertainable. For instance, Japan had provided Russia with enormous quantities of guns, ammunition, military stores, hospital and Red Cross supplies, with skilled officers and experts to accompany them, which have admittedly been factors of the highest potency in sustaining Russia through the period of her disorganization, a period which is by no means wholly concluded yet. Those supplies alone had reached a total value of $250,000,000 by the first of August, 1917.

When it is remembered that the entire volume of Japan's exports in 1914 was less than $300,000,000, it will be seen how much Japan has expanded her facilities of export under the influence of the war. Her exports to Russia have, of course, been spread over a period of three years, but they have been accompanied by a huge expanse in general exports, most of it directly attributable to the war, so that in 1916 for the first time in her history her exports passed the billion-yen mark, mounting to as high as 1,127,468,118 yen, or, in round numbers, to over $550,000,000. Her imports also established a record last year, assisted by an unparalleled influx of raw materials for war manufactures, of 756,427,910 yen. The difference gave Japan a trade balance double that of 1915, of 371,040,208 yen, and insured her the firmest commercial and industrial position in her modern political life.

This extraordinary influx of prosperity, while it has naturally enormously benefited Japan, has also been convertible to allied advantage in the war. It has enabled Japan to ship to both England and France vast quantities of flour, beans, peas, and canned goods. A characteristic reaction of her food export possibilities to this country has been, for instance, the increase of our imports of Japanese canned crabs from supplies worth $450,000 in 1915 to last year's total of over $900,000. She also sent us a third again as much sulphur, almost four times as much camphor, almost five times as much cotton fabric, (mostly of cheap grades,) according to the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce; and according to our own statistics she sent us ten times as much of her famous Manchurian soya bean oil.

Japan's Financial Aid

Besides this direct trade, besides supplying ourselves and the Allies with many hundred million dollars' worth of economic staples, worth even more than their enhanced price in the ultimate contingencies of wartime, Japanese finance has managed to accommodate nations in the stress of the war who are usually and normally her creditors. It has been semi-officially reckoned in Japan that these accommodations, in actual and outright loans, in the purchase of bonds for cancellation in England and France, and in other and equally useful transactions involving munition supplies, have mounted up to well over $200,000,000. Japan's early loans to Russia of $25,000,000 and $35,000,000, respectively; her loan to Great Britain of $50,000,000 to help adjust British credit in the United States,

all promptly subscribed and ably floated, have produced in Europe an effect of generosity and good-will on the part of the Japanese Government which is not at all affected by the fact that the comparatively high terms of these loans make the benefit mutual. The benefit is an immediate benefit to the Allies at a time of great need, and the fact that Japan's economic and financial organization has been in a position to supply that need has resulted opportunely to her credit.

Incidentally, her gold holdings doubled in two years, from $175,000,000 to over $350,000,000, (in round numbers,) and they are still rapidly increasing. A symbol of the strength of the Japanese market was evident in this country when, in the eight months preceding June 1, 1917, as much as $50,000,000 in specie gold was shipped from America to Japan, a withdrawal that went on during the month of May at the rate of between $150,000,000 and $200,000,000 a year.

In short, Japan is today a great workshop and trading mart intimately concerned with the economic side of the war purposes of her allies, and formidably useful in furthering those purposes. A typical instance of the overseas destination of her principal products is illustrated in the case of copper. Her output of copper increased last year under the acceleration of war necessity from 78,000 to 108,000 tons; but of all this great yield hardly 10 per cent. was used at home. Some 60 per cent. went to Russia, at least 20 per cent. was shipped to England, a substantial part of the rest was sent to France—even America, richly productive in copper, received over 3,000,000 yen worth (about a million and a half dollars) of this precious metal.

Growth of Japanese Shipping

Finally, Japanese merchant shipping, which grew in gross tonnage from 790,000 to over 2,000,000 tons between 1904 and 1914, and stands at 2,000,000 tons today in oceangoing shipping alone, has loyally, though most profitably, served allied purposes throughout the war. The immense cargoes that have been moved from the American seaboard to Vladivostok, the coolie labor transportation service that has put over 100,000 Chinese industrial laborers at the service of the Allies in France and England, and scattered tramp and traffic services with India, Australia, China, and East Africa, often of importance wholly disproportionate to the size of the cargo—all these services have been insured and stabilized by the presence of Japanese shipping as by no other factor.

With direct connections established from Japan with every great port in the world, including a service maintained by six 8,000-ton boats of the Nippon Yushen Kaisha, (Japan Steamship Company,) for instance, between Yokohama and New York, via the Panama Canal, Japan's opportunity for placing part of this magnificent merchant fleet as reinforcements into the depleted shipping lanes of the Atlantic powers has several times been spoken of semi-officially by the authorities at Tokio; in fact, full consideration of that momentous step has already been stated in the Japanese press to be one of the most important questions to be discussed in this country by the Ishii mission.

In naval and maritime, commercial and financial aid, then, Japan's freely given assistance to the allied cause has been, up to the present, considerable. There is still no responsible move, however, either from Europe or from Japan, actually to transfer Japanese soldiers to the battle front. Japan has sent to France some excellent Red Cross units, and some of her ablest surgeons and sanitary experts, but she is not yet prepared to undertake the vast and delicate task of supplying, replenishing, and maintaining abroad her sons as troops in a war that is still half a world away.

The Arabs and the Turks In the War

By Dr. J. F. Scheltema

LIKE the war in Europe, its counterpart in Asia is being fought on more than one front. The principal theatre of action in the East was at first the Caucasus, where the Turks, launching a brisk attack, tried to reconquer the provinces wrested from them by Russia; they were repulsed and had to evacuate almost the whole of Armenia. Then, after initial reverses, the British tightened their hold on Mesopotamia, swept on to Bagdad and beyond. Turkish attempts on Egypt having failed, there, too, they were thrown back, and a British army followed closely on their heels into Palestine. Now we hear of the occupation of Maan, Tafilah, and Akaba by the Grand Sherif of Mecca, who, proclaiming himself King of the Hejâz, had already chased the garrisons out of the holy places of Islam and adjacent strongholds. This tends to hamper still further the use of the Syrian railway system for the transportation of Turkish troops.

Incidentally, it proves also the wisdom of the Syrian leaders of the Arabic movement, who, as recently became known, abandoned their plan of starting their projected revolution in Iraq to promote the defection of the Hejâz and its transformation into an independent State under the Grand Sherif Husayn Ibn Aly with the title and prerogatives of King. This coup won over to their side the orthodox Arabs, perhaps somewhat suspicious of the Syrian intellectuals but willing to make common cause against the Turks, aliens and usurpers in the land of the Prophet's own; especially against the Young Turks, downright "departers from the precepts of the Book." Some of the Syrian leaders had been officers in the Ottoman Army, which they deserted, and this, with the assistance given to the King of Hejâz by the powers of the Entente, may account for his success in reducing the fortified towns of Western Arabia held by Turkish troops.

Husayn Ibn Aly's son Abd'Allah, who, as the new-blown King's Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the powers of his advent to the throne, was replaced in that capacity by a Syrian Moslem. Other counselors have been provided by the Entente, notably from among Moslemin that owe allegiance to the French Republic. The loyal Arabs are well supplied from the same source with arms and ammunition, with machine guns, field batteries, and even, it is said, with heavy ordnance of the most improved type, together with expert gunners to instruct them in the efficient use of modern artillery. The expenses attendant on his Majesty Husayn Ibn Aly's civil list are provisionally guaranteed by the Governments of Britain and France. Repayment of the money thus lent can be secured by a lien on the revenue assured to the holy places of Islam by the yearly pilgrimage. And if, as seems likely, this asset does not cover principal and interest of the debt saddled on the new kingdom, the possibilities of future restitution in some form or another are not exhausted.

The story of the British advance on Bagdad and beyond, of the Russian operations in Armenia and Persia, need not be retold. In the latter country German influence, stimulated by the construction of the Bagdad Railroad, received a staggering blow with the expulsion of the Turks. This influence had grown steadily since the brilliant reception accorded at Berlin in 1902 to the Shah Muzaffar ad-Din. Extending northward from Bushir with the extension of German trade, with the foundation of a German bank, its growth can be best gauged by the statistics of Persian exports and imports: from 3,670,000 krans in 1901, their total had increased to more than 30,000,000 krans in 1914.

It goes without saying that political plotting went pari passu with trade. It was principally directed against Great Britain and Russia. Agitators of doubtful antecedents, but useful for the German propaganda, were called to Consular posts and abused their official positions to organize a strong campaign, supported by Turkish envoys. Shiraz, Kerman, Kashan, and Khum, the centre of revolutionary intrigue fomented with funds secretly supplied by Berlin, became almost uninhabitable for Europeans not in sympathy with German ambitions. Astute and adroit, the German emissaries managed even to make the Persians and Turks, equally hostile to the *giaours* who were dividing up their ancient patrimony, forget the rancorous animosity that separates in Islam the Shî'ite from the Sunnite.

Carried on in that manner, the German propaganda, with a smaller Austrian one in its wake, was greatly aided by the Turkish occupation of Tabriz and Urumiah, as it had been by the institution of a Swedish instead of a French gendarmerie to police the roads and, generally, to keep up an appearance of reestablishing order in a country which did not escape the fate of other lands fallen into anarchy by foreign interference. When the Russians in Northern Persia had to retire before the massed battalions of the Ottoman army, all foreigners not acceptable to the representatives of the Central Powers were more or less directly notified to leave. Among those driven out were the French Carmelite Fathers, who, in Bagdad, kept an excellent industrial college; the Dominicans and Lazarists, who taught school in Mosul and Ispahan. Soon, however, the fortune of war changed and the Russians were able to shove the Turks back over the Persian frontier. Meanwhile General Maude entered Bagdad, and the allied forces, pushing on, threatened to crush the Sixth Turkish Army Corps between them if it offered resistance to their junction for a combined sweep to the north.

There matters rested for a while until tidings came of a Russian reverse which, for the present, delays that junction, in fact, jeopardizes the advantages gained both in Persia and Mesopotamia. The Turk, notwithstanding all that has lately been said of his declining mettle, is not to be despised as a warrior. Especially where distances are so enormous and means of transportation so bad as on his Asian front he possesses one virtue which makes him vastly superior to Tommy Atkins and Ivan Ivanovitch. He subsists and marches obediently and fights cheerfully on very little, indeed, on next to nothing. He needs no tremendously complicated commissariat, no excessively heavy and long provision trains that incumber the movements of the combatants proper. A cup of coffee and a handful of millet or corn, at a pinch only a drop of water and a few dates, suffice him for days at a stretch. He pulls through without elaborate preparations and implements of newest invention, whether the khamsin blows or the rain pours down in torrents when his tent has not arrived, if he has a tent at all. His merits are those commended for the ideal soldier by Napoleon, who ranked courage in the third place, after discipline and the ability to endure hardships and fatigue.

Besides that, he knows how to help himself in a quandary. The Turkish military engineers are excellent bridge builders in the most approved scientific fashion if they have the material to hand. If it is lacking, the men return to the methods of their fathers, having recourse to kelleks for the crossing of streams in their path, inflating goatskins for the construction of rafts in any desired dimension, exactly as we see it done on the old Assyrian bas-reliefs. Safely across, they remove the plugs and load the empty kelleks on camels or asses; if no such animals are handy, on their own backs. Though in the present war the finished sections of the Bagdad Railroad, like the Syrian railways, were of the greatest service to the Turks, the secret of their stubborn resistance lies in their extraordinary mobility in regions innocent of even ordinary roads, or roads of any description. Unincumbered by burdensome baggage, or by the superfluous equipment which no European

armament can do without, they pass everywhere at their fastest gait, sharing this power, of course, with the Arabs of Hejâz and the other native auxiliaries of the Entente. On the other hand, they suffer from the desertion of many of their best officers, and from the disruption of their military administration in Asian provinces by their forced removal from Erzerum, Erzinjan, and Bagdad, headquarters, under the old dispensation, of their Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Army Corps.

The Turkish reoccupation of Khanikin, among other places of strategic significance, facilitates again the concentration of Ottoman efforts, guided by German brains, in the direction of Khum, with Teheran and Ispahan as their ulterior objects. At any rate, instead of receiving Russian support in their march on Mosul, the British forces under General Maude are seriously imperiled on their right flank. The situation on the Caucasian front, too, appears less favorable, since many Armenians, equally averse to Russian as to Turkish rule, have joined an armed league for the attainment of absolute independence. On the other hand, we have to note the auspicious activity of the Arabs of the Hejâz, which runs counter to the dictum of one of the highest authorities on Arabian affairs—the dictum that the Sherifate of Mecca cannot possibly take part in the present conflict in its wider sense.

And yet, he may be right. In the game now in progress on the chessboard of the Near East the Grand Sherif-King is but a pawn moved forward as suits the gambit planned by Western players for higher stakes than the royal prestige of an Oriental Kinglet whose counselors could do worse for him than inculcate the homely advice of the Scotch sage: Creep before ye gang. Al-Oiblah, the official organ of the royal Arabian Government, sees fit to repeat periodically that its alliance with the powers of the Entente is based upon its unconditional independence. Its very existence being founded in its purely Islamic character, there seems occasion for such statements in anticipation of hyperorthodox protests. And Mohammedan doctors of the new school can be trusted to find an acceptable equivalent for the opinion of an eminent unbeliever that religion and politics are merely the mutually supplementary manifestations of a single idea.

However this may be, according to the German newspapers, General von Falkenhayn has repaired to the East to continue the work of von der Goltz Pasha, removed from the scene by assassination. This fact indicates the importance Berlin attaches, and rightly, to the conduct of the war in its Oriental ramifications. But the supreme command in such hands, though perhaps it can delay, cannot avert the final outcome of the gigantic struggle, which, for Germany and Turkey alike, bids fair to prove Charles H. Pearson's contention* apropos of one of Bacon's axioms,† that, if the nation which cultivates war absorbingly is bound to achieve great success, it is bound also to do it at the cost, within measurable time, of its place among the nations of the world.

*National Life and Character.

†Essay XXIX: * * * that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths (laps).

General Haig's Official Report

II.

The German Retreat

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's official report of the operations of the British armies in France from November, 1916, *to March* 11, 1917, *appeared in the August issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *The report of the withdrawal of the Germans, which began March* 12-13, *to the opening of the* 1917 *Spring offensive, follows:*

FOR some time prior to March 12-13 a number of indications had been observed which made it probable that the area of the German withdrawal would be yet further extended.

It had been ascertained that the enemy was preparing a new defensive system known as the Hindenburg line, which, branching off from his original defenses near Arras, ran southeastward for twelve miles to Queant and thence passed west of Cambrai toward St. Quentin. Various "switches" branching off from this line were also under construction. The enemy's immediate concern appeared to be to escape from the salient between Arras and Le Transloy, which would become increasingly difficult and dangerous to hold as our advance on the Ancre drove ever more deeply into his defenses. It was also evident, however, from the preparations he was making, that he contemplated an eventual evacuation of the greater salient between Arras and the Aisne Valley, northwest of Rheims.

Constant watch had accordingly been kept along the whole front south of Arras, in order that instant information might be obtained of any such development. On March 14 patrols found portions of the German front line empty in the neighborhood of St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Acting on the reports of these patrols, during that night and the following day our troops occupied the whole of the enemy's trenches on the western edge of the wood. Little opposition was met, and by March 16 we held the western half of Moislains Wood, the whole of St. Pierre Vaast Wood, with the exception of its northeastern corner, and the enemy's front trenches as far as the northern outskirts of Sailly-Saillisel.

Meanwhile, on the evening of March 15, further information had been obtained which led me to believe that the enemy's forces on our front south of the Somme had been reduced, and that his line was being held by rearguard detachments supported by machine guns, whose withdrawal might also be expected at any moment. The corps commanders concerned were immediately directed to confirm the situation by patrols. Orders were thereafter given for a general advance, to be commenced on the morning of March 17, along our whole front from the Roye Road to south of Arras.

Bapaume and Peronne

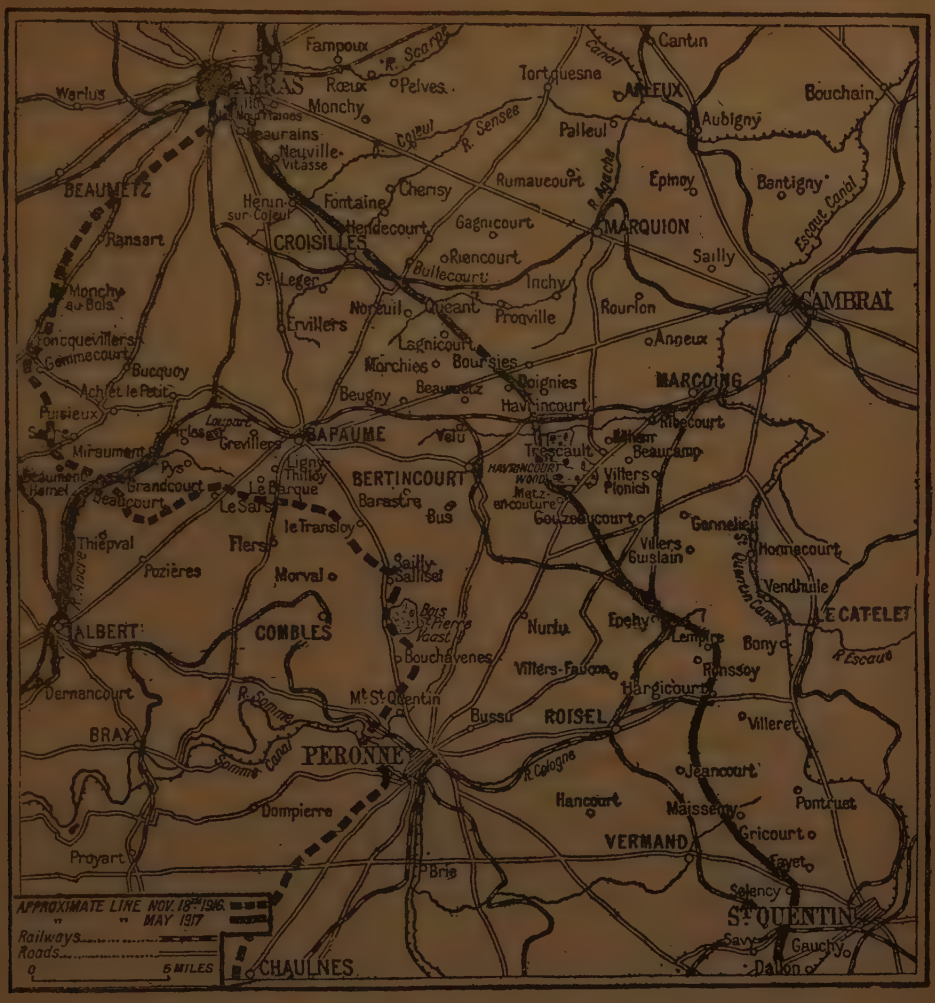
Except at certain selected localities, where he had left detachments of infantry and machine guns to cover his retreat, such as Chaulnes, Vaux Wood, Bapaume, and Achiet-le-Grand, the enemy offered little serious opposition to our advance on this front, and where he did so his resistance was rapidly overcome. Before nightfall on March 17 Chaulnes and Bapaume had been captured, and advanced bodies of our troops had pushed deeply into the enemy's positions at all points from Damery to Monchy-au-Bois. On our right our allies made rapid progress also and entered Roye.

On March 18 and subsequent days our advance continued, in co-operation with the French. In the course of this advance the whole intricate system of German defenses in this area, consisting of many miles of powerful, well-wired trenches which had been constructed with immense labor and worked on till the last moment, were abandoned by the enemy and passed into the possession of our troops.

At 7 A. M. on March 18 our troops entered Péronne and occupied Mont St. Quentin, north of the town. To the south our advanced troops established themselves during the day along the western bank of the Somme from Péronne to just north of Epenancourt. By 10 P. M. on the same day Brie Bridge had been repaired by our engineers sufficiently for the passage of infantry in single file, and our troops crossed to the east bank of the river, in spite of some opposition. Further south French and British cavalry entered Nesle.

North of Péronne equal progress was made, and by the evening of March 18 our troops had entered the German trench system known as the Beugny-Ypres line, beyond which lay open country as far as the Hindenburg line. On the same day the left of our advance was extended to Beaurains, which was captured after slight hostile resistance.

By the evening of March 19 our infantry held the line of the Somme from Canizy to Péronne, and infantry outposts and cavalry patrols had crossed the river at a number of points. North of Péronne our infantry had reached the line Bussu, Barastre, Velu, St. Leger, Beaurains, with cavalry in touch with the enemy at Nurlu, Bertincourt, Noreuil, and Heninsur-Cojeul. Next day considerable bodies of infantry and cavalry crossed to the



SCENE OF THE GERMAN RETREAT ON THE ANCRE AND SOMME

east of the Somme, and a line of cavalry outposts with infantry in support was established from south of Germaine, where we were in touch with the French, through Hancourt and Nurlu to Bus. Further north we occupied Morchies.

Difficulty of Communications

By this time our advance had reached a stage at which the increasing difficulty of maintaining our communications made it imperative to slacken the pace of our pursuit. South of Péronne, the River Somme, the bridges over which had been destroyed by the retreating enemy, presented a formidable obstacle. North of Péronne the wide belt of devastated ground over which the Somme battle had been fought offered even greater difficulties to the passage of guns and transport.

At different stages of the advance successive lines of resistance were selected and put in a state of defense by the main bodies of our infantry, while cavalry and infantry outposts maintained touch with the enemy and covered the work of consolidation. Meanwhile, in spite of the enormous difficulties which the condition of the ground and the ingenuity of the enemy had placed in our way, the work of repairing and constructing bridges, roads, and railways was carried forward with most commendable rapidity.

Increased Enemy Resistance

North of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, between Noreuil and Neuville-Vitasse, our advance had already brought us to within two or three miles of the Hindenburg line, which entered the old German front-line system at Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines. The enemy's resistance now began to increase along our whole front, extending gradually southward from

the left flank of our advance, where our troops had approached most nearly to his new main defensive position.

A number of local counterattacks were delivered by the enemy at different points along our line. In particular, five separate attempts were made to recover Beaumetz-lez-Cambrai, which we had captured on March 21, and the farm to the north of the village. All failed, with considerable loss to the enemy.

Meanwhile, our progress continued steadily, and minor engagements multiplied from day to day all along our front. In these we were constantly successful, and at small cost to ourselves took many prisoners and numerous machine guns and trench mortars. In every fresh position captured large numbers of German dead testified to the obstinacy of the enemy's defense and the severity of his losses.

Our cavalry took an active part in this fighting, and on March 27 in particular carried out an exceedingly successful operation, in the course of which a squadron drove the enemy from Pillers Faucon and a group of neighboring villages, capturing twenty-three prisoners and four machine guns. In another series of engagements on April 1 and 2, in which Savy and Selency were taken, and our line advanced to within two miles of St. Quentin, we captured ninety-one prisoners and six German field guns. The enemy's casualties were particularly heavy.

On April 2 also an operation on a more important scale was undertaken against the enemy's positions north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. The enemy here occupied in considerable strength a series of villages and well-wired trenches, forming an advance line of resistance to the Hindenburg line. A general attack on these positions was launched in the early morning of April 2 on a front of over ten miles, from Doignies to Henin-sur-Cojeul, both inclusive. After fighting which lasted throughout the day the entire series of villages was captured by us, with 270 prisoners, four trench mortars, and twenty-five machine guns.

By this date our troops were established on the general line Selency, Jeancourt, Epehy, Ruyaulcourt, Doignies, Mercatel, Beaurains. East of Selency, and between Doignies and our old front line east of Arras, our troops ware already close up to the main Hindenburg defenses. Between Selency and Doignies the enemy still held positions some distance in advance of his new system. During the succeeding days our efforts were directed to driving him from these advanced positions and to pushing our posts forward until contact had been established all along our front south of Arras with the main defenses of the Hindenburg line. Fighting of some importance again took place on April 4 and 5 in the neighborhood of Epehy and Havrincourt Wood, in which Ronssoy, Lempire, and Metzen-Couture were captured by us, together with 100 prisoners, two trench mortars, and eleven machine guns.

Tribute to Officers and Men

Certain outstanding features of the past five months' fighting call for brief comment before I close this report. In spite of a season of unusual severity, a Winter campaign has been conducted to a successful issue under most trying and arduous conditions.

Activity on our battle front has been maintained almost without a break from the conclusion of last year's offensive to the commencement of the present operations. The successful accomplishment of this part of our general plan has already enabled us to realize no inconsiderable installment of the fruits of the Somme battle, and has gone far to open the road to their full achievement. The courage and endurance of our troops have carried them triumphantly through a period of fighting of a particularly trying nature, in which they have been subjected to the maximum of personal hardship and physical strain. I cannot speak too highly of the qualities displayed by all ranks of the army.

I desire also to place on record here my appreciation of the great skill and energy displayed by the army commanders under whose immediate orders the operations described above were carried out. The ability with which the troops in the Ancre area were handled by General Sir Hubert Gough, and those further south, on our front from Le Transloy to Roye, by General Sir Henry Rawlinson, was in all respects admirable.

The retreat to which the enemy was driven by our continued success reintroduced on the western front conditions of warfare which had been absent from that theatre since the opening months of the war. After more than two years of trench warfare considerable bodies of our troops have been engaged under conditions approximating to open fighting, and cavalry has been given an opportunity to perform its special duties.

Our operations south of Arras during the latter half of March are, therefore, of peculiar interest, and the results achieved by all arms have been most satisfactory. Although the deliberate nature of the enemy's withdrawal enabled him to choose his own ground for resistance, and to employ every device to inflict losses on our troops, our casualties, which had been exceedingly moderate throughout the operations on the Ancre, during the period of the retreat became exceptionally light. The prospect of a more general resumption of open fighting can be regarded with great confidence.

The systematic destruction of roads, railways, and bridges in the evacuated area made unprecedented demands upon the Royal Engineers, already heavily burdened by the work entailed by the preparations for our Spring offensive. Our steady progress, in the face of the great difficulties confronting us, is the best testimony to the energy and thoroughness with which those demands were met.

The bridging of the Somme at Brie, to

which reference has already been made, is an example of the nature of the obstacles with which our troops were met and of the rapidity with which those obstacles were overcome. In this instance six gaps had to be bridged across the canal and river, some of them of considerable width and over a swift-flowing stream. The work was commenced on the morning of March 18, and was carried out night and day in three stages. By 10 P. M. on the same day footbridges for infantry had been completed, as already stated. Medium type bridges for horse transport and cavalry were completed by 5 A. M. on March 20, and by 2 P. M. on March 28, or four and a half days after they had been begun, heavy bridges capable of taking all forms of traffic had taken the place of the lighter type. Medium type deviation bridges were constructed as the heavy bridges were begun, so that from the time the first bridges were thrown across the river traffic was practically continuous.

Roads and Railways

Throughout the past Winter the question of transport, in all its forms, has presented problems of a most serious nature, both in the battle area and behind the lines. On the rapid solution of these problems the success or failure of our operations necessarily largely depended.

At the close of the campaign of 1916 the steady growth of our armies and the rapid expansion of our material resources had already taxed to the utmost the capacity of the roads and railways then at our disposal. Existing broad and narrow gauge railways were insufficient to deal with the increasing volume of traffic, an undue proportion of which was thrown upon the roads. As Winter conditions set in these rapidly deteriorated, and the difficulties of maintenance and repair became almost overwhelming. An increase of railway facilities of every type and on a large scale was therefore imperatively and urgently necessary to relieve the roads. For this purpose rails, material, and rolling stock were required immediately in great quantities, while at a later date our wants in these respects were considerably augmented by a large program of new construction in the area of the enemy's withdrawal.

The task of obtaining the amount of railway material required to meet the demands of our armies, and of carrying out the work of construction at the rate rendered necessary by our plans, in addition to providing labor and material for the necessary repair of roads, was one of the very greatest difficulty. Its successful accomplishment reflects the highest credit on the Transportation Service, of whose efficiency and energy I cannot speak too highly. I desire to acknowledge in the fullest manner the debt that is owed to all who assisted in meeting a most difficult situation, and especially to Major Gen. Sir Eric Geddes, Director General of Transportation, [General Geddes became a member of the British Government July 2 as First Lord of the Admiralty,] to whose great ability, organizing power, and energy the results achieved are primarily due. I am glad to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the valuable assistance given to us by the Chemin de Fer du Nord, by which the work of the Transportation Service was greatly facilitated.

I wish also to place on record here the fact that the successful solution of the problem of railway transport would have been impossible had it not been for the patriotism of the railway companies at home and in Canada. They did not hesitate to give up the locomotives and rolling stock required to meet our needs, and even to tear up track in order to provide us with the necessary rails. The thanks of the army are due also to those who have accepted so cheerfully the inconvenience caused by the consequent diminution of the railway facilities available for civil traffic.

The various other special services, to the excellence of whose work I was glad to call attention in my last dispatch, have continued to discharge their duties with the same energy and efficiency displayed by them during the Somme battle, and have rendered most valuable assistance to our artillery and infantry.

I desire also to repeat the well-merited tribute paid in my last dispatch to the different administrative services and departments. The work entailed by the double task of meeting the requirements of our Winter operations and preparing for our next offensive was very heavy, demanding unremitting labor and the closest attention to detail.

The fighting on the Ancre and subsequent advance made large demands upon the devotion of our medical services. The health of the troops during the period covered by this dispatch has been satisfactory, notwithstanding the discomfort and exposure to which they were subjected during the extreme cold of the Winter, especially in the areas taken over from the enemy.

The loyal co-operation and complete mutual understanding that prevailed between our allies and ourselves throughout the Somme battle have been continued and strengthened by the events of the past Winter, and in particular by the circumstances attending the enemy's withdrawal. During the latter part of the period under review a very considerable tract of country has been won back to France by the combined efforts of the allied troops. This result is regarded with lively satisfaction by all ranks of the British armies in France. At the same time I wish to give expression to the feelings of deep sympathy and profound regret provoked among us by the sight of the destruction that war has wrought in a once fair and prosperous countryside. I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG,
Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

The Mesopotamian Disaster

The British Commission's Scathing Report on Negligence of High Officials and Generals

THE commission appointed by the British Government in August, 1916, to inquire into the disastrous Mesopotamian expedition in 1915-16, submitted its report June 26, 1917, and it proved to be one of the most sensational revelations of the war.

The commission consisted of Lord George Hamilton, G. C. S. I., Chairman; Lord Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P.; Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttelton, Sir Archibald Williamson, M. P.; John Hodge, M. P., and Commander Josiah Wedgwood, M. P.

The report is of such length that it would be impracticable to publish it in full, hence only a summary of certain questions can be given. The commission's findings as to the first abortive advance on Bagdad are as follows:

The advance to Bagdad under the conditions existing in October, 1915, was an offensive movement based upon political and military miscalculations and attempted with tired and insufficient forces and inadequate preparation. It resulted in the surrender of more than a division of our finest fighting troops, and the casualties incurred in the ineffective attempts to relieve Kut amounted to some 23,000 men. The loss of prestige associated with these military failures was less than might have been anticipated owing to the deep impression made throughout and beyond the localities where the combats occurred by the splendid fighting power of the British and Indian forces engaged.

Various authorities and high officials are connected with the sanction given to this untoward advance. Each and all, in our judgment, according to their relative and respective positions, must be made responsible for the errors in judgment to which they were parties and which formed the basis of their advice or orders.

The weightiest share of responsibility lies with Sir John Nixon, whose confident optimism was the main cause of the decision to advance. The other persons responsible were: In India, the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge) and the Commander in Chief, (Sir Beauchamp Duff;) in England, the Military Secretary of the India Office, (Sir Edmund Barrow,) the Secretary of State for India, (Austen Chamberlain,) and the War Committee of the Cabinet. We put these names in the order and sequence of responsibility. The expert advisers of the Government who were consulted also approved the advance and are responsible for their advice, but the papers submitted to us suggest that the approval of the naval and military experts was reluctant and was perhaps partly induced by a natural desire not to disappoint the hopes of advantage to the general situation which the Government entertained. It is, however, notable that the experts unanimously anticipated no difficulty in the advance on Bagdad, but only in holding it.

We have included the War Committee of the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India among those upon whom responsibility for this misadventure rests. It is true that the War Committee and the Secretary of State acted upon the opinion of their expert military advisers, and that the Secretary of State only gave his assent to the advance after he had received an assurance from the General on the spot that he had an available force sufficient for his purpose. But so long as the system of responsible departmental administration exists in this country those who are political heads of departments in time of war, whether they be civilian or military, cannot be entirely immune from the consequences of their own action.

The Cabinet from the first laid down the principle, from which it never departed, that questions jointly involving civil and military policy should, in existing circumstances, only be decided by the Cabinet. This authority it exercised throughout, though at times it largely delegated its powers to the War Committee of the Cabinet.

The Siege of Kut

The commission does not deal at any length with the conditions in Kut during its siege, but it publishes, as an appendix, an account of the siege by Colonel Hehir, principal medical officer to the besieged force.

The Turks closed in on General Townshend on Dec. 7, and at first their assaults were numerous and severe; but after three days' fighting about Christmas the enemy was repulsed with such heavy losses that no serious attempts to storm the town were made for the remainder of the siege. The real enemy was starvation, and this compelled the surrender of

the place on April 29, 1916, after a most gallant and tenacious defense of 147 days.

The following extracts from Colonel Hehir's paper show the straits to which the garrison was reduced:

During the last month of the siege, men at fatigues, such as trench-digging, after ten minutes' work had to rest a while and go at it again; men on sentry-go would drop down, those carrying loads would rest every few hundred yards; men availed themselves of every opportunity of lolling about or lying down. There were instances of Indians returning from trench duty in the evening seemingly with nothing the matter who lay down and were found dead in the morning—death due to starvation asthenia. Men in such a low state of vitality can stand little in the shape of illness—an attack of diarrhoea that they would have got rid of in a day or so at the beginning of the siege often ended fatally—all recuperative power had gone. At the end of the siege I doubt whether there was a single person equal to a five-mile march, carrying his equipment. Personally, up to the middle of March I could make a complete inspection of the front-line trenches and fort (about five miles) in the morning; I had then to halve it, and at the end of April, while doing even half, I had to rest on the way. Practically all officers were in the same condition of physical incapacity.

The behavior of the troops throughout the siege was splendid. The defaulter's sheet of the British soldier was a carte blanche, and there was no grumbling; there was almost a complete absence of suicide and insanity.

The difficulties in rationing the Indian troops were much enhanced by caste prejudices as to food. For a long time many of them refused to eat horse or mule flesh. Had it not been for this, these animals could not only have been used as food for the men, but the grain they consumed could have been devoted to the same purpose.

Right up to the end of the siege General Townshend and his brigadiers retained the confidence and allegiance of their men. After the terms of surrender had been settled and the Generals were departing in a steamboat as prisoners of war their men formed up along the riverside and gave them a parting cheer as a proof of their unbroken loyalty.

Equipment and Commissariat Deficiencies

Every General who appeared before the commission agreed that the Mesopotamian expedition was badly equipped. Sir Beauchamp Duff informed it that the Indian Army, which furnished the expedition, was organized only for semi-savage fighting, was not well found for an overseas expedition, to a large extent had second-rate equipment, and was "backward in every particular."

The unpreparedness of the Indian Army for its task in Mesopotamia was primarily due to a long-standing policy of economy and restriction of military preparation to the needs of frontier warfare, for which the Home and Indian Governments were, of course, responsible, and not Sir Beauchamp Duff and the General Staff at Simla. But the unpreparedness for overseas warfare was well known to the Indian military authorities, and when they undertook the management of an expedition which was to fight against Turkey supported by Germany they ought immediately to have striven energetically to bring the equipment of the expedition up to the standard of modern warfare. Serious defects in military equipment, resulting in unnecessary suffering and casualties among the troops, were allowed to persist month after month during the first fourteen months of the campaign, when the Indian Government was responsible for its management.

The commission's finding on this part of its inquiry is:

"During the period for which the Indian Government was responsible, the commissariat of the expedition cannot be said to have been up to the standard of our army in France, but there was no general breakdown. The ration originally supplied to the Indian troops was deficient in nutritive qualities, and a serious outbreak of scurvy ensued.

"In other essentials the expedition was badly and insufficiently equipped, and little if any effort was made to remedy deficiencies until the War Office took over the expedition."

Disputes with the Home Government

The history of the supply of reinforcements to the force is a melancholy tale of altercation between London and Simla. Although up to the time of the advance on Bagdad the expedition was always numerically strong enough to cope with the Turkish forces, yet this result was only attained after protracted wrangling between the Governments at home and in India, neither of whom appeared willing to accept the task of reinforcing an expedition for the success of which they were jointly responsible.

Transport

The findings as to transport are:

1. From the first the paramount importance both of river and railway transport in Mesopotamia was insufficiently realized by the military authorities in Inida.

2. A deficiency of river transport existed from the time the army left tidal water and advanced up river from Kurna. This deficiency became very serious as the lines of communication lengthened and the numbers of the force increased.

3. Up to the end of 1915 the efforts made

to rectify the deficiency of river transport were wholly inadequate.

4. For want of comprehensive grasp of the transport situation, and insufficiency of river steamers, we find the military authorities in India are responsible. The responsibility is a grave one.

5. River hospital steamers were an urgent requirement for the proper equipment of the expedition, and were not ordered until much too late.

6. With General Sir J. Nixon rests the responsibility for recommending the advances in 1915 with insufficient transport and equipment. The evidence did not disclose an imperative need to advance without due preparation. For what ensued from shortage of steamers both as concerns suffering of the wounded and military losses General Sir John Nixon must, in such circumstances, be held to blame.

7. During the first four months of 1916 the shortage of transport was fatal to the operations undertaken for the relief of Kut. Large reinforcements could not be moved to the front in time to take part in critical battles.

Medical Breakdown

The commission adopts the principal conclusions of the Vincent-Bingley Commission, which were that from a very early stage in the campaign the sick and wounded underwent avoidable discomfort and at times great suffering, owing to deficiencies in medical arrangements, especially as regards river hospital steamers, land ambulance transport, hospitals, and medical personnel and equipment. The sufferings of the wounded from these defects became aggravated after the battle of Ctesiphon, and culminated during the Kut relief operations early in January, 1915, when there was a complete breakdown of the medical arrangements. For these deficiencies the Vincent-Bingley Commission divides responsibility between the authorities in India and Mesopotamia.

No river hospital steamers were provided for what it was known must be largely a riverine campaign. Consequently, until 1916, the sick and wounded had to use ordinary river transport steamers. These were always overburdened with ordinary transport work, were not infrequently used for carrying animals, and it was not always possible properly to clear them of their accumulations of filth and dung before they were used for sick and wounded troops. No wheeled ambulance transport was provided. It follows that ordinary army transport carts were the only vehicles available for the sick and wounded where land transport was necessary. There is an overwhelming mass of evidence as to the inhumanity of using these carts for the wounded. Padding for them was not always available. In some cases dead bodies were even used as cushions. Even when padded they were cruel and dangerous for certain classes of wounded. All this must have been well known to Surgeon General Babtie, or might have been easily ascertained by inquiry or experiment. His only action in regard to developing a more suitable vehicle than the bullock tonga was to ask the Maharajah of Benares to provide a special corps of pony tongas, none of which was, however, available in Mesopotamia till long after Sir W. Babtie had left India.

Official Want of Frankness

In matters affecting the sick and wounded the want of frankness has painfully impressed the commission. A number of instances is given in which defects in medical arrangements were not reported. Perhaps the most striking of these is in connection with the medical breakdown after Ctesiphon, when over 3,500 wounded had to be removed from the battlefield to the river bank, in some cases a distance of ten miles, without proper ambulance transport, and with an insufficiency of medical personnel, of food, and of comforts, so that a large proportion of the wounded had to make their way on foot in spite of their injured condition. When they arrived at the river the available steamer accommodation was gravely inadequate.

How one of these river convoys arrived at Basra is thus described by Major Carter, the medical officer in charge of an ocean hospital ship, which was waiting at Basra to receive the wounded:

"I was standing on the bridge on the evening when the Medjidieh arrived. She had two steel barges, without any protection against the rain, as far as I remember. As this ship, with two barges, came up to us I saw that she was absolutely packed, and the barges, too, with men. The barges were slipped and the Medjidieh was brought alongside the Varela. When she was about 300 or 400 yards off it looked as if she was festooned with ropes. The stench when she was close was quite definite, and I found that what I mistook for ropes were dried stalactites of human faeces. The patients were so huddled and crowded together on the ship that they could not perform the offices of nature clear of the edge of the ship, and the whole of the ship's side was covered with stalactites of human faeces. This is what I then saw. A certain number of men were standing and kneeling on the immediate perimeter of the ship. Then we found a mass of men huddled up anyhow—some with blankets and some without. They were lying in a pool of dysentery about thirty feet square. They were covered with dysentery and dejecta generally from head to foot. With regard to the first man I examined, I put my hand into his trousers and I thought he had a hemorrhage. His trousers were full almost

to his waist with something warm and slimy. I took my hand out, and thought it was blood clot. It was dysentery. The man had a fractured thigh, and his thigh was perforated in five or six places. He had apparently been writhing about the deck of the ship. Many cases were almost as bad. There were a certain number of cases of terribly bad bed sores. In my report I describe mercilessly to the Government of India how I found men with their limbs splinted with wood strips from 'Johnny Walker' whisky boxes, 'Bhoosa' wire, and that sort of thing."

"Question.—Were they British or Indian?—A.—British and Indian mixed."

The withdrawal of the wounded to Basra, which resulted in such appalling conditions, was officially reported to the Secretary of State as follows:

"Wounded satisfactorily disposed of. Many likely to recover in country, comfortably placed in hospitals at Amara and Basra. Those for invaliding are being placed direct on two hospital ships that were ready at Basra on arrival of river boats. General condition of wounded very satisfactory. Medical arrangements under circumstances of considerable difficulty worked splendidly."

Surgeon General Hathaway, the principal medical officer in Mesopotamia, who was responsible for drafting the above telegram, afterward sent to India a detailed report of the evacuation of the wounded; and the commission says: "Nobody reading that report would gather that anything untoward had happened, or that the wounded had undergone any special or avoidable sufferings."

Medical Findings

The medical provision for the Mesopotamia campaign was from the beginning insufficient; by reason of the continuance of this insufficiency there was a lamentable breakdown, causing severe and unavoidable suffering to the sick and wounded after the battle of Ctesiphon and the battles in January, 1916; there was amelioration in March and April, 1916; but since then the improvement has been continual, until it is reasonable to hope that now the medical provision is satisfactory. The main deficiencies were in river hospital steamers, medical personnel, river transports, and ambulance land transport.

The Secretary of State showed an earnest and continuous anxiety as to the condition of the wounded, and the only comment that can be made upon his procedure is that he did not fully utilize the official powers at his disposal for the purpose of disposing at an earlier period an investigation into the treatment of the wounded in Mesopotamia.

To Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, as Viceroy, belongs the general responsibility attaching to his position as the head of the Indian Government. In regard to the actual medical administration he showed throughout the utmost good-will, but, considering the paramount authority of his office, his action was not sufficiently strenuous and peremptory.

A more severe censure must be passed upon the Commander in Chief in India, who failed closely to superintend the adequacy of medical provision in Mesopotamia. He declined for a considerable time, until ultimately forced by the superior authority of the Viceroy, to give credence to rumors which proved to be true, and failed to take the measures which a subsequent experience shows would have saved the wounded from avoidable suffering.

The commission's findings as to the division of responsibility are:

"The division of responsibility between the India Office and the Indian Government, the former undertaking policy and the latter the management of the expedition, was, in the circumstances, unworkable. The Secretary of State, Austen Chamberlain, who controlled the policy, did not have cognizance of the capacity of the expedition to carry out the policy. The Indian Government, which managed the expedition, did not accompany developments of policy with the necessary preparations, even when they themselves proposed those developments. The scope of the objective of the expedition was never sufficiently defined in advance, so as to make each successful move part of a well-thought-out and matured plan."

The Indian Military administration is found to be faulty, and radical military reforms are recommended.

Censure of Indian Government

The commission differentiates between the error of judgment shown by the Indian Government in its advocacy of the advance to Bagdad, which might have happened in any campaign, and its failure adequately to minister to the wants of the forces employed in Mesopotamia.

"This failure," it says, "was persistent and continuous, and practically covered the whole of the period during which the Indian Government was intrusted with the management of the expedition. With the knowledge of the facts which we now possess and of the extent and scope of the preparations of the War Office since it undertook the management of the campaign, it is impossible to refrain from serious censure of the Indian Government for the lack of knowledge and foresight shown in the inadequacy of its preparations and for the lack of readiness to recognize and supply deficiencies. It ought to

have known, and with proper touch with the expedition it could have known, what were its wants and requirements. It is true that its military system was cumbrous and inept. It was, however, within the power of the Viceroy and the Commander in Chief to have established a more effective procedure and a closer touch with the expedition itself."

The report produced a profound sensation and was followed shortly afterward by the resignation of Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, and this action caused a partial reorganization of the Ministry and the War Council.

Lord Hardinge's Defense

Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916 and now Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied in the House of Lords to the criticisms passed upon him by the Mesopotamia Commissioners. The following were the chief points in his speech:

1. The War Effort of India.—The commission did not give sufficient prominence to the unexampled effort made by India at the outset of the war and to the generosity of her contributions, which could not fail to hamper her further operations elsewhere.

2. Internal and Frontier Affairs.—Adequate weight was not given in the report to the risks and preoccupations of the Government of India during 1914 and 1915 in connection with internal and frontier affairs.

3. The Military Budget.—The financial side of the pre-war military administration was in excess of the maximum fixed by the Nicholson Committee. In the light of after events, he recognized that possibly all ordinary financial considerations ought to have been sacrificed if the Secretary of State and India Council would have agreed.

4. The Advance on Bagdad.—The full telegraphic correspondence showed that the Government of India was strongly opposed to an advance on Bagdad without reinforcements. It might be contended that it ought to have maintained its veto, but he asked whether such a course would have been justified in view of the obvious political advantages of the capture of Bagdad, of the strong pressure from home, and of the unanimous military opinion in favor of it.

5. The Inadequacy of River Transport.—This was only revealed when it was too late to make it good, although everything possible was done to remedy it.

6. The Medical Breakdown.—He could only confess to having been completely deceived by the misleading reports received from the front, and to that extent he must accept full responsibility. But the moment the truth dawned upon him he made every effort within his power to remedy the situation.

Lord Hardinge said that the British garrison in India at the beginning of the war was reduced to about 150,000 men; 80,000 British and 210,000 Indian troops had been sent away.

In the Summer of 1914 "the Indian Army was at war strength, the magazines were full, the equipment was complete." Indeed, India sent abroad 70,000,000 rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, more than 550 new guns, and over 3,500 combatant officers, with tents, boots, saddlery, clothing, &c.

"India was bled absolutely white during the first weeks of the war," said Lord Hardinge, and when the Mesopotamia campaign was started the sacrifices were severely felt. Repeated demands for troops, drafts, airplanes, machine guns, bombs, &c., were for the most part refused by the War Office or given with a sparing hand owing to the greater need in France.

In speaking of the dangers in India in the early part of the war, Lord Hardinge said:

"Conspiracies were discovered at Delhi, Lahore, and elsewhere. Revolutionaries sought to undermine the loyalty of the Indian troops. In the Spring of 1915 no fewer than 7,000 revolutionaries returned from the United States and Canada who instigated murder and terrorism in the Punjab, where there were arrests in one week of 3,500 hooligans. Later a German conspiracy in Bengal aimed at rebellion on Christmas Day, 1915. The Bay of Bengal was patrolled. For ten days every officer had to be at his post. Troop trains waited at big railway junctions. That year, 1915, was a very anxious one for India."

Mr. Chamberlain's resignation was announced in the House of Commons in an intensely dramatic climax July 12. Mr. Chamberlain gave a detailed account of the part which he had played in the control of operations in Mesopotamia. He began by repudiating any suggestion that General Sir Edmund Barrow, Military Secretary at the India Office, had in any way exceeded his powers in recommending an expedition to Mesopotamia. He reviewed stage by stage the communications which passed between the Government of India, the India

Office, and Sir John Nixon, both before and during the advance from Kut. The report of the commission, he was able to show, condensed some of the telegrams which passed and omitted important passages from others. One example was the suppression of the political reasons mentioned in the telegram of Oct. 5 as making the occupation of Bagdad desirable. These reasons, Mr. Chamberlain disclosed, were the activity of German emissaries in Persia, the pressure on Afghanistan, and the situation in the Balkans and the Dardanelles. At the same time, he made it clear that Sir John Nixon urged the advance for military reasons, provided that he was properly reinforced. The problem, according to the General Staff, was not to get to Bagdad but to remain there.

In the course of a history of the discussions and correspondence on the possibility of providing reinforcements to hold the city and the probable effects of a compulsory retirement, Mr. Chamberlain referred to the attacks made on Mr. Asquith and his colleagues for deliberately embarking on a hazardous gamble. The attacks, he said, were based on a mutilated telegram, which attributed to the Cabinet the declaration that "we are in great need of a striking success in the East."

Again filling the gaps, he revealed the fact that these words were preceded in the original message by the statement that Persia was drifting into the war on the side of the enemy and the Arabs were wavering.

Mr. Chamberlain summed up the case for authorizing the advance on Bagdad as follows:

"The capture of Bagdad might be a decisive factor in preserving peace in the Middle East and up to and on the Indian frontier.

"The Cabinet was told by every military adviser whom it consulted that the operation was perfectly feasible.

"No one of these authorities questioned the sufficiency of the force under Sir John Nixon's orders for the purpose, nor was any doubt suggested as to the capacity of his supply and transport departments to sustain the operations.

"The problem the Cabinet had to consider was whether the possibility of an eventual withdrawal outweighed the advantages of an immediate and apparently assured success.

"The Cabinet decided that it did not, and after ascertaining that the Government of India concurred in this view, the orders for the advance were issued by us."

From the military and political aspects of the operations Mr. Chamberlain passed to the collapse of the hospital arrangements, and remarked that it was both lamentable and inexcusable. "I cannot say one word," he confessed, "to excuse or to palliate the horrible breakdown." His personal plea was that he was entirely ignorant of it until the damage had been done.

In the course of a defense of Sir William Meyer and others who held responsibility in the Government of India, Mr. Chamberlain protested vigorously against efforts to cast odium on Lord Hardinge, "the most popular Viceroy that India has ever had," because the military administration to which he trusted broke down under a great strain. It would be an evil day for the country, he declared, if, because of any errors of judgment or any miscalculation for which others were as much responsible as he, a great public servant was to be hounded out of public life without a trial and without a hearing, in answer to the clamors of an ill-informed and passionate mob.

Mr. Bonar Law announced in the House of Commons on July 18 that the Government did not propose to take action in regard to the civilians criticised in the commission's report, that the resignation of Lord Hardinge would not be accepted, and that the soldiers would be dealt with in the ordinary way by the Army Council. The Government's decision regarding Lord Hardinge was challenged by Mr. Dillon on a motion of adjournment, which, however, was defeated after a vigorous debate by 176 votes against 81, a Government majority of 95.

Report on the Capture of Bagdad

General Maude's Official Narrative of the Fighting From August, 1916, to March, 1917

GENERAL SIR STANLEY MAUDE, commanding the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, officially described in a dispatch dated July 10, 1917, the operations which culminated in the capture of Bagdad and the conquest of a large area north of the city, thus retrieving the ill-starred expedition of the year before which resulted in the surrender of a British army at Kut, and proved one of the most serious disasters which befell the British during the war.

The dispatch covers the seven months from the end of August, 1916, to March 31, 1917—three weeks after the fall of Bagdad. The first half of this period was devoted to the work of preparation, the active operations beginning in the middle of December. In his summary of the results achieved Sir Stanley Maude says:

During the second period fighting was strenuous and continuous, and the strain imposed upon all ranks, both at the front and on the lines of communication, severe. The nature of the operations has been as varied as it has been complex, and the training of the troops has been tested, first in the fierce hand-to-hand fighting in trench warfare round Kut and Sannaiyat, and later in the more open battles which characterized the operations in the Dahra Bend, the passage of the Tigris, the advance on Bagdad, and subsequent actions.

From this ordeal they have emerged with a proud record, and have dealt the enemy a series of stinging blows, the full significance of which will not be easily effaced. British and Indian troops working side by side have vied with each other in their effort to close with the enemy.

Recalling that the area over which the responsibilities of the army extended was a wide one, embracing Falahiyeh, on the Tigris; Ispahan, (exclusive,) in Persia; Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, and Nasariyeh, on the Euphrates, the dispatch proceeds:

Briefly put, the enemy's plan appeared to be to contain our main forces on the Tigris, while a vigorous campaign, which would directly threaten India, was being developed in Persia. There were indications, too, of an impending move down the Euphrates toward Nasariyeh. It seemed clear from the outset that the true solution of the problem was a resolute offensive, with concentrated forces, on the Tigris, thus effectively threatening Bagdad, the centre from which the enemy's columns were operating.

At the beginning of December the enemy still occupied the same positions on the Tigris front which he had held during the Summer, and it was decided first to secure possession of the Hai River; secondly, to clear the Turkish trench systems still remaining on the right bank of the Tigris; thirdly, to sap the enemy's strength by constant attacks, and give him no rest; fourthly, to compel him to give up the Sannaiyat position, or in default of that to extend his attenuated forces more and more to counter our strokes against his communications; and, lastly, to cross the Tigris at the weakest part of his line as far west as possible, and so sever his communications.

The Hai position was seized with little difficulty in the middle of December, but the clearing of the Khadairi Bend, which was undertaken on Jan. 6, involved severe hand-to-hand fighting, and it was not until Jan. 19 that the enemy, who had suffered heavy losses, was finally driven out.

Capture of Hai Salient

On Jan. 11, while Lieut. Gen. Cobbe was still engaged in clearing the Khadairi Bend, Lieut. Gen. Marshall commenced preparations for the reduction of the Hai salient—the extensive trench system which the Turks held astride the Hai River near its junction with the Tigris, and for a fortnight we gained ground steadily in face of strong opposition, until, on the 24th, our trenches were within 400 yards of the enemy's front line.

On the 25th the enemy's front line astride the Hai was captured on a frontage of about 1,800 yards. On the eastern (or left) bank our troops extended, their success to the Turkish second line, and consolidated and held all ground won in spite of counter-attacks during the day and following night. The enemy lost heavily, both from our bombardment and in violent hand-to-hand encounters. On the western (or right) bank the task was a severe one. The trench system was elaborate, and offered facilities for counterattack. The enemy was in considerable strength on this bank, and guns and machine guns in skillfully concealed po-

sitions enfiladed our advance. Our objective was secured, but the Turks made four counterattacks. The first was repulsed; the second reached the captured line, and was about to recapture it when a gallant charge across the open by the Royal Warwicks restored the situation; the third was broken up by our artillery fire; the fourth, supported by artillery and trench mortars, forced our infantry back to their own trenches.

On the 26th the assault was renewed by two Punjabi battalions with complete success, and the captured trenches were at once consolidated. Subsequently our gains were increased by bombing attacks and with the bayonet in face of stubborn opposition, and a counterattack in the afternoon was repulsed by our artillery. Meanwhile our troops had considerably increased their hold on the enemy's position east of the Hai by bombing attacks, though their progress was hampered by the battered condition of the trenches and by the numbers of Turkish dead lying in them. On this bank the first and second lines, on a frontage of 2,000 yards, were captured by the 27th, and on the following day the whole of the front line had been secured on a frontage of two miles and to a depth varying from 300 to 700 yards, the enemy withdrawing to an inner line. On the 27th and 28th our troops penetrated further into the Turkish defenses west of the Hai by bombing attacks supported by artillery barrage, and consolidated their position in the first four lines of trenches on a frontage of 600 yards. On the 29th they secured more trenches by means of infantry raids supported by artillery.

After a short pause to readjust our dispositions, the centre of the enemy's third line on the eastern (or left) bank of the Hai was successfully assaulted by the Cheshires on Feb. 1. Bombers pushed rapidly east and west until the whole trench had been secured from the Tigris to the Hai on a front of about 2,100 yards, and an attempted counterattack was broken by our artillery. The enemy's casualties were heavy and many prisoners were taken. On the western (or right) bank the two Sikh battalions captured the enemy's position on a front of 500 yards, but our troops—especially the left of the attack—were subjected to artillery and machine-gun fire in enfilade. The trench system was complicated and difficult to consolidate, and it was not long before the Turks delivered a counterattack in strength. The most advanced parties of our infantry met the enemy's charge in brilliant style by a countercharge in the open, and casualties on both sides were severe. The preponderance of weight was, however, with the enemy, and our troops, in spite of great gallantry, were forced back by sheer weight of numbers to their original front line.

On Feb. 3 the Devons and a Ghurka battalion carried the enemy's first and second lines, and a series of counterattacks by the Turks, which continued up till dark, withered away under our shrapnel and machine gun fire. Our troops east of the Hai co-operated with machine gun and rifle fire, and two counterattacks by the enemy on the left bank of the Hai during the day were satisfactorily disposed of. In the evening there were indications that he was contemplating withdrawal to the right bank, and by daybreak on the 4th the whole of the left bank had passed into our possession. The enemy was found to have fallen back to the licorice factory and a line east and west across the Dahra Bend.

During this period the splendid fighting qualities of the infantry were well seconded by the bold support rendered by the artillery, and by the ceaseless work carried out by the Royal Flying Corps. These operations had again resulted in heavy losses to the enemy, as testified to by the dead found, and many prisoners—besides arms, ammunition, equipment, and stores—had been taken, while the Turks now only retained a fast vanishing hold on the right bank of the Tigris.

Dahra Bend Cleared

Feb. 6 to 8 were days of preparation, but continuous pressure on the enemy was maintained day and night. On the ninth the licorice factory was bombarded, and simultaneously the King's Own effected a lodgment in the centre of the enemy's line, thereafter gaining ground rapidly forward and to both flanks. Repeated attacks by the enemy's bombers met with no success, and two attempted counterattacks were quickly suppressed by our artillery. Further west the Worcesters, working toward Yusufiyah and west of that place, captured some advanced posts, trenches, and prisoners, and established a line within 2,500 yards of the Tigris at the southern end of the Shumran Bend.

On Feb. 3 the Devons and a Ghurkha batwest of the licorice factory, who had been subjected all night to repeated bombing attacks, began early to extend our hold on the enemy's front line. This movement was followed by a bombardment directed against machine guns located at Kut and along the left bank of the Tigris, which were bringing a galling fire to bear against our right. During this the Buffs and a Ghurkha battalion dashed forward, and, joining hands with the King's Own on their left, the whole line advanced northward. As communication trenches did not exist, any movement was necessarily across the open, and was subject to a hot fire from concealed machine guns on the left bank; but, in spite of this, progress was made all along the front to depths varying from 300 to 2,000 yards, our success compelling the enemy to evacuate the licorice factory. He withdrew to an inner line, approximately two and a half miles long, across the Dahra Bend, with advanced posts strongly held, and was finally inclosed in the Dahra Bend by Feb. 13.

An attack against the enemy's right centre offered the best prospects of success, and this involved the construction of trenches and approaches for the accommodation of troops destined for the assault. Early on Feb. 15 the Loyal North Lancashires captured a strong point opposite our left, which enfiladed the approaches to the enemy's right and centre, the retiring Turks losing heavily from our machine-gun fire. An hour later the enemy's extreme left was subjected to a short bombardment and feint attack. This caused the enemy to disclose his barrage in front of our right, and indicated that our constant activity on this part of his front had been successful in making him believe that our main attack would be made against that part of his line. Shortly after the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and South Wales Borderers carried the enemy's right centre in dashing style on a front of 700 yards, and extended their success by bombing to a depth of 500 yards on a frontage of 1,000 yards, taking many prisoners. Several half-hearted counterattacks ensued, which were crushed by our artillery and machine guns, and it became evident that the enemy had strengthened his left and could not transfer troops back to his centre on account of our barrage. A little later the enemy's left centre was captured by the Buffs and Dogras, and, pushing on in a northeasterly direction to the bank of the Tigris, they isolated the enemy's extreme left, where about 1,000 Turks surrendered.

Heroic Infantry

By nightfall the only resistance was from some trenches in the right rear of the position, covering about a mile of the Tigris bank, from which the enemy were trying to escape across the river, and it had been intended to clear these remaining trenches by a combined operation during the night; but two companies of a Ghurkha battalion, acting on their own initiative, obtained a footing in them and took 98 prisoners. By the morning of the 16th they had completed their task, having taken 264 more prisoners. The total number of prisoners taken on the 15th and 16th was 2,005, and the Dahra Bend was cleared of the enemy.

Thus terminated a phase of severe fighting, brilliantly carried out. To eject the enemy from this horseshoe bend, bristling with trenches and commanded from across the river on three sides by hostile batteries and machine guns, called for offensive qualities of a high standard on the part of the troops. That such good results were achieved was due to the heroism and determination of the infantry, and to the close and ever-present support rendered by the artillery, whose accurate fire was assisted by efficient airplane observation.

The enemy had now, after two months of strenuous fighting, been driven entirely from the right bank of the Tigris in the neighborhood of Kut. He still held, however, a very strong position, defensively, in that it was protected from Sannaiyat to Shumran by the Tigris, which also afforded security to his communications running along the left bank of that river. The successive lines at Sannaiyat, which had been consistently strengthened for nearly a year, barred the way on a narrow front to an advance on our part along the left bank, while north of Sannaiyat the Suwaikieh Marsh and the Marsh of Jessan rendered the Turks immune from attack from the north.

On the other hand, we had, by the application of constant pressure to the vicinity of Shumran, where the enemy's battle line and communications met, compelled him so to weaken and expand his front that his attenuated forces were found to present vulnerable points, if these could be ascertained. The moment then seemed ripe to cross the river and commence conclusions with the enemy on the left bank. To effect this it was important that his attention should be engaged about Sannaiyat and along the river line between Sannaiyat and Kut, whilst the main stroke was being prepared and delivered as far west as possible.

Storming of Sannaiyat

While Lieut. Gen. Marshall's force was engaged in the Dahra Bend, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe maintained constant activity along the Sannaiyat front, and as soon as the right bank had been cleared orders were issued for Sannaiyat to be attacked on Feb. 17. The sodden condition of the ground, consequent on heavy rain during the preceding day and night, hampered final preparations, but the first and second lines, on a frontage of about 400 yards, were captured by a surprise assault with little loss. Before the captured trenches, however, could be consolidated they were subjected to heavy fire from artillery and trench mortars, and were strongly counterattacked by the enemy. The first counterattack was dispersed, but the second regained for the enemy his lost ground, except on the river bank, where a party of Ghurkhas maintained themselves until dusk, and were then withdrawn. The waterlogged state of the country and a high flood on the Tigris now necessitated a pause, but the time was usefully employed in methodical preparation for the passage of the Tigris about Shumran.

On Feb. 22 the Seaforths and a Punjabi battalion assaulted Sannaiyat, with the same objective as on the 17th. The enemy were again taken by surprise, and our losses were slight. A series of counterattacks followed, and the first three were repulsed without difficulty. The fourth drove back our left, but the Punjabis, reinforced by an Indian Rifle battalion and assisted by the fire of the Seaforths, who were still holding the Turkish trenches on the right front, reestablished their position. Two more counterattacks which followed were defeated. As soon as the captured position had been consolidated two frontier force regiments assaulted the trenches still held by the enemy

MAP OF REGION TRAVERSED BY THE BRITISH EXPEDITION THAT CAPTURED BAGDAD

in prolongation of, and to the north of, those already occupied by us. A counterattack forced our right back temporarily, but the situation was restored by the arrival of reinforcements, and by nightfall we were in secure occupation of the first two lines of Sannaiyat. The brilliant tenacity of the Seaforths throughout this day deserves special mention.

Feints in connection with the passage of the Tigris were made on the night of the 22d-23d opposite Kut and at Magasis, respectively. Opposite Kut preparations for bridging the Tigris opposite the licorice factory, under cover of a bombardment of Kut, were made furtively in daylight, and every detail, down to the erection of observation ladders, was provided for. The result was, as afterward ascertained, that the enemy moved infantry and guns into the Kut peninsula, and these could not be retransferred to the actual point of crossing in time to be of any use. The feint at Magasis consisted of a raid across the river, made by a detachment of Punjabis, assisted by parties of sappers and miners and of the Sikh Pioneers. This bold raid was successfully carried out with trifling loss, and the detachment returned with a captured trench mortar.

Tigris Crossed

The site selected for the passage of the Tigris was at the south end of the Shumran Bend, where the bridge was to be thrown, and three ferrying places were located immediately downstream of this point. Just before daybreak on Feb. 23 the three ferries began to work. The first trip at the ferry immediately below the bridge site, where the Norfolks crossed, was a complete surprise, and five machine guns and some 300 prisoners were captured. Two battalions of Ghurkhas, who were using the two lower ferries, were met by a staggering fire before they reached the left bank, but in spite of losses in men and pontoons they pressed on gallantly and effected a landing. The two downstream ferries were soon under such heavy machine-gun fire that they had to be closed, and all ferrying was subsequently carried on by means of the upstream ferry.

By 7:30 A. M. about three companies of the Norfolks and some 150 of the Ghurkhas were on the left bank. The enemy's artillery became increasingly active, but was vigorously engaged by ours, and the construction of the bridge commenced. The Norfolks pushed rapidly upstream on the left bank, taking many prisoners, while our machine guns on the right bank, west of the Shumran Bend, inflicted casualties on those Turks who tried to escape. The Ghurkha battalions on the right and centre were meeting with more opposition, and their progress was slower. By 3 P. M. all three battalions were established on the east and west line one mile north of the bridge site, and a fourth battalion was being ferried over. The enemy attempted to counterattack down the centre of the peninsula and to reinforce along its western edge, but both attempts were foiled by the quickness and accuracy of our artillery. At 4:30 P. M. the bridge was ready for traffic.

By nightfall, as a result of the day's operations, our troops had, by their unconquerable valor anad determination, forced a passage across a river in flood, 340 yards wide, in face of strong opposition, and had secured a position 2,000 yards in depth, covering the bridgehead, while ahead of this line our patrols were acting vigorously against the enemy's advanced detachments, who had suffered heavy losses, including about 700 prisoners taken in all. The infantry of one division were across and another division was ready to follow.

Kut Reoccupied

While the crossing at Shumran was proceeding, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe had secured the third and fourth lines at Sannaiyat. Bombing parties occupied the fifth line later, and work was carried on all night making roads across the maze of trenches for the passage of artillery and transport. Early on Feb. 24 our troops in the Shumran Bend resumed the advance, supported by machine guns and artillery from the right bank. The enemy held on tenaciously at the northeast corner of the peninsula, where there is a series of nalas in which a number of machine guns were concealed, but after a strenuous fight, lasting for four or five hours, he was forced back, and two field and two machine guns and many prisoners fell into our possession. Further west our troops were engaged with strong enemy forces in the intricate mass of ruins, mounds, and nalas which lie to the northwest of Shumran, and rapid progress was impossible, but toward evening the enemy had been pushed back to a depth of 1,000 yards, although he still resisted stubbornly.

While this fighting was in progress the cavalry, the artillery, and another division crossed the bridge. The cavalry attempted to break through at the northern end of the Shumran Bend to operate against the enemy's rear along the Bagdad road, by which airplanes reported hostile columns to be retreating, but strong Turkish rearguards intrenched in nalas prevented them from issuing from the peninsula. During this day's fighting at Shumran heavy losses had been inflicted on the enemy, and our captures have been increased in all to four field guns, eight machine guns, some 1,650 prisoners, and a large quantity of rifles, ammunition, equipment, and war stores. The gunboats were now ordered upstream from Falahiyeh, and reached Kut the same evening.

While these events wre happening at Shumran, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe cleared the enemy's sixth line at Sannaiyat, the Nakhailat, and Suwada positions, and the left bank as far as Kut without much opposition.

The capture of the Sannaiyat position, which the Turks believed to be impregnable, had only been accomplished after a fierce struggle, in which our infantry, closely supported by our artillery, displayed great gallantry and endurance against a brave and determined enemy. The latter had again suffered severely. Many trenches were choked with corpses, and the open ground where counterattacks had taken place was strewn with them.

Flight of the Turks

Early in the morning of Feb. 25 the cavalry and Lieut. Gen. Marshall's force moved northwest in pursuit of the enemy, whose rearguards had retired in the night. The gunboats also proceeded up stream. Our troops came in contact with the enemy about eight miles from Shumran and drove him back, in spite of stubborn resistance, to his main position two miles further west, where the Turks, strong in artillery, were disposed in trenches and nalas. Our guns, handled with dash, gave valuable support, but were handicapped in this flat country by being in the open, while the Turkish guns were concealed in gun pits. After a severe fight our infantry gained a footing in the enemy's position and took about 400 prisoners. The cavalry on the northern flank had been checked by intrenched infantry and were unable to envelop the Turkish rearguard. The Royal Navy, on our left flank, co-operated with excellent effect in the bombardment of the enemy's position during the day.

On the 26th one column, following the bend of the river, advanced to force any position which the enemy might be holding on the left bank of the Tigris, while another column of all arms marched direct to the Sumar Bend in order to intercept him. His retreat proved, however, to be too rapid. Stripping themselves of guns and other incumbrances, the Turks just evaded our troops, who had made a forced march across some eighteen milse of arid plain. Our cavalry came up with the enemy's rear parties and shelled his rearguard, intrenched near Nahr Kellak.

The gunboat flotilla, proceeding upstream full speed ahead, came under very heavy fire at the closest range from guns, machine guns, and rifles, to which it replied vigorously. In spite of casualties and damage to the vessels, the flotilla held on its course past the rearguard position, and did considerable execution among the enemy's retreating columns. Further upstream many of the enemy's craft were struggling to get away, and the Royal Navy pressed forward in pursuit. The hostile vessels were soon within easy range, and several surrendered, including the armed tug Sumana, which had been captured at Kut when that place fell. The Turkish steamer Basra, full of troops and wounded, surrendered when brought to by a shell which killed and wounded some German machine gunners. His Majesty's ship Firefly, captured from us during the retreat from Ctesiphon in 1915, kept up a running fight, but, after being hit several times, she fell into our hands, the enemy making an unsuccessful attempt to set fire to her magazine. The Pioneer, badly hit by our fire, was also taken, as well as some barges laden with munitions. Our gunboats were in touch with and shelled the retreating enemy during

most of the 27th, and his retirement was harassed by the cavalry until after dark, when his troops were streaming through Aziziyeh in great confusion.

Hussars' Brilliant Charge

The pursuit was broken off at Aziziyeh, (fifty miles from Kut and half way to Bagdad,) where the gunboats, cavalry, and Lieut. Gen. Marshall's infantry were concentrated during the pause necessary to reorganize our extended line of communication preparatory to a further advance. Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's force closed to the front, clearing the battlefields and protecting the line of march. Immense quantities of equipment, ammunition, rifles, vehicles, and stores of all kinds, lay scattered throughout the eighty miles over which the enemy had retreated under pressure, and marauders on looting intent did not hesitate to attack small parties who stood in their way.

Since crossing the Tigris we had captured some 4,000 prisoners, of whom 188 were officers; thirty-nine guns, twenty-two trench mortars, eleven machine guns, his Majesty's ships Firefly, Sumana, (recaptured), Pioneer, Basra, and several smaller vessels, besides ten barges, pontoons, and other bridging material, quantities of rifles, bayonets, equipment, ammunition and explosives, vehicles, and miscellaneous stores of all kinds. In addition, the enemy threw into the river or otherwise destroyed several guns and much war material.

On March 5, the supply situation having been rapidly readjusted, Lieut. Gen. Marshall marched to Zeur, (eighteen miles,) preceded by the cavalry, which moved seven miles further to Lajj. Here the Turkish rearguard was found in an intrenched position, very difficult to locate by reason of a dense dust storm that was blowing and of a network of nalas, with which the country is intersected. The cavalry was hotly engaged with the enemy in this locality throughout the day, and took some prisoners. A noticeable feature of the day's work was a brilliant charge made, mounted, by the Hussars straight into the Turkish trenches. The enemy retreated during the night.

The dust storm continued on the 6th, when the cavalry, carrying out some useful reconnoissances, got within three miles of the Diala River, and picked up some prisoners. The Ctesiphon position, strongly intrenched, was found unoccupied. There was evidence that the enemy had intended to hold it, but the rapidity of our advance had evidently prevented him from doing so. Lieut. Gen. Marshall followed the cavalry to Bustan, (seventeen miles,) and the head of Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's column reached Zeur.

On March 7 our advanced guard came in contact with the enemy on the line of the Diala River, which joins the Tigris on its left bank, about eight miles below Bagdad. As the ground was absolutely flat and devoid of cover, it was decided to make no further advance till after sunset. Our gunboats and artillery, however, came into action against the hostile guns.

Gallant North Lancashires

Measures for driving the enemy's infantry from the Diala were initiated on the night of March 7-8. It appeared as though the enemy had retired, but when the first pontoon was launched it was riddled by rifle and machine-gun fire. A second attempt was made with artilley and machine-gun cooperation. Five pontoons were launched, but they were all stopped by withering fire from concealed machine guns. They floated down stream, and were afterward recovered in the Tigris River with a few wounded survivors on board, and further ferrying enterprises were for the time being deemed impracticable. It now became evident that, although the line of the Diala was not held strongly, it was well defended by numerous guns and machine guns skillfully sited, and the bright moonlight favored the defense. To assist in forcing the passage a small column from the force under Lieut. Gen. Marshall was ferried across the Tigris in order to enfilade the enemy's position with its guns from the right bank of that river.

During the night of the 8th-9th, after an intense bombardment of the opposite bank, an attempt was made to ferry troops across the Diala River from four separate points. The main enterprise achieved a qualified success, the most northern ferry being able to work for nearly an hour before it was stopped by very deadly rifle and machine gun fire, and we established a small post on the right bank. When day broke this party of seventy of the Loyal North Lancashires had driven off two determined counterattacks and were still maintaining themselves in a small loop of the river bend. For the next twenty-two hours, until the passage of the river had been completely forced, the detachment held on gallantly in its isolated position under constant close fire from the surrounding buildings, trenches, and gardens, being subjected to reverse as well as enfilade fire from distant points along the right bank.

On the 8th a bridge was constructed across the Tigris, half a mile below Bawi, and the cavalry, followed by a portion of Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's force, crossed to the right bank in order to drive the enemy from positions which our airplanes reported that he had occupied about Shawa Khan, and northwest of that place, covering Bagdad from the south and southwest. The advance of our troops was much impeded by numerous nalas and water cuts, which had to be ramped to render them passable. During the forenoon of the 9th Shawa Khan was occupied without much opposition, and airplanes reported another position one and a half miles to the northwest, and some six miles south of Bagdad, as strongly held. Our attack against this developed later from the south and

southwest in an endeavor to turn the enemy's right flank. The cavalry, which at first had been operating on our left flank, withdrew later, as the horses needed water; but our infantry were still engaged before this position when darkness fell, touch with the enemy being kept up by means of patrols, and the advance was resumed as soon as indications of his withdrawal were noticed.

City Entered

On the morning of March 10 our troops were again engaged with the Turkish rearguard within three miles of Bagdad, and our cavalry patrols reached a point two miles west of Bagdad railway station, where they were checked by the enemy's fire. A gale and blinding dust storm limited vision to a few yards, and under these conditions reconnoissance and co-ordination of movements became difficult. The dry wind and dust and the absence of water away from the river added greatly to the discomfort of the troops and animals. About midnight patrols reported the enemy to be retiring. The dust storm was still raging, but, following the Decauville Railway as a guide, our troops occupied Bagdad railway station at 5:55 A. M., and it was ascertained that the enemy on the right bank had retired upstream of Bagdad. Troops detailed in advance occupied the city, and the cavalry moved on Kadhimain, some four miles northwest of Bagdad, where they secured some prisoners.

On the left bank of the Tigris Lieut. Gen. Marshall had during the 9th elaborated preparations for forcing the passage of the Diala. At 4 A. M. on the 10th the crossing began at two points a mile apart, and met with considerable opposition, but by 7 A. M. the East Lancashires and Wiltshires were across and had linked up with the detachment of Loyal North Lancashires which had so heroically held its ground there. Motor lighters carrying infantry to attack the enemy's right flank above the mouth of the Diala grounded lower down the river, and took no part in the operation. The bridge across the Diala was completed by noon, and our troops, pushing steadily on, drove the enemy from the riverside villages of Saidah, Dibaiyi, and Qararah—the latter strongly defended with machine guns—and finally faced the enemy's last position covering Bagdad along the Tel Muhammad Ridge. These operations had resulted in the capture of 300 prisoners and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and equipment, while severe loss had been inflicted on the enemy in killed and wounded, more than 300 of his dead being found by our troops.

During the night of March 10-11 close touch with the enemy was maintained by patrols, and at 1:30 A. M. on the 11th it was reported that the Turks were retiring. The Tel Muhammad position was at once occupied, and patrols pushed beyond it, but contact with the enemy was lost in the dust storm. Early on the 11th Lieut. Gen. Marshall advanced rapidly on Bagdad, and entered the city amid manifestations of satisfaction on the part of the inhabitants. A state of anarchy had existed for some hours, Kurds and Arabs looting the bazaars and setting fire indiscriminately at various points. Infantry guards provided for in advance were, however, soon on the spot, order was restored without difficulty, and the British flag hoisted over the city. In the afternoon the gunboat flotilla, proceeding up stream in line ahead formation, anchored off the British Residency, and the two forces under Lieut. Gens. Marshall and Cobbe provided for the security of the approaches to the city, being disposed one on either bank of the river.

For more than a fortnight before we entered Bagdad the enemy had been removing stores and articles of military value and destroying property which he could not remove, but an immense quantity of booty, part damaged, part undamaged, remained. This included guns, machine guns, rifles, ammunition, machinery, railway workshops, railway material, rolling stock, ice and soda water plant, pipes, pumps, cranes, winches, signal and telegraph equipment, and hospital accessories. In the arsenal were found, among some cannon of considerable antiquity, all the guns (rendered useless by General Townshend) which fell into the enemy's hands at the capitulation of Kut in April, 1916.

Care of Sick and Wounded

On the right bank of the Tigris the retreating enemy had intrenched a strong position south of Mushaidie railway station, some twenty miles north of Bagdad. A force under Lieut. Gen. Cobbe carried this on March 14, after a brilliant charge by the Black Watch and Ghurkhas. At Mushaidie station the enemy made his last stand, but the Black Watch and Ghurkhas rushed the station at midnight, and pursued the enemy for half a mile beyond. The enemy's flight was now so rapid that touch was not obtained again, and on March 16 our airplanes reported stragglers over a depth of twenty miles, the nearest being twenty-five miles north of Mushaidie.

On the same day a post was established on the right bank of the Diala, opposite Baqubah, thirty miles northeast of Bagdad, and four days later Baqubah was captured. On March 19 our troops occupied Feluja, thirty-five miles west of Bagdad, on the Euphrates, driving out the Turkish garrison. The occupation of Feluja, with Nasariyeh already in our possession, gave us control over the middle Euphrates from both ends. During the remainder of the month minor operations were undertaken on the Diala, pending the arrival of the Russian forces advancing from Persia. The total number of prisoners taken during the period Dec. 13 to March 31 was 7,921.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

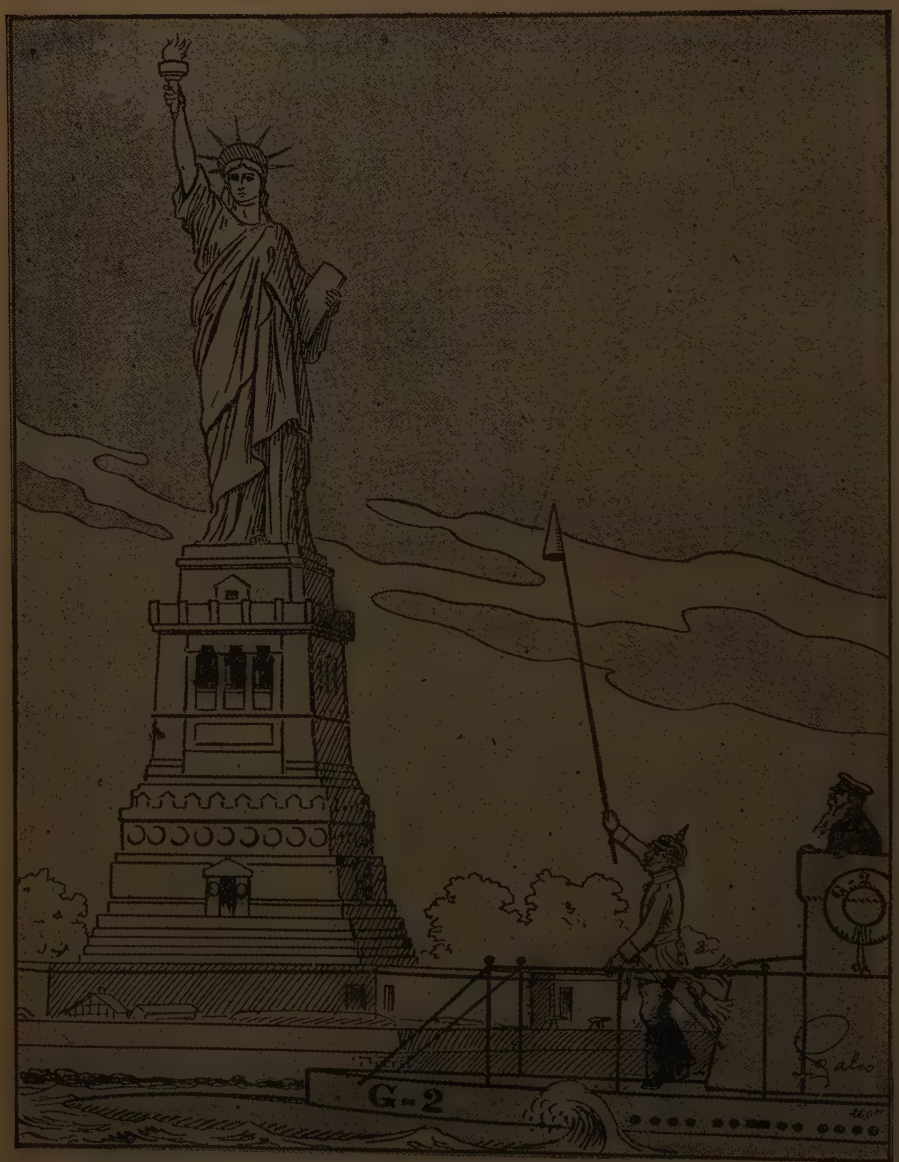
United Again

—From The Evening News, London.

JOHN: "Today's the day you left me, Sam, the day that made you free."
SAM: "Yep, John, free to come back!"

[French Cartoon]

A Large Contract



—From Pele-Mele, Paris.

WILLIAM: "I never imagined Liberty was so high that it was impossible to extinguish her flame."

[German Cartoon]

The Roar of the American War God

—*From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

[One of Germany's many attempts to ridicule the fighting ability of the United States.]

[French Cartoon]

After the Charge

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

THE POILU: "I, too, have brought down my fifth Boche, but it won't be mentioned in the War Office bulletin."

[NOTE.—Every French aviator who brings down his fifth enemy machine is cited in the official reports]

[English Cartoon]

America's Choice

—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

America refuses the olive branch from "the ugly talons of the sinister power."
(President Wilson's Address on Flag Day, June 14.)

[Australian Cartoon]

For the Armageddon Melting Pot

—From The Sydney Bulletin.

DEMOCRITUS THE JUNE MAN: "Any old crowns today—any old crowns?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Constantine's Report

—From Il 420, Florence.

WILHELM: "What necessity forced you to leave Greece?"
CONSTANTINE: "It was not necessity. It was the Entente."

[Italian Cartoon]

Constantine's Departure

—From Il Numero, Turin.

A cold welcome in Switzerland, but things are coming his way.

[French Cartoon]

The Sovereigns' Asylum

—From La Victoire, Paris.

CONSTANTINE: "Move up, Nicholas, some others are coming."

[German Cartoon]

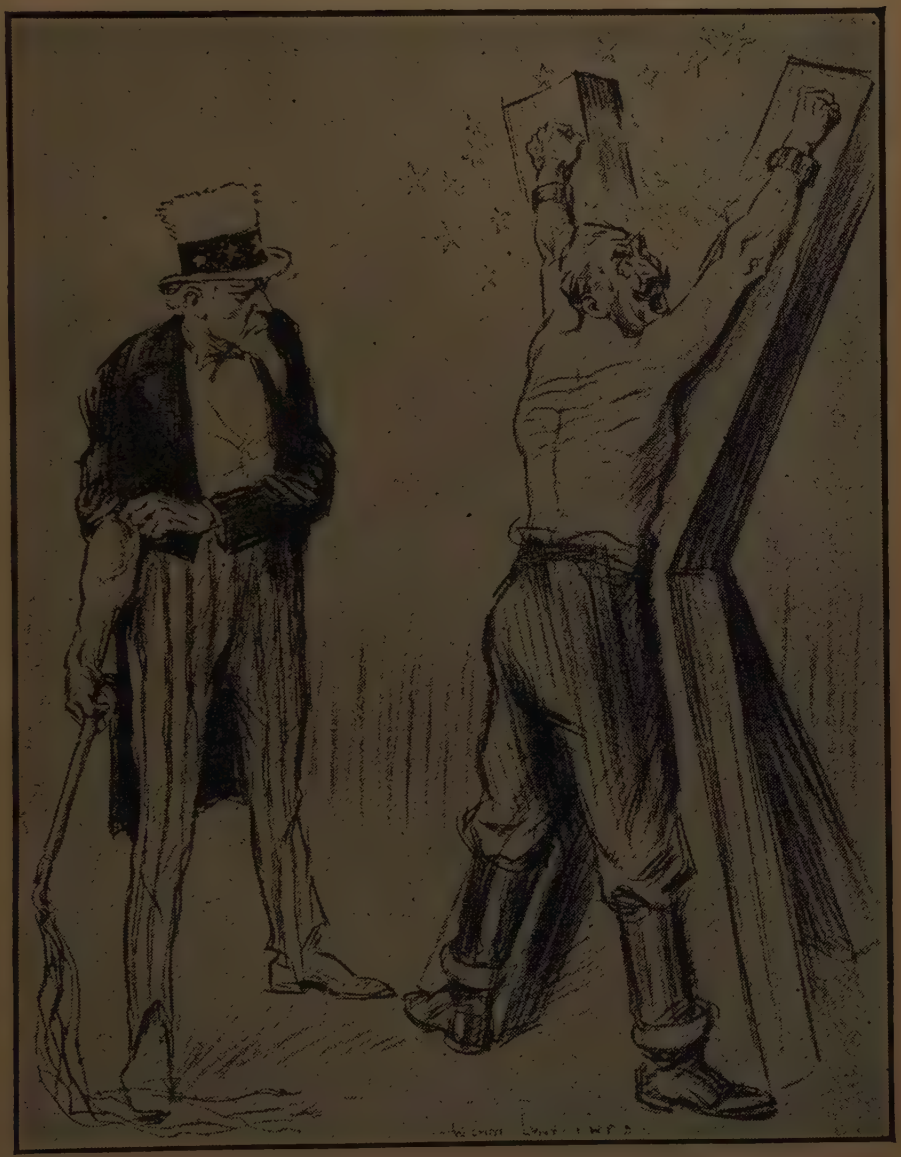
John Bull, the Conqueror

—From Der Ulk, Berlin.

"It's an easy job to conquer Germany. Look, I have already captured a French village!"

[English Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's War Aim



—From The Bystander, London.

To demonstrate to the Kaiser a new meaning of Stars and Stripes.

[English Cartoon]

The U-Boat Blockade

—From London Opinion.

JOHN BULL: "What! Not starving yet!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Full Compensation

—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

GERMAN CONSUL: "Our Government has decided to pay full compensation for the torpedoed ship on which your husband was drowned. How much do you want?"

[French Cartoon]

The American Spirit

© Le Rire, Paris.

No longer a matter of typewriting machines.

[Polish Cartoon]

We, Nicholas II., &c., &c.

—From Mucha, formerly of Warsaw.

[American Cartoon]

The Last Draft

—*From The New York Times.*

DEMOCRACY: "On what grounds do *you* claim exemption?"

[French Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Insignia

As they appear—

—From Le Pele-Mele, Paris.

—and as they are.

[Italian Cartoon]

Peace

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

Over the body of Attila the celebrated artist Death will sing the hymn of peace.

[American Cartoon]

On the Brink

—*From The New York Times.*

[American Cartoon]

Whose Fire Is It, Anyhow?

—From The Baltimore American.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Deciding the Hunger War

—*From Nebelspalter, Zurich.*

In the end it will be fought out by a German poet and a French artist in the form of a hunger duel.

Ivan's Answer

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Persecuted Middleman

—Dallas News.

A Hard Leap for Fritzie

—Cleveland Leader.

U. S.: "That Fellow Certainly Has Some Appetite"

—Ohio State Journal.

"'Smatter, Pop?"

—*Baltimore American.*

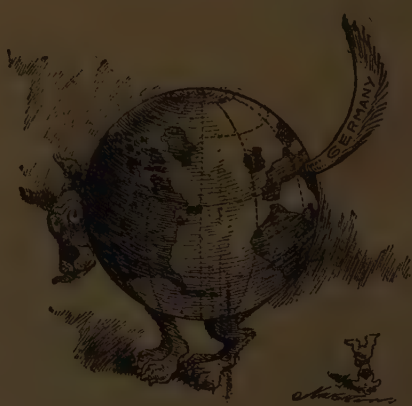
Off for the Front

—*From The Manchester Union.*

The Man Behind the Gun

—*Montgomery Advertiser.*

The Tail Trying to Wag the Dog



—*Duluth Herald.*

"The Last Argument of Kings"

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

Unmasked

—*Atlanta Journal.*

The Third Anniversary

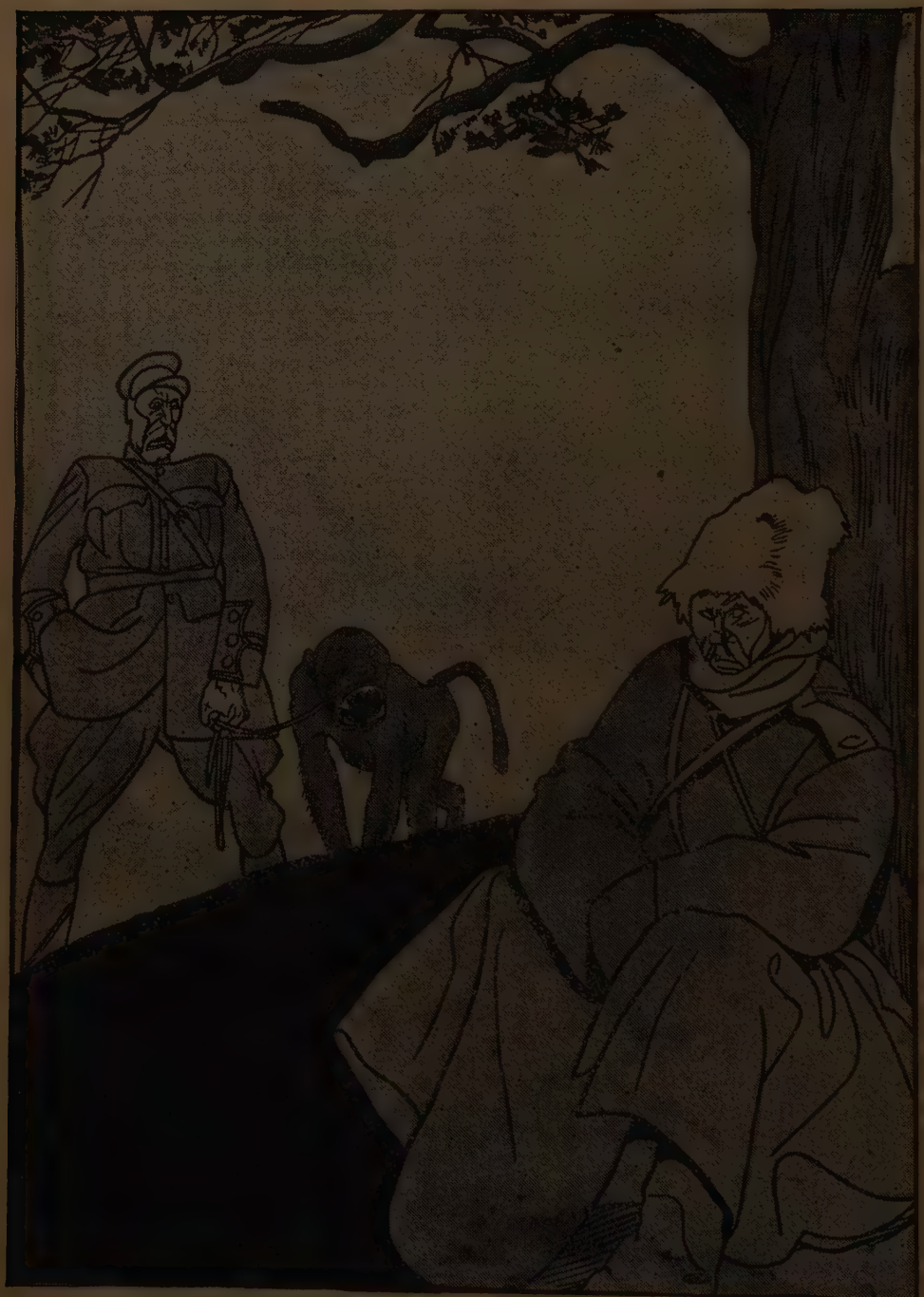
—*Knickerbocker Press, Albany, N. Y.*

The Early Bird Loses the Worm

—*Baltimore American.*

[German Cartoon]

English Reserve



—*From Simplicissimus, Munich.*

JOHN BULL: "Look out, Russia! If you don't love me any more I will set my Japanese on you!"

INTERNED GERMANS IN AMERICA

The hotel and grounds at Hot Springs, N. C., where the officers and crews of German merchant ships are interned

Officers of seized German ships playing chess in the internment camp at Hot Springs

(Photos © Press Illustrating Service)

CANAL MONITORS IN THE SOMME REGION

A special type of canal monitor, armed with a heavy gun, on one of the numerous waterways in the region of the River Somme
(Photo Kadel & Herbert)

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